

MY POLITICAL MEMOIRS
OR
AUTOBIOGRAPHY

by
Dr. N. B. Khare,
NAGPUR.

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FOREWORD

ON

“ POLITICAL MEMOIRS OF DR. N. B. KHARE ”

BY

Shri N. C. Chatterjee

Former President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha and ex-Member of Parliament

THIS thought-provoking Biography raises the question—
Can a Doctor be a successful politician or statesman ?

How is it that a man of such brilliancy, who occupied the position of a Premier in an important State and that of a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, and then the Dewan of an important Princely State, and the leader of an All India Political party, should have achieved, in a high perspective, so little ?

How is it that a man who was at one time loved and trusted by Gandhiji and Netaji and was a colleague of Nehru and other great national leaders, managed to bring upon himself concentrated and malignant attacks ?

AS ONE who had the privilege to be both a colleague and a comrade in the inner Cabinet of the Mahasabha and a co-worker in the House of People and outside, I was often struck by the utter self-possession of Dr. Khare and his complete disdain for the applause of the multitude and the bitter attacks of his political enemies.

DOCTOR KHARE has been a picturesque figure in contemporary politics and often raised storms by his non-conformist methods.

YET if any reader dispassionately goes through these pages of his “ *Political Memoirs* ”, he will profit and he will notice at once the working of a mind virile and free from cant, and the zig-zag workings of a complex character, completely immune from

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the lure of office or power and all that goes with it. That is why in Independent India he was expelled from Delhi and subjected to coercive "lawless laws", although he was then the President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha and came to preside over the deliberations of its National Executive.

THE INTIMATE portraiture of his interview with Gandhiji, Netaji and other great leaders in this interesting memoirs shows that here is a man who could offer a challenge to the mightiest and also accept a challenge with a poise and balance, somewhat rare in Indian politics.

WHO ELSE could defy the High Command and tell them in unequivocal language "I firmly believe that it is cowardice to obey discipline when it is prostituted to serve the unholy ambitions of a group or a junta." Only N. B. Khare could talk like that.

CONSTITUTIONAL purists may criticise some of the startling disclosures made by Dr. Khare in his political biography with regard to the working of the Congress Executive or the manner in which the Viceroy's Cabinet functioned in pre-Independent days. Yet they now form chapters of Indian history and there are respectable precedents to permit such disclosures and Pandit Nehru and Maulana Azad have set the example.

WE HAVE yet to come across an Indian who was nominated by the British Viceroy to his Executive Council, and who while in office could have the hardihood to tell the Viceroy "You are plotting to side-track the question of Indian independence. Is it not the duty of people like us who love their country to expose this plot of yours?"

IN SPITE OF the malignant attacks by his erstwhile comrades of the Congress, a grateful nation should to-day remember that Dr. Khare exhibited strength and mental fibre in his dealing with South Africa. We wish there were more Indians who could emulate this example in dealing with India's foreign affairs.

HIS UNCONVENTIONAL methods, his blunt brusque outbursts, his flair for responding to the passing mood and his contempt for sugar-coating his homilies, should not make people oblivious

of the fact that Dr. Khare can be a realist and act like a strateg characteristic of his race. The story of the Election of Shri Mavalankar to the Speaker's Chair and the part that Dr. Khare played therein is instructive. I often felt sitting in Parliament that when Khare was in the front Opposition Bench in the Lok Sabha, Mavalankar was often very hard on Khare who, of course, knew the art of hitting back in a superb manner.

DR. KHARE'S scriptural homilies are proverbial although some of them led almost to a flare up in Parliament. Read his fine chapter "Back to the Profession" and you can not but admire his resort to Hindu mythology of the churning of the ocean by the Devas and the Asuras and the League got Laxmi in the shape of Bengal and Punjab and the Congress got the Kaustubha—the power of ruling over the rest of India !

I PAY MY tribute to an old and steadfast colleague, who is a true son of India and Maharashtra. It seems that there is a strong bond of spiritual and cultural affinity between Bengal and Maharashtra and that is why a great man like Dr. Syama-prasad Mookerjee and others who had the privilege of working with him, admired some of the qualities of Dr. Khare. More dazzling career would have awaited him, if he could only bend or bow before the Gods who ruled India after freedom. Yet it is the glory of Dr. N. B. Khare that he never bent or compromised and remained a true and consistent and unabashed champion of real Nationalism preached by Veer Savarkar.

*P 514 Raja Basanta Roy Road,
Calcutta-29
the 30th July 1959.*

Sd/-N. C. CHATTERJEE

Dedicated to

INDIRA

MY DUTIFUL WIFE

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Dr. N. B. Khare

My Political Memoirs or Autobiography

CHAPTER I.

BIRTH, EARLY YEARS AND EDUCATION

Although this book is primarily written with the intention of throwing some light on many political events occurring in the recent history of India, I think it will not be out of place if I begin with a very brief account of my early years, education etc.

I am venturing to write this autobiography of mine although I am aware of my shortcomings. I am not at all a person of literary habits and pursuits and hence, consider myself ill-fitted for this venturesome task. But I am impelled to do so by an intense desire to place before the public some historical facts not likely to come to its knowledge in the ordinary course. The readers should not expect any literary merits in this book but should be content only with the information they would get, which I am sure, would be found both interesting and illuminating.

I was born about the 16th of March 1882 at village Nere near Panvel in the Kolaba district of the Bombay Presidency in a Chitpawan Brahmin family of Maharashtra. The Chitpawans are a wellknown illustrious clan of Maharashtra which produced Bajirao the First, Nana Fadnavis, Nana Sahib of 1857, Wasudeo Balwant Phadke, Justice Ranade, Gokhale, Lokmanya Tilak and Veer Sawarkar, all of whom have contributed to the struggle for independence and the history of India. My father, Bhaskar Rao Khare, was a District Pleader practising at Bhiwandi near Kalyan. My mother Durgabai came from a branch of the family of Bapu Gokhale, the last Maratha General who died fighting in the battlefield in the Third Maratha War in 1818 when the Peshwa Kingdom was lost to the British. My father died when I was

only 3 years old. I was brought up by my maternal uncle and later on by my elder brother who is now Jagadguru Shanker-acharya.

I was educated in Bombay upto the 6th English standard. But the Khare family had to migrate from Bombay on account of the first outbreak of plague in 1896.

I went to Jabalpur to my maternal uncle whc was employed in the G. I. P. Railway, and passed my Entrance Examination from Jabalpur in 1897. I joined the Government College, Jabalpur and passed my Intermediate Examination in 1899. Unfortunately, in 1899, my maternal uncle took part in the Signalliers' Strike in the G. I. P. Railway and lost his job. I had to struggle hard for my education by doing private tuitions and other sundry work. I was first married in 1900 and my father-in-law Dr. K. K. Gokhale also rendered me financial help for my education. My tendencies were apparent even in my college days. One Mr. Browning, Principal of the College who also taught English to the Third Year Class, asked the students one day to write an essay on the advantages of the British connection with India. The whole class wrote passages after passages praising the British empire, but I was very highly critical of the British regime in India. Principal Browning, of course, could not relish this and he sent for me and told me to apologise for my seditious writings and threatened me even with prosecution. I was not cowed down by this threat and I told the Principal to his face that the views expressed by me were honestly held by me and I was not conscious of having done anything wrong and that I would never apologise. Of course, it is needless to say that the Principal did not carry out his threat of prosecution. The only result o. the whole affair was that the papers 'Kesari' of Poona and 'Amrit Bazar Patrika' of Calcutta were stopped from the Colleg Library.

I passed my B. A. in 1902 in the Second Division and secured the Central Provinces Government scholarship for Medicine and I joined the Lahore Medical College in the Punjab in 1902. Here also I had a tiff with the Principal, Major Sutherland, M. D. One day at the time of Clinical Lectures by Dr. Sutherland, I was inattentive and was found cutting jokes with fellow students.

Dr. Sutherland caught me and scolded me and gave an imposition task to be written at home. The next day I presented this task to Major Sutherland who ridiculed me for faulty English before all the students. I told him that my idiom was correct and that he himself was wrong. But the Principal said that it was all nonsense. I was touched to the quick and next day carefully scanned the text books at home. I found the identical phrase used by me in the text book for which Major Sutherland had ridiculed me the previous day. On the following day I showed the same phrase to the Principal from the text book before all the students and asked him who was wrong. **The Principal was discomfited and had to apologise, but while doing so, he asked me why I showed him the phrase before all the students. I replied to him that it was for the same reason for which he ridiculed me before all the students.**

I passed my final M. B. Examination at Lahore in June 1907 and stood first in the University and obtained a Gold Medal. At Lahore I contracted friendship with Lala Hardayal, the well known revolutionary.

Immediately after passing out I got a job in the Provincial Medical Service in the Central Provinces. I had to accept it as I was a scholarship holder and was bound to serve for five years. On account of my ideas of self respect and temperament, I could not pull on in Government service. **The European officers in those days were generally haughty, arrogant and fond of insulting Indians. During the course of nine years of Government service, I had several incidents with the European officers, of which a funny one is mentioned below.**

I was in temporary charge of the Victoria Hospital Jabalpur in 1908 where one Colonel Alexandar Silcock, I. M. S., was the Civil Surgeon. He was awefully offensive in nature and began to tease me. One day during his rounds, he showed me some cobwebs attached to the strings of picture frames of snakes and cobras hung high up on the walls and charged me with failure to perform the duties for which I was paid. I protested and told him that these pictures were never cleaned daily in any dispensary and expressed my surprise that such an importance was attached

to the strings of these pictures, which could not even be easily viewed. But reason did not prevail and Colonel Silcock was very adamant. I therefore thought of a nice plan to teach him a lesson.. Next morning I instructed my compounders not to dispense any prescription unless it was marked urgent, with the result that about 150 patients of all classes were crowded together in the dispensary. At the time of the arrival of the Civil Surgeon at the dispensary, I got a ladder, took those pictures down, rolled up my sleeves and began to rub them furiously when the Civil Surgeon began to enter the room. The patients naturally came near the Civil Surgeon who asked why they were waiting there. I promptly replied that I was doing my duties for which according to the Civil Surgeon I was paid. I told him that the patients were not Government property and it would not matter if they died. But these pictures of snakes and cobras were Government property and they must be well looked after. There was a roar of laughter amongst the patients and Colonel Silcock was completely mortified and left. He did not pursue me after this incident, but of course must have given me a bad confidential report.

In spite of such incidents, I pulled on in Government service because I was under a five year bond. In 1913, I appeared for the M. D. Examination of Punjab University at Lahore which took place on the 11th and 12th of December 1913 After paying my fees for the examination of the University on the 27th November 1913, I got my first heart attack at Lahore. Dr. Hiralal a Lecturer in the Medical college was called. He examined me and advised me to quit Lahore the next morning, as I was very ill. I declined to do so and told him that I would either appear in the examination or my bones would burn on the banks of Ravi. Fortunately, I got well, appeared in the examination and passed. I was the first M. D. of the Punjab University. Ultimately I had to resign Government service in 1916, after a row with the Inspector General of Civil Hospitals and the Chief Commissioner and I set up private practice at Nagpur. During the plague epidemic in Nagpur in 1917, and the terrible influenza epidemic in 1918, I had an opportunity to render good service to the people

of Nagpur which made me very popular. I soon came in contact with and under the influence of the late Dr. B. S. Moonje and Barrister M. V. Abhyankar and joined the Rashtriya Mandal which was a political body functioning at Nagpur before the Congress got a foothold.

I was a member of the Executive Committee of the Reception Committee when a session of the Indian National Congress was held in Nagpur in 1920 and I was in charge of the health department.

I was a member of the C. P. Legislative Council on behalf of the Congress Swarajya Party from 1923 to 1929. I resigned in 1930 in pursuance of the mandate of the Lahore congress. I opposed Mahatma Gandhi's resolution at the Subjects Committee meeting of the Lahore Congress condemning the attempt to derail the Viceroy's train at Nizamuddin Station, New Delhi, on the ground that it was none of the business of the Congress which had declared its policy of nonviolence. In the Civil Disobedience Campaign of 1930, I was sentenced to one year's simple imprisonment, but was released before the expiry of the full term of the sentence on account of heart attack.

There was a terrible earthquake in Bihar in 1934. The Congress appointed a Committee to afford relief to the people who suffered from the consequences of the earthquake. The first meeting of this Committee was held in Patna where Mahatma Gandhi also attended and moved a resolution advocating respectful cooperation to the Government in the matter of earthquake relief. I pleaded that the Mahatma should drop the word *respectful* because he had described this Government as Satanic and no one could respect Satan. Mahatma did not agree with me. I told him that if he did not drop this word I shall move an amendment to this resolution suggesting to drop that word respectful or substitute for it the word responsive or necessary. Sardar Patel advised me not to do so and not to oppose the resolution of the Mahatma. He said no one would support me. I said that it did not matter. It was a matter of my conscience because I can never respect a Satanic Govern-

ment. The result was that the Mahatma moved his resolution of offering respectful cooperation and I was the only one person in the whole Assembly who opposed him.

In 1933, I was in charge of the Harijan tour of Gandhiji and won laurels of praise from him. From the beginning of 1935, after the death of Barrister M. V. Abhyankar, the mantle of Congress leadership of the province fell upon me. I was a Congress Party member of the Central Assembly, in 1935 and 1936 and a part of 1937. In the general elections under the 1935 Act held in 1936-37, the responsibility of selecting Congress candidates in the three Congress provinces, viz., Mahakoshal, Nagpur and Berar devolved upon me. I carried on an extensive tour throughout the province of Central Provinces and Berar at my own expense without taking a pie from any Congress fund and secured a resounding victory for the Congress in this province.

From now on began my life of strife, struggle and sacrifice.

CHAPTER II

HYPOCRACY EXPOSED

The list of candidates to be set up on behalf of the Congress for General Elections under the 1935 Act was to be submitted to Sardar Patel who was the President of the All India Congress Parliamentary Sub Committee. Under the Congress Constitution, his final and formal approval was necessary before the names of the candidates could be announced. Sardar Patel approved the whole of my list except the name of Shri P. D. Harkare whom I had suggested on behalf of the Saoner-Katol Constituency. Sardar Patel substituted the name of Shri Bhikulal Chandak in place of Shri P.D. Harkare. He did so without holding any enquiry into any allegations that might have been made by Shri Bhikulal Chandak against Shri P. D. Harkare. He also did not make any enquiry from me before announcing the list with this one change. This was highly irregular, improper and unconstitutional and I became awfully angry, because I regarded this as a slight to myself. I expressed my anger at the Faizpur Session of the Congress in 1936 and I told Sardar Patel in an open meeting of the All India Congress Parliamentary Board, that, this action of his was worse than the action of a British Bureaucrat whom we all condemned, because the British Bureaucrat, if he wanted to punish a person, at least gave him an opportunity to defend himself. Sardar Patel in this case did not follow this proper and necessary procedure. Of course Sardar Patel could not tolerate this open attack upon him and from that time onwards, he nursed a feeling of secret hostility against me. As a result he sent a word to Ravi Shankar Shukla, one of my competitors for leadership to see to it that under no circumstances I was elected as the leader of the Party. Shukla made some efforts to carry out this Sardar Patel's behest, but was not successful, because I had then a strong backing from the whole legislative party and I was unanimously elected as the leader of the party, only one member Shri Chhaganlal Bharuka remaining neutral.

Under the Congress Constitution, the leader of the party had to become the Prime Minister of the province. I was not very anxious to accept this job of Prime Minister on a salary of Rs. 500/- per mensem which was fixed then because when the mantle of leadership of the Congress fell upon me after the death of Barrister Abhyankar, I had necessarily to suffer from financial stringency from 1935; Congress duties naturally came in the way of my profession. But at the same time, I could not evade the responsibility which fell upon me to become the Prime Minister because people would have said that I was refusing to accept this responsibility, fearing the financial loss involved. Therefore, willy-nilly and against my wish, I had to accept the position of the Prime Minister of the province of the Central Provinces and Berar.

I formed the first Congress Ministry in the whole of India on the forenoon of 14th July 1937. Before becoming the Prime Minister, I had got a glimpse of Sardar Patel's dictatorial tendency in the task of selection of Congress candidates. I had a tussle with him at Faizpur described in the last paragraph. After becoming the Prime Minister I had an unpleasant experience of Pandit Nehru who presided over the Faizpur session of the Congress. In his Presidential address at Faizpur, Pandit Nehru said, "It (Congress) is anti-imperialist and tries for great changes in our political and economic structure. Congressmen were going to Legislatures not to co-operate with the Government of India Act but to combat it." Naturally as a Prime Minister I thought of combatting the Government of India Act by fighting for declaration by the Government of India of a public holiday on the 26th January 1938, the Independence Day of the Congress. This declaration would not have secured independence for India, but would have resulted in the recognition of it in principle.

But before entering into an argument with the Governor of the province, Sir Hyde Gowan, a hard bureaucratic nut to crack, I thought it proper to get the consent of Pandit Nehru, the President of the Congress and I wrote to him for it. He gave it willingly

in a short letter dated the 22nd December 1937, which was as follows :

“ I have your letter of 19th December. I am glad to learn that you are taking action about January 26th being declared as a public holiday. I entirely agree with you that such action should be uniform in all the Congress Provinces. I am writing to the other Prime Ministers accordingly. ”

My letter to which this letter of Shri Nehru is a reply, and one or two other important letters of mine have not been included in the book “Bunch of old letters” recently written by Nehru and published by Asia Publishing House perhaps on account of their embarrassing nature or my being a *persona non-grata*!

At Faizpur, Pandit Nehru emphasised his personal view, that the only logical consequence of the policy of the Congress was to have nothing to do with the acceptance of office. But it is well-known that Gandhiji and Rajaji held a contrary view. It is also well known that Gandhiji made it a condition for acceptance of office as provincial ministers that the Governors of the provinces should not interfere in the day to day administration and should not use their special powers. In the summer of 1937, Gandhiji was recouping his health at Teethal, a sea-side health resort. Rajaji had a secret interview with Lord Erskine, the then Governor of Madras quite contrary to the Congress discipline then. After this interview, Rajaji saw Gandhiji at Teethal. This aroused public curiosity and when asked, Rajaji, said that he had been to Teethal to discuss Kathopanishad with Gandhiji! Of course this reply was given only to conceal their manoeuvres. It appears that during the secret interview, Rajaji assured the Madras Governor that the Congress would not wreck or combat the Act but would work it just like the liberals. One could easily imagine that Rajaji's visit to Teethal was to secure Gandhiji's consent to the assurance given by him to the Madras Governor. When this assurance was communicated to Lord Linlithgow, the then Viceroy, he issued a long statement from Simla in June 1937, which was deemed to be the assurance asked for by Gandhi. As a result Congress formed ministries in its majority provinces in the latter half of July 1937.

After much wrangling with Sir Hyde Gowan, the Governor of Central Provinces, I secured his consent for declaring a public holiday on the 26th January 1938, the Congress Independence Day. He naturally referred the matter to Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy, who opposed it. While communicating this fact to me, Sir Hyde Gowan read some paragraphs from a letter received by him, from Lord Linlithgow which disclosed all the manoeuvres of Gandhiji and Rajaji about office acceptance. Lord Linlithgow in this letter pointedly mentioned the fact of the assurance conveyed to him by Rajaji with the consent of Gandhiji, that the Congress would work the reforms just like the liberals. From this letter it appeared that Pandit Nehru also wrote to some Prime Ministers in the Congress Provinces as promised by him in his letter to me of 22nd December 1937. Lord Linlithgow in his letter described the reaction of various Prime Ministers in rather picturesque phraseology. He said, the Bombay Premier, Mr. Kher, raised the matter about declaration of holiday with his Governor, but was very lukewarm. The U. P. Premier, Mr. G. B. Pant raised the matter with his Governor, but did not insist at all. The Bihar Premier, Mr. Shri Krishna Sinha raised the matter with his Governor, but dropped it like a hot potato and Rajaji, the Madras Premier did not raise the matter at all with his Governor. Towards the end, Lord Linlithgow also mentioned the public statement issued by Pandit Nehru, the Congress President in the first week of January 1938 that, there would be no deadlock on the issue of declaration of a holiday on the Independence Day. Lord Linlithgow concluded, "Why should your Prime Minister be so insistent. Tell him that this could not be done as it was a matter of fundamental importance." After reading this letter to me, Sir Hyde Gowan said, "Dr. Khare, I have tried to help you, but your own people have betrayed you." On account of the weakness shown by Pandit Nehru, the Congress President at that time, I had to meekly swallow this insult offered to me by the British Governor.

This very attitude of Pandit Nehru was exhibited years later in 1955 at the time of the Goa Satyagraha, in its fully developed form. In the beginning he encouraged that movement; so much so, that he publicly expressed his feeling of leading a batch of Satyagrahis into Goa. But subsequently he banned it; and now his police are protecting the Goa Border.

Some how or other, my ministry functioned pretty well for about a year. It gave the lead in the matter of removing the ban on proscribed literature, and permitting the establishment of rifle-clubs in High Schools and Colleges. But the bilingualism of this province and Sardar Patel's secret hostility against me, had their effect after all. Sardar Patel was an important entity in the Congress organisation, next to the Mahatma, and this fact influenced other Congress leaders also against me. My Mahakoshal colleagues who were not very friendly to each other, seeing the attitude of the Congress High Command towards me, became united and took this opportunity to conspire against me and oust me from office. I was suspicious about the honesty and integrity of some of my colleagues and I was having an informal enquiry against some of them. This fact also helped a great deal to bring about a conspiracy between some of my colleagues and Sardar Patel, who castigated me for holding an informal enquiry into the conduct of one of my colleagues. On one of his visits to Nagpur Sardar Patel openly charged me with shamelessness on account of this informal enquiry against a colleague. To this charge I promptly replied to the face of Sardar Patel, that there was no shamelessness in holding such an enquiry even against a colleague. That shows my character and regard for honesty and I am proud of it. I am also proud of the fact that I have the courage to hold an enquiry even against a colleague when that became necessary.

From the above conversation it would appear that the wind was blowing against me and the conspiracy was also maturing. I disclosed this fact to my friend and supporter and a very able lawyer of this province, namely Shri T. J. Kedar. He advised me not to take any hasty action but to consult Mahatma Gandhi in this matter. Accordingly, I sent a letter to Mahatma Gandhi

from Pachmarhi during the summer of 1938 and requested him to grant me an interview so that I may place the relevant facts before him. Mahatma Gandhi promptly replied to my letter and fixed 12th June 1938 as the date for the interview. I placed all the facts before him and also showed him some papers, official and non-official. Mahatma Gandhi saw the papers with close attention and said to me with a grave face that such men of doubtful integrity should not be in the ministry. He comforted me by telling me on my face that he fully realised my difficulties and had full sympathy with me.

I thanked the Mahatma for his sympathy and left him with great satisfaction and pleasure but before leaving his hut, I made a verbal request to grant me another interview in this connection after about a fortnight which Mahatma Gandhi conceded with pleasure. Accordingly, I went to see him on the 29th of June 1938 at Sewagram. During this interview, I showed him a letter which I had got intercepted. Wonder of wonders! The Mahatma suddenly became very angry at me after seeing this letter and reprimanded me for troubling him every time in such matters, saying that he had no concern with these matters as he was not even a four anna member of the Congress.

I was amazed at this surprising change in the Mahatma's mental attitude towards me. I was also angry and irritated and told him that I was aware that he was not a four anna member of the Congress because I was also in the Congress, but I knew that he was the creator and dictator of the Working Committee and that I came to see him fully conscious of his capacity. I told him further that when I first came to see him, it was after his written approval and when I came to see him the second time, it was in pursuance of his verbal consent. On both these occasions, he was not a four anna member of the Congress and it was surprising that he did not plead this excuse on those two occasions and he was doing it now. Obviously this was a lame excuse which could not be accepted from even an ordinary man in the street. How could it be accepted from a person who is called a Mahatma and who glorified in the appellation. I told

him further that my eyes were opened and I was thoroughly disillusioned. Now whenever an occasion would arise to take action in this matter, I would not go to any Tom, Dick and Harry, but I would take such action, as would be prompted by my *inner voice* which is as powerful as his, although I was a smaller man. If any unpleasant result arises after such an action, prompted by my inner voice, I should not be blamed. After this, I took permission of Mahatma Gandhi to ask him one question. On his agreeing, I enquired from him whether he met Sardar Patel between the 12th June and 29th June 1938. The Mahatma replied that Sardar Patel was at Sewagram on the 21st June 1938. On this I at once said that I realised why he changed his front and had indulged in a volte-face. After this I wished him and returned to Nagpur.

After some days, the situation became worse and I decided to dissolve my ministry. Accordingly, I requested all my colleagues to tender their resignations to me. Both my Maharashtrian colleagues sent resignations to me according to my request, but all the three Mahakoshal colleagues went to Wardha and met Shri Rajendra Prasad (the present President of the Indian Union) and got a letter from him asking them not to tender their resignations even if demanded by Dr. Khare, that is, me. Under the Congress Constitution then, Shri Rajendra Prasad had no authority to issue such an order. He was only a member of the Parliamentary Subcommittee and his individual responsibility was limited only to Bihar and Orissa. The individual responsibility about Madras, Bombay, C. P. belonged to Sardar Patel. It was clear therefore that Shri Rajendra Prasad exceeded his authority and committed a breach of discipline. But nobody asked him any explanation for his action. This will show who were involved in the conspiracy against me.

If the three Mahakoshal colleagues of mine had followed the democratic convention and tendered their resignations to me as per my demand, I would have placed the resignations of all the Ministers before the Congress Working Committee and would have abided by their directive. But from the foregoing account, it will be evident to anybody that I would never have got justice

at the hands of the Working Committee because important persons like Sardar Patel, Rajendra Prasad and Gandhi were against me and obviously partial to my Mahakoshal colleagues. Under such difficult circumstances, I had no alternative but to place the resignations of myself and my two Maharashtrian colleagues before the Governor. The Governor, Sir Francis Wylie advised the Mahakoshal Ministers to follow the democratic convention and tender their resignations, but they flatly refused. Democratically, therefore, the Governor had no alternative but to accept the resignations of the three Maharashtrian Ministers and terminate the tenure of office of the three Mahakoshal Ministers. The Governor had this power under Article 51 of the 1935, Act and there was no question of using his special power. The grievance of the Congress Working Committee that Dr. Khare acted in a way to compel the Governor to use his special powers to dismiss the Ministers was entirely wrong and unwarranted by the Constitution.

Under the law, the Governor could not carry on the administration of the province without a Ministry. Therefore, he had again to send for me and request me to assist him in the formation of another Ministry because I was still the leader of the majority party. Accordingly I formed another ministry under the auspices of the Congress and under its programme and principles. I did not do anything wrong by taking this step under democratic conventions. Yet without any enquiry on which I insisted, the Congress Working Committee charged me with playing into the hands of the Governor and bringing down the Congress prestige. *This charge was made against me only to cover the conspiracy against me.* I say so emphatically. In a country ruled by foreigners, it was very easy to say about anyone that he became a tool in the hands of a foreign Governor, because under those conditions it was easily believed. The Congress Working Committee deposed me on this charge against me without any enquiry. This raised a furore in the whole country and the echoes of this were raised even in foreign countries. The famous American author John Gunther has said in his book "Inside Asia" that the Congress High Command treated the Prime Minister of a province worse than a mean criminal.

I published a full and authentic account of this 'Khare Episode' in September 1938 under the caption 'My Defence' in which facsimile photographs of relevant correspondence had been given. Some account of this episode was also published by Shri Indra Prakash, Editor of Hindu Sabha Weekly named 'Hindoo Outlook' in my Biography written by him under the name "He Fought Gandhism". A brief and sketchy account is given here to enable the readers to know why I became so bitter against Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress Working Committee. Initially, I was an ardent admirer of Mahatma Gandhi. So much so that during his Harijan tour, I purchased a new motor car for his comfort and while travelling in the car, I used to allow him to rest in the car with his head on my lap. But this experience which I got in the Khare Episode made me a relentless and irreconcilable critic of Gandhi and Gandhism and regarding Gandhi as a symbol of the whole Congress Working Committee, I carried on vigorous propoganda against both and against the hypocrisy of truth and non-violence, till 1948, i. e. till the death of Gandhi, by my pen and tongue. During his life time Gandhi used many mediators to request me to stop this virulent propaganda. The chief mediator was my friend Mr. T. J. Kedar, but the efforts of these mediators failed.

On the contrary I became very bitter against Gandhi and the Congress Working Committee and determined never to spare them but to criticise their actions relentlessly whenever an opportunity offered. In my public speeches I used to charge the Congress Working Committee with nepotism and favouritism. The Congress President Subhas Chandra Bose challenged me publicly to offer proof of my charge of nepotism and favouritism against the Working Committee. In reply, I published in the press the facsimile photographs of letters received from Sardar Patel, Sarojini Naidu and Charlie Andrews. It would be quite relevant for historical purposes to reproduce those letters here as follows :

Bombay,
21st August 1937

My Dear Dr. Khare,

This is to introduce the bearer Shrijut Ratanchand Hirachand of the Indian Hume Pipe Co. He is a strong nationalist himself.

One of his brothers is a member of the Congress Assembly Party in the Bombay Assembly. His elder brother has given great support to the Congress on many occasions in the past. He wants a fair deal and no favour in connection with his tender to the Nagpur Municipal water supply scheme where he is afraid of his rival's influence in the affair getting an undue advantage. I shall thank you if you will see that justice is done to him. His rival is a European Contractor and the decision in the affair depends, I understand, on the recommendation of a European Engineer of Government.

(Sd) Vallabhbhai Patel.

Manerville.

Simla,
November 5th, 1937.

My Dear Jamanlal,

I do hope you have good news about Kamal at Cambridge. I want you to pass on this letter to Mr. Khare the Prime Minister with the enclosure. Mr. Garewal is in the P. W. D. and was in the C. P. where his son Daljit had an accident with a gun which was loaded and shot a servant. He told a lie over it and his lawyer tried to prove an alibi, but he was convicted of man-slaughter and sentenced to four years' in the Jabalpur Reformatory. His father finds, each time he goes, that his character is deteriorating and fears that if he remains all the four years, he will become hardened and ruined for life. He would gladly come and see the Minister and ask that his son, who is about 14 years of age (if I have remembered rightly) might be placed under his own charge on probation.

I have no doubt myself that the father has told me the truth and that if it were possible for him now to be responsible for his own son on probation, his character might be saved. Rajkumari offered to write also, but I said that I would write to you myself. I feel sure that the Prime Minister whom I met at your bungalow could take an interest in such an exceptional case where a son of

a big respectable father has come owing to his own fault in telling a falsehood, into such a terrible state.

Your affectionate friend,

(Sd) Charlie Andrews.

Will you give my kindest remembrances to Dr. Khare.

This letter was sent to me by shri Jamanlal Bajaj with his endorsement requesting me to oblige.

Zaheer Manzil
Red Hill,
Hyderabad Dn.
21st June 1938.

My Dear Dr. Khare,

I hear that you are likely to appoint a new Advocate General temporarily in the event of the present incumbent filling in an acting place on the Bench. I would like, if I may to put in a word for Mr. Walter Dutt. I think his name was approved by the High Court for a post, but your predecessor in office preferred his own man whom I need not name. I think, you will find Mr. Dutt W. B. very able and deserving of this responsible position.

(Sd) Sarojini Naidu.

P. S.—There is also I believe a post of acting Judge likely to be vacant.

People will remember that soon after I was deposed towards the end of July 1938, Walter Dutt was appointed as Advocate General by the Shukla Ministry.

In my speeches in the public after my dismissal, I used to to compare Mahatma Gandhi with Pope and myself with Martin Luther. A relevant extract will be interesting:

“ The present working of the Congress organisation is similar to the theocracy of the middle ages when all the kings of Europe bowed before the Pope and the Pope used to get anything done”

through the agency of these kings. Similarly, Mahatma Gandhi who was not even a four anna member of the Congress was getting everything done in the Congress provinces through his hierarchy and the Congress ministries subordinated to it. Blind faith in the Roman Catholic Christianity had gone to the extent that money used to be paid to the Pope to acquire absolution from sin to the departed soul and the Pope also issued all sorts of Farmans which were more often than not ludicrous. When the situation became intolerable, there arose Martin Luther who revolted against such obnoxious dogmas. Such was the birth of Christian Protestantism which is now outnumbering Catholicism. The same thing was happening more or less in the Congress organisation. *If you compare Mahatma Gandhi with the Pope, you must compare me with Martin Luther* I have been expelled from the Congress. I am not sorry for it."

I published my pamphlet "My Defence" setting up my case against the Congress Working Committee in September 1938. As a result of that I was expelled from the Congress by a resolution of the A. I. C. C. passed in Delhi on 2nd October 1938. The next day flag hoisting on the Dasera day which fell on the 3rd October 1938, was fixed to be performed by me sometime ago. I went to this meeting held near Garud Khamb in Nagpur City and presided over by Shri T. J. Kedar. I quote here a speech which I delivered on the occasion, that is, on the 3rd October 1938.

No Democracy in the Congress

"It is true that the function of hoisting the Congress flag on this Dasera day was to be performed at my hands and it was fixed sometime ago, but I must frankly tell you that circumstances have changed since then. I was then a congressman, but I have heard yesterday on the radio that I have been expelled from the Congress, bell, book and candle. I am therefore no longer a Congressman at least one toeing the line with the Congress High Command. You are therefore at liberty to have this function performed at the hands of somebody else. (Voices : We want you to perform it). It is very kind of you, but I must frankly tell you that this flag, although a Congress flag will be a banner

of revolt in my hands, not against the Congress as an Institution, not against the ideals cherished by all but against the autocracy and the injustice of the Congress High Command supported and backed by no less a person than Mahatma Gandhi himself. So if you have this function performed by me, a rebel against the Congress High Command, You will also be rebels by implication. Now after having made the position clear, is it still your pleasure that I should perform this function? (Voices : Yes, Yes, we are all rebels against injustice whosoever does it). I thank you very much for the great confidence you have placed in me this morning. It gives me a great pain to hoist this banner of revolt, but I have to do it in the interest of the country and the freedom which we all desire. The working of the hierarchy of the Congress under the halo of Gandhism has unfortunately resulted in stifling the power of thinking of the people and inculcated mental slavery amongst the masses. Mental slavery is the worst form of slavery. We must revolt against it. Besides this, the the monopoly of office in the Congress Working Committee by the same persons year to year has created some self-interest for them which has harmed our fight for the ideals of democratic freedom. It must now be patent to you all that there is no democracy in the Congress. The President is a puppet in the hands of Mahatma Gandhi, who by the way, is not even a four anna member in the Congress and takes pride in it, and who virtually appoints the Working Committee behind the scene. The curse of India has been, as is evident from every page of our past history, that there is too much dependence upon one individual howsoever great he may be. The Congress is committing the same historical mistake and until we revolt against this and get rid of the situation the Congress cannot function as a democratic organisation, fighting for the freedom of the masses. It is therefore that I have raised this banner of revolt with the consent of you all on this auspicious day of Dasera. You know, the forefathers of us Marathas started their invasions and campaigns on this auspicious day. I am definite that this revolt will spread amongst the congressmen all over. I am a small man. I do not care what happens to me, but the fire lit by me today will spread and you will see that in a short time big persons in the Congress organi-

sation will have to revolt against this Gandhian dictatorship and be expelled or get put. This dictatorship is so cruel that even those who are near and dear to him(Gandhi) will find it necessary to revolt against this dictatorship. Mahatma Gandhi without any enquiry which I demanded has tried to oust me from public life. I do not care for it. I shall do whatever public service I can with my own lights and I utter this curse today that the Mahatma who has done this wrong to me will find it before his death that he too has lost his influence upon the public. May God spare him till my prophecy is fulfilled.

Curse fulfilled

It will be surprising to know that about the Dasera day of 1947, i. e. about 25th October that year, Mahatma Gandhi himself said in a prayer speech at Birla House in New Delhi that he did not want to live for 125 years but would regard it a great mercy if God closed his eyes immediately because now there was no charm in continuing to live as his friends and colleagues did not now take counsel from him and his principles were not now regarded or respected by the people. So my prophecy came out true after only a short period of nine years.

I have quoted this speech of mine to show that I do not want to hide anything from the public and also that inspite of being expelled from the Congress at that time, the people were entirely in my favour.

I continued this criticism on Gandhi and the Congress Working Committee and I have issued numerous press statements and have also sent many open letters to Gandhiji himself by registered post, acknowledgement due. I propose to quote here some of these statements and letters (while the war was going on) to show how bitter and to the point was my criticism of the shifting and faltering policy of the Congress during the War.

Nagpur
June 27th, 1940.

INDIA AND THE WAR : DUTY OF THE PEOPLE.

We are on the threshold of a great international upheaval. When the very existence of the major nations is being challenged

by the scientific and ruthless forces of violence,—whose intensity is perhaps faintly realised by Indians because of enforced security imposed by the British rulers,—the general feeling is sedulously propagated in the country, that our ills could be remedied and even our political and economic freedom could be won by the gospel of truth and non-violence, to achieve which we are merely required to spin, spin and spin. The Government of the country now seems to have got up from its slumber and frantic efforts are being made to form War Committees and establish Civic Guards and while the slow, proverbially slow and inefficient bureaucracy moves on, we hear the capitulation of France, a nation which was considered the second great democracy of the West. Black outs are being practised in Bombay, Simla, Calcutta and other places and yet the Congress Working Committee, composed presumably of the best brains of India, is merely shedding tears at the fall of mighty empires and does not give any lead to the country at this momentous hour of its destiny. The Ramgarh Congress has finally succeeded in expelling Mr. Subhash-Chandra Bose out of the Congress, whose only sin was to demand a cabinet, comprising of all shades of political views in the country, and appointed Mahatma Gandhi almost as the sole dictator in view of the critical situation of India vis-a-vis the world war. The Mahatma unable to resist the growing demand of the leftists to start a struggle for Independence or the demand of his closest and dearest constitutionists to form ministries and offer co-operation, advocated for a time an attitude of benevolent neutrality. To camouflage his plan, Satyagraha Committees were formed and Indians were told to be ready for the struggle.

Failure of the Working Committee :

The world moves on in its own way and we see before our own very eyes democracies and nations crumbling, the whole edifice of Imperialism is being demolished and is on its last legs. At this hour, the Working Committee which recently met at Wardha was unable to give any lead to the country, as it was sharply divided within itself. The wisdom has at last dawned on the members of the Working Committee who see in the policy of the Mahatma, a surest way of disaster and destruction of many

millions of peaceful citizens if only they repeat the slogan of non-violence. The members of the Working Committee not having the requisite courage of making *Subhash* of the Mahatma, have politely passed a long-winding, but meaningless resolution by absolving Mahatma Gandhi of all responsibility of the future of the Congress policy. If the members of the Working Committee are honest to themselves, they should resign or call a special session of the Congress and give what they feel to be a correct lead to the country, but they feel that the basic policy of Mahatma Gandhi, viz., *to produce a change of heart in the opponent by non-violent satyagraha* is the correct policy for achieving independence as they said in the resolution. The same result could be achieved by making a noble gesture at this critical hour to Great Britain. We all—Congress, Hindoos, Muslims, Harijans etc., without giving up our respective ideologies, can keep aside our quarrels for the time being and come together in our own interest and offer whole hearted co-operation in carrying on the administration and help the Government to maintain order at this hour in India. By unconditional help to Britain in this grave hour, Indians will not only rise in moral status in the eyes of the Britishers, but also of the Mahatma. This will also bring the various communities whether at the Centre or in the provinces together, and this will greatly help each other to understand difficulties and pave the way for lasting communal unity. This may also shame Britain to submission to our just political demands.

At this time, therefore, when each political party is trying to assume an attitude of indifference and when the Congress seems to be confused, the duty of the general public is clear. I therefore appeal to the general public of this country to force a solution of the political impasse by forming a national Government representative of all parties and devoting the whole energy of the country to the successful termination of war and defence of this country. It is of the utmost importance at this grave hour when Imperialism seems to be fading out of existence, that the important strategic and administrative positions should be in the hands of capable Indians no matter what party they belong to. This way lies the road to India's brighter destiny, for otherwise, the future appears gloomy and dry.

The date of this Press Statement is 27th June 1940. It is significant to note that Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy, made his pronouncement of expanding and extending his Executive Council on the 8th August 1940.

In the letters and statements which follow, the hypocrisy, inconsistency, self-contradiction and sacrifice of truth and non-violence of the Congress policy will be illustrated.

OPEN LETTER TO MR. M. K. GANDHI.

18th July 1940.

Dear Mahatmaji,

I have been closely following your articles in the 'Harijan' written by you after your sad separation from the Congress Working Committee. You have rightly complained that the Delhi resolution of the Working Committee is a breach of the Ramgarh resolution in spirit, if not in words. I am of opinion that it is a breach in spirit as well as a breach in words too, and the responsibility for this happening is entirely yours; because you have yourself shelled that your resolution in your capacity as the so called Generalissimo. You withdrew the Congressmen in office as a mere bluff. In your exalted sense of self-importance, you thought that by this petty gesture, the British Government which was involved in a life and death struggle would come down on its knees, but apparently, they were made of a sterner stuff and your bluff did not work. You then ordered that the Congress Committees should be converted into Satyagraha Committees. This bluff also failed and the Viceroy did not make a pilgrimage to the shrine of Sewagram with the Charter of Indian Independence in his pocket, but you had to ascend the mountains of Simla in spite of your high blood pressure with a beggar's bowl for a compromise.

These tactics of yours intensified the natural cupidity of your followers for power, pelf and position and they made public pronouncements in their speeches in favour of going back to offices. This was impossible without active support to Govern-

ment in their war efforts, which again was banned by the Ramgarh resolution. You too were against their resumption of office because during their tenure of office, you were overwhelmed with complaints against the administration from all corners of the country. You who were once a stepping stone to the high pedestal of office proved now to be a stumbling block in their way. They therefore resolved to abjure their faith in non-violence of the third degree which they pretended to profess for over 20 years, plumped for participation in the war, and unceremoniously bundled you out of the sole agency of the Indian National Congress and thus removed the obstacle in their way. The association and relationship of a generation were broken and you were left the sole follower of your principle of non-violence under any circumstances with the exception of your Frontier edition.

You raised the factious cry that Pattibhi's defeat was your defeat and manoeuvred with the help of your colleagues to install yourself as a super President of the Congress at Ramgarh. You turned out Subhash Chandra Bose—who wanted a composite Working Committee—on the issue of a uniform and homogeneous Working Committee of one mind and one voice. Where is that uniform Working Committee now? Those very colleagues with whose help you installed yourself at Ramgarh have deserted you and your precious principle dearer to you than life. Mahatmaji, what a fall! Well might have you said 'Thou too Brutus'. I have said in the concluding pages of 'My Defence' that the 'Day of Judgment' was for all and the Mahatmas would not be excluded. I should have written this letter in a sense of supreme satisfaction for my prophecy being fulfilled sooner than I expected. But instead, I feel a sort of morbid sympathy for you which I have expressed in a telegram which you doubtless must have received.

You are a past master in the subtle art of concealing your thoughts; yet some of your writings are so bitter that all the chagrin, mortification and disappointment you feel, peep through them in spite of your best efforts to conceal them. You reiterate unequivocally your extreme faith in non-violence under any circumstances and the want of this faith in your colleagues is

distressing you. You should be congratulated for this consistency, although one may ask you, "why was not that faith so unequivocal when your ministries indulged in firing and lathi charges"; but that may be excused as a passing error of judgment.

Your appeal to every Briton is surprising. I do not hold any brief for Britons, but you want them to yield to your non-violence here in India and to Hitler's violence in Europe. Is it not a bit cruel and Quixotic? You have offered your services to them in the cause of non-violence. If they send to you Berlin, where your services are most needed, and violent and non-violent Hitlers meet together, the result will astound the world. Mahatmaji, I congratulate you for these articles which although queer, are frank, bold, sincere and consistent. But I cannot congratulate you on your latest article headed "Cry in the Wilderness" because it is written in a different strain. This might have been due to Rajaji's visit to Sewagram on his way back from Delhi to Madras. By the way, you tried your best to send me into wilderness and now it has come upon you to cry in the 'wilderness.' Strange are the ways of revenge of hoary time.

In this article you relate your conversation with Mr. Bapuji Aney when he paid a flying visit to you to express his sympathies. You were laying a flattering unction to your soul with your comparison with Sage Vyas. But don't you see Mahatmaji that when Mr. Bapuji Aney says "they should I think leave you in peace and let you go your way", he means you should cease to dabble in politics. When one eats too much butter, castor oil becomes necessary and both are inevitable in the economy of the human body. This is my only apology for encroaching upon you in your sad separation, with this long letter.

It appears from your cry in the wilderness that your separation from the Congress is not a divorce but only a *decree nisi*, as you say "they will again be with me". You also further say that it would have been morally wrong to strive with Rajaji in what he morally regarded as his clear duty. May I ask you if it was not morally wrong to strive with me on that fateful night of 25th July 1938? Instead of dissuading Rajaji, you encouraged him to follow his course. You are a firm believer in non-violence

under any circumstances. You also hold violence is wrong and sinful. Rajaji's course clearly countenances violence for defence of the country. How can you then encourage him to follow his course? Is it not an abetment of a wrong and sinful act? We poor mortals cannot solve this riddle. Will you solve it? And what punishment are you going to mete out for this clear contravention of the Ramgarh resolution? But I forget. When all are guilty who is to punish whom? Rajaji told you that your vision was blurred and you paid back the compliment to him, though in a jocular mood. He must have told you in your own words, "don't make a fetish of a Congress resolution" and so the biter was bit. Bravo for this response and co-operation!

You further say in your article, "I do not believe that the unarmed millions of India cannot exercise *ahimsa* with success". You have said before that non-violent Satyagraha could not be started because the masses were not yet imbibed with the spirit of non-violence. May I ask you which is true? Towards the end of your article, you hope that every Gujarathi Congressite, man and woman, will declare his adherence to *Ahimsa* and reassure the Sardar that they will never resort to violence. Mahatmaji, during my episode you charged me with provincialism and regionalism, although I do not possess any. May I ask you now, if it is not provincialism and regionalism in excelsis?

To conclude, the foregoing will show that Gandhism is dead and self-righteousness, hypocrisy, punning and quibbling have become orphans. Let the Congress be purged of these, and live and thrive as a purely political organisation to achieve national independence of India. Mahatmanji, amen and adieu.

Your's truly
N. B. KHARE

ELECT JAMNADAS MEHTA

March 7th, 1941.

I congratulate Mr. Jamnadas Mehta for the rare and splendid courage he has shown in contesting the Central Assembly by-

election in Maharashtra under the present circumstances, when the Gandhist Congress is carrying on a campaign of civil disobedience. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta as far as individual merits go, is far superior to his congress rivals, and I am sure, all right thinking, progressive, and national elements in the province will wholeheartedly support him. Ordinarily speaking, this by-election should have been a walk over for Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, but unfortunately, it is not so on account of the deluding propoganda carried on by the Maharashtra Congress Committee in whose hands imprisonment of Congress leaders is a trump card, and who are bound to hypnotise the unwary and the superstitious masses by the magic name of the Mahatma.

The Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee is carrying on propoganda that the Gandhist Congress is fighting for complete independence and that to vote for Mr. Mehta is to vote for slavery. It is therefore necessary that the people are not victimised by this pretentious propoganda. All electors should know and realise that the present struggle is not for Independence at all, even according to the Congress dictator himself, the struggle is only for freedom of speech. Even apart from this statement of fact, if we carefully observe all the conditions laid down for the struggle, it will be evident to the meanest intellect that the campaign has been so designed that it should necessarily fail before it can ever assume the portions necessary for achieving Independence, and the *dictator* of that struggle is straining every nerve to keep out of jail so that it may not go out of his hands.

It is therefore that slavish obedience to the most farcical conditions is demanded from the Satyagrahis. If one sees through this, one should readily concede that not Independence but the reverse of it, is the object of the struggle.

In spite of the pretensions of the Congress resolutions in favour of complete Independence, the Congress dictator who is at present the Congress, the whole Congress and nothing but Congress, is not for undiluted Independence as would be evident from past history.

I would request the people to recall that Mahatma Gandhi had two interviews with Mr. H. W. Emerson, the then Home

Secretary to the Government of India in 1931 before he proceeded to England to attend the Second Round Table Conference, as the sole representative of the Congress. The first took place on 19-3-1931 before the Karachi Congress and the second on 7-4-1931 after the Karachi Session. At these interviews, the Mahatma gave assurance that he would use his influence with the Congress to avoid any offence to Muslims, recognised the difficulties that would be created for the Government by the undiluted resolution in favour of complete Independence at the Karachi Congress, and by the declaration that the Congress would go on fighting until they achieve this. It appears that the Mahatma had made up his mind that the course of this kind was not taken, it was agreed that the actual resolution of Independence would be diluted by speeches and statements". I challenge the Mahatma to deny this. Comments on this are superfluous.

This shows what the 'Congress brand' Independence is. Therefore, all electors should realise that a vote for Mr. Jamnadas Mehta is a vote in favour of freedom and democracy and a vote for the Congress is a vote for hypocrisy, autocracy and mental slavery, which is the worst form of slavery.

During this by-election, thousands of leaflets containing this statement were broadcast throughout Maharashtra and Mr. Jamnadas Mehta won this election defeating the Congress candidate.

PARTIALITY.

April 4, 1942.

Dear Mahatmaji.

I have been at great pains to restrain myself and not to trouble you with any correspondence of this nature, but the attraction between you and me is like that between positive and negative electricity, and irresistible. Besides, Mahatmaji, you are such a good target that my sporting nature sometimes asserts itself.

In the issue of the Times of India, Bombay, dated the 2nd April 1942 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is reported to have replied to correspondents " It is no good being

carried away by prejudice against British, India in his opinion cannot afford to look on because if Russia and China were defeated India's own freedom would be long delayed". Assuming that this report is true, how can a Congressman and a member of the Working Committee at that, give expression to such sentiments which are not so far backed by any Congress resolution. Mr. M. N. Roy was expelled from the Congress for no other offence than that of giving public expression to such sentiments. Dear, Mahatmaji, please do not tell me again that you are not even a four anna member of the Congress. Just as Pandit Nehru is India, you are the Congress and in that capacity I ask you why should not disciplinary action be taken against Jawaharlal Nehru? Is it because he is your devotee or heir designate and Mr. M. N. Roy was not? Or is it because you have permitted Pandit Nehru, perhaps the would be defence Member, to give expression to these sentiments as a political game to dispel British distrust and suspicion of the Congress—that if it comes into power it may deal separately with Japan or may not help United Nations if Japan does not attack India—and to facilitate Cripps-Congress negotiations on defence which may be in the nature of an assurance of non-intervention given to H. E. the Commander-in-Chief. If the views expressed by Pandit Jawaharlal are in consonance with the views of the Congressmen in general, why should Congressmen have opposed the China Day Celebrations on the 7th of March 1942 and should have indulged in howlings cat-calls and booings in a public meeting held on that day to give expression to the same views and similar sentiments? I am sure you don't like this behaviour of Congressmen. Will it be too much to expect you to condemn it publicly and unequivocally in the name of truth and non-violence?

Mahatmaji, I am constrained to say that this is not the first or only instance of gross partiality of differential treatment by you or the Congress hierarchy. There has been a series of such cases. While passing, I cannot but refer to one which stinks too much into the public nostrils. I mean the defalcation of a large sum of money belonging to the All India Spinners' Association by a person who is still unknown. I do not understand what justification is there for the offender's name being still shrouded

in mystery. Why should his name not be disclosed to the public and why should he not be brought to book for the offence committed by him. Is he protected because he happens to be your devotee? Is it the reason why some members of the Indian Gandhi Service or Congress Ministers sought safety in Sewagram? Lord Krishna of Dwapar Yuga says: "My devotee cannot perish" and the Mahatma of Kaliyuga (Age of sins and quarrels) also says "My devotees shall not perish". Shall I congratulate you for attaining the exalted status of Lord Krishna in this matter or shall I condemn you for countenancing gross injustice and partiality and thus contributing towards inevitable weakening of the organisation which I claim is still dear to me. I, therefore, take this opportunity of wishing you full success in the Cripps-Congress negotiations towards realisation of India's long cherished dream. If this happens, please do not be carried away with the idea that the success was due to your token Civil Disobedience or Non-violence or Truth. Nothing of the kind. Success would be due to the international political situation not only in Europe but in the Far East, complicated by violent and virulent aggression by Japan with threat to India. So the maxim "England's difficulty is India's opportunity" would be true inspite of all the protestations that you do not want to embarrass Britain in her difficulty. I must compliment you for saying one thing and meaning another. As an old Barrister-at-law and life-long spinner of yarns, you are the past master in the art of making worse appear the better reason. By the way, Mahatmaji, when you are anti-all-war, why should you have gone to Delhi and taken part, along with your friends of the Working Committee in negotiations to bring about a situation which would make the Indian people render all help in the war efforts? It appears, you also helped in drafting the resolution of the Working Committee. This reminds me of a story in which some friends set out on a mission of committing adultery; one of them passionately held the view that adultery was a heinous sin but helped his friends in drafting a letter to the object of their passion and also in securing a conveyance in which she was kidnapped to the amusement of all!

I do not mind this Mahatmaji, it is after all an individual affair and if one's conscience does not prick, the matter ends

there. But I was not a little amused by a very recent example of indecent haste and discomfiture brought on by it. You were so eager to show to the world your concern for Mr. Subhash Chandra Bose's death that without waiting for the confirmation of the news, you sent a condolence telegram to his mother in hot haste. They say there is a lurking suspicion of evil when too much friendship is shown and considering all that has transpired in the past between Mr. Bose and your goodself, there is no wonder if the ideas expressed in the maxim rise uppermost in one's mind. I must also remind you here that after your Rajkot fast you issued a statement in which you admitted that there was Himsa in it and that you along with your colleagues harboured ill feelings against some public workers.

I read in today's Independent, a Congressite English Weekly of Nagpur, that at the time of laying the foundation stone of Nawabharat Chhatralaya at the hands of Acharya Vinoba Bhave, your first Satyagrahi, some lines from the Kuran-e Sheriff were read. I am one of those who respect the scriptures of all religions, but I cannot find out any reason why Kuran alone should be selected for the occasion to the exclusion of Gita, the Bible, the Granth Sahib and a host of others. Is it because it is thought by Congress that all these are anathema to our Muslim brethren: or is it because Kuran-e-Sheriff has to become the only scripture of coming generations of Nava Bharat, on the principle of one language one nation and one religion? If it is so, I can only say in pure Hindustani "Hai Rabba Hai Hai";

While concluding, I wish to make one suggestion with regard to "Vande Mataram", which is also an anathema to our Muslim brethren, because it is Sanskrit in origin, and smells of idolatry. It is a common practice these days amongst Congressmen to greet one another by saying 'Vande Mataram', instead of the usual Ram Ram or Namaskar. Instead of Vande Mataram, the Congressmen should hereafter greet one another by saying in pure Hindustani "Salam Amma Jan".

(Sd) N. B. KHARE.

MAY 1942

When Sir Stafford Cripps came to India during the War in the early part of 1942, for the so called Cripps negotiations and tempted the Congress leaders with a national Government here and now suggesting to them the acceptance of territorial self-determination, the Congress Working Committee fell easily into the trap; and when Sir Stafford Cripps was at Delhi, it passed a resolution there at one of its meetings which contains the following passage.—

“ Nevertheless, the Committee cannot think in terms of compelling the people in any territorial unit to remain in an Indian Union against their declared and established will. ”

It is evident that this passage concedes the division of India into more than one political States and gives a go-bye to the principle of the unity and integrity of India, cherished so long by the Congress and other well-wishers of the country to whatever community or religion they may belong.

Leaky Boat Sinks

It appears that the temptation of the so called national Government was so great that the Congress Working Committee was easily misled, took the cue from the Cripps declaration and in its efforts to bring about a compromise with some warring elements, it did not fight shy in compromising with a cardinal principle and in so far as it has done this, it has lost the confidence of the Indian people who do not want internecine strifes and Balkanization of their country.

But it is heartening to find that the A. I. C. C. at Allahabad on the 2nd May 1942, not only gave a crushing blow to Mr. C. Rajgopalachari's move, but passed a counter resolution by an overwhelming majority in the following terms :—

“ The A. I. C. C. is of opinion that any proposal to dis-integrate India by giving liberty to any component State or territorial unit to secede from the Indian Union or Federation, will be highly detrimental to the best interests of the people

of different states and provinces and the country as a whole. The Congress therefore cannot agree to any such proposal."

Now this resolution is a direct antithesis of the portion of the resolution passed by the Working Committee quoted before, which contemplates such liberty to disintegrate. This resolution of the A. I. C. C. does not accept the proposal to disintegrate as it is detrimental to the interests of the country ; while the Working Committee's resolution contemplates acceptance of such disintegration.

It is evident from the foregoing that this resolution of the A. I. C. C. is a defacto vote of censure upon the Working Committee, as it is a direct disapproval of the anti-national policy of the Working Committee expressed in unambiguous language. Will the Working Committee show the decency of resigning after this ? I am sure, they will not, because very few people have got the strength of character to resign seats of power merely for the asking. Besides, they must be realising in their heart of hearts that in this matter, they are equally guilty with Mr. C. Rajagopalachari in passing that notorious resolution in which disintegration of India was permissible. Therefore, to save themselves, they have put the whole blame upon Rajaji and mildly rebuked him so that he was made to resign from the Congress Working Committee.

The Secretary of State for India has stated in the open Parliament about Rajaji that this welcome move of the Madras ex-premier has become possible on account of the visit of Sir Stafford Cripps. If this is not playing into the hands of a 'political adversary' I want to know what is. Yet, a mild rebuke and resignation from the Working Committee is deemed to be enough punishment. Whatever that may be, I am not concerned with it. It is food for thought for those in the Congress who still happen to retain their logic and reason. I am only concerned with poor Rajaji who has been made a scapegoat by the Working Committee and whose leaky boat has foundered in the deep waters of Ganges.

This is a revenge of time upon Rajgopalachari or Rajaji who when Subhash Chandra Bose in Tripuri Congress in 1939 failed to form a Working Committee approved by Gandhiji and lost caste with him, said (about Subhash Chandra Bose) that his leaky boat sank in the Nerbuda whose waters were deep. It is surprising that this disruptor of the country that is, Rajaji, who made open propaganda in favour of Pakistan after the Cripps mission, was raised to the position of a Governor-General and enjoyed the reputation of an elderly statesman. This shows that the Congress doped the Indian people with the opium of individual worship which is still going on and Pandit Nehru the Prime Minister is worshipped as a God or something higher.

As the Congress was not showing any inclination to launch a struggle for independence, during the early part of war and the policy of the Congress was only negative, that is not to embarrass Britain in her war efforts, I did not agree with this policy. I was in favour of taking some positive step. I therefore openly joined the Provincial War Committee. I was the President of the Executive Committee of the Provincial War Committee and the Governor of C. P. and Berar, Sir Henry Twynam, was the President of the General Committee. The elite of the province joined this War Committee. Some of the present Central and Provincial ministers were members of the War Committee. I joined the War Committee purely in the interest of India. The British had kept the Indian people far away from any military matters or technique of war, in their self-interest so that their empire may not be required to face any danger. The British found themselves in great difficulty during the War and they were crying for recruits and yet more recruits to fight the war in the various theatres in the whole world. I regarded this Britain's difficulty as India's opportunity because these lakhs of recruits would necessarily be well versed in the art of War and would add to the knowledge and strength of the country. So my attitude in joining the War Committee was to help ourselves. If this resulted in affording some help to the British, it could not be helped. In a speech made

before the War Committee under the presidentship of the Governor, I gave expression to this thought of mine without any reservation. In my speeches made in the War Committee even before the Governor, I always blamed Britain for keeping India in bondage. An extract from a speech made by me before the War Committee on the 26th July 1942, will prove my above contention.

All lies :

‘Since we met last, the world has changed. Indeed what we find is that a life and death struggle is going on between Germany and Russia the erstwhile allies. Whenever any one says that so and so are allies, it prompts me to say that they are all lies ! With regard to the Italian Empire in Africa—I refer to Abyssinia, Eritria and other small countries of the Dark Continent—If I may say so—they have practically put an end to the Italian conquest of Africa.

Indian Sepoys praised :

We are all gratified to read in newspapers that Indian soldiers—not soldiers but sepoy because the sepoy is a dark person and the soldier is a white one—(this difference still exists although it should not) that is all our Indian sepoy have glorious account to their credit. Glorious accounts have been given of the actions of these Indian sepoy and no less a person than His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has spoken very highly of their action on the African front and the Middle East.

All round support claimed :

On the one hand we hear these encouraging accounts while on the other we are told that the Government in England thinks that as the two major political parties in India are not co-operating with each other, Indians are not co-operating whole-heartedly with the war efforts in this country, and there are difficulties in the way of transfer of power to Indians. But the Government in England says, “Look at this, so many people, the Sikhs, the Marathas, the Muslims, almost all the Indian communities, are

helping us in every possible way in fighting our battles, they are all representative Indians. " But when the question of political concessions comes up, the same Government, I mean the Government in England, says, " we are not getting support from these major parties." When the question of fighting comes, they say, they are getting support from the Indian people as a whole and these people are representative Indians.

No parting with power :

When it is a question of Indian representation in the fighting forces and the war efforts, all these persons are cited as samples of the Indian masses who give support to the Government. But when it comes to the question of parting with power in any shape or form, then the same people say, " what can we do, these major political parties are not coming forward to help us." I think, if one may say so, such an attitude is not very honest ; it is just like saying ' heads I win tails you lose '. If the people who are fighting for the British Empire are the representatives of India, the masses of India and if they are whole-heartedly supporting the War, then certainly it is your duty to do something for India. Do not make a fetish of the non-co-operation of the two major political parties. That is not proper.

Fraudulent excuse :

When the major political parties asked the Government to declare its war aims or peace aims, the Government says, " No we cannot do it. Our aim is to fight the War and to win it. " One can understand that, but what about the peace aims ? No reply is given and the excuse of India's difficulties is trotted out, but this cannot pass muster. I will give you an instance. When the debacle of France took place, when she was on the point of yielding to Germany, a proposal was made to France overnight, that they might have Anglo-French Union and that both the Empires could have a common citizenship. If such a proposal could be made in a minute, can we not legitimately ask, was there no difficulty in that proposal ? Then why make that as an excuse with regard to India ?

PRESS STATEMENT

Movement Foredoomed To Fail

August 1942

The Congress leaders are not tired of proclaiming to the world that all their activities are based upon truth and non-violence—the cardinal principles adopted by the Congress for its activities; but the latest resolution passed by the Working Committee betrays a scant regard for both these principles as do many of the foregoing ones. Although it is a Herculean effort of over a week's deliberations and containing about 2000 words, it is singularly illogical and does not make much sense. It was authoritatively given out before the resolution was passed, that the Working Committee would not now follow its old policy of non-embarrassment to Britain; but in the resolution great emphasis is laid to show that even in launching a movement Congress does not desire to embarrass or hinder the war efforts of the Government. Whatever may be their desire they ought to know that the launching of the movement at this juncture is bound not only to hamper the war efforts but will virtually be an open invitation to the Fascist aggressors who are encamped on the gates of India. Frankly speaking, therefore, the resolution is a travesty of truth and transparently insincere and hypocritical. It also supports both violence and non-violence—violence for defending the country against Japanese or any other aggression and for this purpose permitting the stay of even foreign troops in India, and non-violence to fight against Britain if she does not oblige them by a peaceful and orderly withdrawal as required by the resolution. Do they not realise that if Britain is kind enough to oblige them, it will result in the substitution of nascent Fascism in the place of decadent Imperialism? It would also result in the postponement of the attainment of freedom by India either for good or for a long period.

It appears that they are smarting under a sense of frustration caused by the second expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council which also must have dashed to the ground all their hopes of Britain opening fresh negotiations with them, and they must have

felt compelled to do something for their very existence as an organisation. They realise, that the congress stocks have gone low and the last movement of token Civil resistance did not result in rehabilitating their lost prestige. It was therefore inevitable to do this stunt for regaining it. This is the genesis of the present resolution.

‘Quit India’ outcome of Egoism:

It is evident from the foregoing that if the movement as envisaged in the resolution is launched, it will not be based on any idea of attainment of Independence by India because the Congress leaders know or ought to know that this time the students won't support them; the Kisans won't support them; the labour is frankly against them; big capitalists won't stand near them because they are making huge profits out of the war contracts. At best they may secretly give them some monetary help. The middle class unemployed will not be persuaded to join them; the scheduled castes are opposed to them and the Muslims are frankly hostile; the movement is therefore foredoomed to fail. Under these conditions, whatever the Congress leaders may say, the movement is entirely the outcome of egoism as is evidenced by the reply given by Mahatma Gandhi to a questioner who questioned him on the lurid results likely to occur on the launching of a movement at this juncture. Says the Mahatma, "Why should you shove all the blame on to me for all that may happen by reason of my taking action for the discharge of an overdue debt and that too when the discharge has become the necessary condition of my life?" I have purposely underlined the word 'my'. There is no reference to the country.

Many Congress leaders when they were released after their last imprisonment after the token civil disobedience, have deprecated any further jail going programme, when the enemy was knocking at the gates of India. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had said in reply to a questioner that it was foolish to sit comfortably in jail when the people are threatened with outside aggression. We must remain with our people to be able to render them all possible succour. (Yet Pandit Nehru was in Ahmednagar Jail for about 3 years) If it was foolish a few months ago, is it not more foolish

now when the situation has worsened ? I hold no brief for Britain. British in India are not blameless, but if the Congress launches such a movement at this juncture, knowing full well its disastrous consequences, it will be more blameworthy.

Small fries are promptly dealt with by the Government under the Defence of India Rules, on the slightest provocation ; but such resolutions which are obviously designed to have the effect of hampering war efforts are allowed to be broadcast. The Government may be afraid to strike lest the blow may flare up the movement, or they may still want to pursue their old policy of wooing the Congress and despising the unconditional co-operators in war efforts. Whatever that may be, the Government at least should try to be consistent and free from the charge of invidious distinction laid against them by the man in the street. For this purpose they should declare that the Congress was exempt from the operation of the Defence of India Rules.

People should steer clear of this movement if launched, because it is not going to achieve independence but is sure to cause disaster. No Indian these days, to whatever party or religion he may belong, wants to remain dependent on Britain or any other power. **Independence of India is now a world problem and the Indian soldier is fighting for it on the battle fields of the world.** Ten to one, it is probable that after the War, the world forces will recognise the independent status of India, if not we as men will fight for it by whatever means we can, till we achieve it.

This prophecy of mine made in the above statement issued before the Quit India movement was launched, has come out true in all respects.

In spite of the most adverse circumstances existing in the country for such a movement, the Quit India movement was launched on the 9th August 1942. Immediately the Government put behind prison bars Mahatma Gandhi, the members of the Working Committee and all prominent Congressmen all over the country and as prophesied by me, the movement failed absolutely in no time, because it was suppressed by the British

Government within six weeks. It thus resulted in nothing but misery and frustration. When peace was established in the country, the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow sent to Gandhi in the Agakhan Palace jail a pamphlet written by Tottenham, War Secretary of the Government of India, which expressed the opinion that the outburst of popular violence was due to the Quit India movement. Thereupon, Gandhi entered into a fast unto capacity for 21 days in the Agakhan Palace in the month of February 1943. I was laid up with fever at the time for about two weeks and having nothing else to do, while in bed, I carefully read the accounts of Gandhiji's fast published in the daily English press, under the authority of Dr. B. C. Roy (the present Chief Minister of Bengal) who was looking after Gandhi during his fast in jail and also Shri Deodas Gandhi the son of the Mahatma. On reading these accounts I was convinced that the fast was not at all a real one but only a farce. I therefore wrote an article on this fast setting out all the facts. Some of my friends who were turned out of the congress along with me advised me not to write such an article at that time criticising Gandhi who was the sole leader of the nation and who had launched the Quit India movement and who was consequently in jail. They said I will be ridiculed if I would publish this article in the press and perhaps there might be a danger to my life also if I published that article in these critical times. But I did not listen to the sincere and solemn advice because I thought it my duty to expose hypocrisy and I published that article in the press under the name 'A Miracle' on the 11th March 1943. It being of historical importance I repeat it here.

A MIRACLE

Now that Gandhiji's fast is over and the Government has issued a communique saying that he was out of danger and that no more communiques would be issued, it is time that one should dispassionately discuss the happenings of the last four weeks in connection with the fast and subject them to a critical analysis with a view to arrive at the truth about this latest experiment with truth of Gandhiji.

Many people had an idea that Gandhiji might go on fast some time or other during the period of his incarceration, but

the immediate cause of the fast was the preference of the charge sheet by the Viceroy against Mr. Gandhi and the Congress High Command about the recent happenings in the country. But instead of giving a categorical answer to the charge sheet one way or the other, Gandhiji pleaded for facilities to consult with the members of the Working Committee. Mr. Gandhi is not even a four anna member of the Congress and parades this fact whenever it suits him. Why should he now plead for consultation with the Congress Working Committee members before replying to the charge-sheet is beyond one's comprehension! Besides, Gandhiji has declared himself to be no longer a citizen of the British Empire and likewise has asked others to do so in connection with his Quit India movement. Is it not infra-dig of a great man like Gandhiji to plead for concessions with the representative of the British Empire in India? But it is a side issue with which we are not concerned and we will leave it at that for the Mahatma himself.

Instead of meeting the charge sheet directly Gandhiji after a lot of rigmarole went off at a tangent and threatened a fast not unto death but unto capacity. In this connection Gandhiji writes, "My fast is on my part meant to be an appeal to the Highest Tribunal for justice....." "if I do not survive the ordeal, I will go before my Maker with the fullest faith in my innocence." Government offered to release Gandhiji for the period of the fast, but Gandhiji refused the offer saying he would break the fast if released, and restart it if rearrested. From this it is clear that Gandhiji sought his release from imprisonment with the threat of the fast. This is the genesis of the fast. Now let us see what the Working Committee whom Gandhiji wanted to consult has to say on such fasts. I quote from a resolution passed by that body on the 3rd February 1938. 'The Committee definitely disapproves the policy of resorting to hunger strike on the part of political prisoners in order to obtain their release.....' On the 12th August 1939, the Congress Working Committee condemned such hunger strikes. It says, "The Working Committee expresses its strong conviction that it is wrong on the part of prisoners political or otherwise, to resort to hunger strike for their release. The Committee is of opinion that if prisoners can secure discharge by hunger strike

orderly Government would become impossible." The Working Committee was in power then, but now it is behind prison bars. So their views might have changed ! Let us therefore see what Mr. Gandhi himself has to say on hunger strikes or fasts. Says Gandhiji in Harijan of 18 th August 1939 " Hunger strikes have positively become a plague. On the slightest pretext some people want to resort to hunger strike. It is well therefore that the Working Committee has condemned this practice in unequivocal terms, so far at least as hunger strikes for discharge from imprisonment are concerned "I know that the stock argument of Gandhiji himself that ' consistency is a hobgoblin of little minds ' may be flung in the face to controvert the above but I leave the people to judge whether it is cogent in every case and in this case particularly.

The 'kept' press of the Congress has sedulously fostered and propagated the belief through the country that the successful termination of the ordeal of Gandhiji's 21 days' fast has been a miracle and that a supernatural and mystic halo is attached to it. It is useless to complain against the Congress press because propaganda is their business. But I am surprised to find that men of scientific frame of mind and of India-wide medical reputation like Dr. B. C. Roy should have come forward to lend colour to this supposition of the intervention of the Almighty in this fast affair. Dr. Roy says, "We were apprehensive that if the fast was not ended, it would be difficult to save him But the tide turned and the Almighty willed otherwise." Evidently, Dr. Roy refers to the period when Gandhiji showed signs of uraemia during the fast. Every medical man knows that continuous fasting results in acid intoxication, uraemia and death and the only proper remedy for it, according to the severity of symptoms is intravenous injection of glucose or giving easily assimilable food in some form or other. In the case in point, this was exactly the course that was followed. On the 21st February when Gandhiji's condition worsened and signs of uraemia appeared, Gandhiji was given sweet lime juice by the doctors to save his life and life was saved. The whole course of events was most ordinary, the symptoms, the remedy and the results obtained were such as would be ordinarily expected under any

similar circumstances. There is nothing extraordinary or miraculous about it. Why should then Dr. Roy see in this event the hand or will of the Almighty ? In ordinary human parlance, anything that happens in the world is said to happen as the will of God. If this is the sense which Dr. Roy wants to convey, I have no quarrel with him, but if he wants to import an extraordinary idea of a miraculous happening or the idea of a special intervention by an unseen power, he as a scientific man has failed to justify himself. Dr. Roy further tells us that Mahatma Gandhi had told the doctors attending on him that in case he becomes unconscious, he should not be given nourishment of any kind, and the doctors fulfilled this duty of carrying out his wishes. May I ask Dr. Roy whether sweet lime juice—I would prefer to call it mosambi juice along with Deodas Gandhi, who resents it being called sweet lime juice—which was given to Gandhiji on 21st of February and onwards for some time, was not nourishment of any kind ? Or does Dr. Roy want to suggest that the mosambi juice given to Gandhiji by doctors on the 21st of February and days after, was medicine and the same stuff given to him on the 21st day of his fast, on the 3rd of March by Mrs. Gandhi when he publicly and authoritatively broke his fast was nourishment or food ? Is it not a fact that on the 14th day of the fast Mr. Gandhi was given as much as 20 ounces of juice ? Is it not nourishment in any sense of the term ? Has it not got the power to sustain life ? Do not typhoid patients sustain life on mosambi juice for weeks on end ? Then why does Dr. Roy want to maintain and to tell the public that no nourishment was given to Gandhiji according to his wishes till the 3rd March ? But I forgot that Dr. Roy is an orthodox congressman, was once upon a time a member of the Congress Working Committee and is one of the greatest Gandhites in Bengal and one of the ad hocists appointed by Gandhiji to carry on congress work in Bengal after Mr. Subhash Bose was expelled and the Bosite Bengal Provincial Congress Committee was superseded just like any municipality is superseded by the British Government. So the riddle is solved ! Dr. Roy was hard put to it to reply a searching question put to him by a Western journalist when he asked him whether the fast was broken on the 21st February or not. He had to wriggle out by saying that Gandhi's idea of fast was different from the Western

idea of fast. But this is not correct. The idea of religious fast is more or less the same everywhere in the world. To a Hindoo, during fast sago is allowed in place of rice, to a Christian during Lent fast, fish is allowed in place of meat and during Ramzan to the faithful Muslim food is allowed after sun down and before sun rise. So generally speaking, fast implies change of food or change of hour. If Dr. Roy wants to suggest that this is the idea behind Gandhiji's fast, I have no quarrel with him. What is the use of mincing matters ? The fact of the matter is that the fast was virtually broken on 21st February and as it was a fast unto capacity, there was nothing wrong in breaking it on that day when the capacity ended and announcing it to the world. This would have been the exact truth. Yet, the delusion was maintained that Gandhiji successfully terminated his fast on the 3rd of March, the appointed date. As a matter of fact Gandhiji became better and better after 21st February as the communiques show. It was not a fast unto death and Gandhiji did not want to die, yet, by using the words 'if I do not survive the ordeal' in his correspondence with the Viceroy, Gandhiji created an impression that he might just as well die.

Verily, as Dr. Roy says, 'Gandhiji fooled us all'. It was a Himalayan hoax which victimised the three unwary and uncautious members of the Viceroy's Cabinet who resigned in terror of Gandhiji's impending death. Gandhiji has also fooled the leaders, who want to bring about results with the help of the situation created by Gandhiji's fast, which the fast itself had failed to achieve. In this matter, Mr. Deodas Gandhi is very shrewd. He says he does not wish to attempt a public assessment of the results of the fast.

I have taken this trouble to subject the fast to a critical analysis, because mental slavery has gone too far and it must be combated in public interest. I had no desire to have a dig at Gandhiji during his imprisonment. His name has to be mentioned, because it will be impossible to discuss the drama of Hamlet without mentioning the Prince of Denmark. I know, Mahatma Gandhi is a man of strong determination and will, and I will not be surprised if he goes on fast unto death on the issue of indepen-

dence or 'Quit India'. I hope, he does not do it. May he live long to serve his country, according to the guidance of his inner voice. But I must call a spade a spade and say that this fast was more akin to a farce.

While Gandhiji's fast was going on three members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, namely Shri M. S. Aney, Sir Hormusji Modi and Shri Nalini Ranjan Sarkar resigned in fear of Gandhiji's impending death and also to protest against the Viceroy. When these vacancies were filled, I was appointed in the vacancy caused by Mr. Aney's resignation and was given the charge of looking after the Indians Overseas Department. I do not know how I was appointed in this place. I infer that the Viceroy Lord Linlithgow might have seen my article entitled 'A Miracle' published in the press and he might have decided that it would be a good thing to appoint a person who was bold enough to ridicule this fast of Gandhiji, in a vacancy caused by that fast. Moreover, I was and I am famous as anti-Gandhi. He might have conjectured that this my anti-Gandhism would be of use to further his pro-British politics. But in this matter he was thoroughly deceived as will be evident from reading this book further on.

CHAPTER III

WHY I ACCEPTED THE APPOINTMENT TO THE VICEROY'S COUNCIL

The year 1943 was a very difficult year as the political situation was very grave. On account of the Quit India resolution, the Congress leaders were in Jail. Although the situation was outwardly peaceful, fire was burning inside the minds of the people and it would therefore have been held improper and unpatriotic for a patriot to accept an appointment offered by the representative of British Imperialism. Yet, I decided to accept this appointment and took charge of my office on the 7th May 1943.

There were reasons to do so. The first was, that I wanted to slight the Congress and wipe off the blot smeared upon me by the Congress of not being a capable administrator. Secondly, Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose pressed me, before he secretly left India, to accept such an appointment if offered. Many will be surprised by this disclosure, but a little reference to the past will clear up matters.

Secret Interview with Subhash Bose :

Subhash Bose gave a slip to the watch-dogs of the Government and mysteriously disappeared from India on or before the 26th January 1941. Three weeks before his disappearance, that is, about the 1st or 2nd of January 1941, I had a secret interview with him at his residence in Calcutta. This interview lasted for about two and half hours and we both freely discussed and talked on many matters. I had specially gone to Calcutta to request Subhash Bose to form an All India anti-Gandhi front under his leadership. I was taken into a room where Subhash Babu was lying on his sick bed. He had grown his beard and mustaches and there were articles of prayer and worship on the floor near his bedstead. Nearby there was lying the book of Gita or some other scripture and there was on his bed a rosary also to count prayers. Big lifesize pictures of Ramkrishna Paramhansa, Vivekanand and other renowned saints were adorning

the walls of the room. I was surprised when I entered this room; and I thought that I have missed my way and entered the Ashram of a Sadhu instead of the room of a politician.

Mysterious atmosphere :

No one was allowed to enter this room unless he enjoyed the absolute confidence of Subhash Chandra Bose. It appears that even servants or other householders were not allowed to enter this room. Food was served to Subhas Bose in a peculiar way. The plates of food were moved into the room through a window by means of an aperture made convenient for the purpose. From all this it could be easily gathered that the atmosphere of this room was made particularly mysterious.

After entering this room, we wished each other and I expressed my surprise about Subhash's appearance. I told him point blanc that I never saw him before in this spiritual mood. Subhash Bose replied that "There was nothing surprising in this. I have always been of a spiritual bent of mind. While in the first year class in the College, I slipped away secretly to the Himalayas in quest of a Guru, but after six months my guardians searched me out and sent me to England for the I. C. S. " We talked in this strain for over two hours and I have given the gist of our conversation below in the direct conversational form :—

Dr. Khare : Mr. Bose, why have you grown these beard and mustaches ? Are blades scarce in the market ? Or, are you tired of shaving yourself ?

Mr. Bose : I have now become indifferent to the world.

Dr. Khare : Are you tired of shaving yourself because you are ill ? What are the reasons for this indifference ?

Mr. Bose : I am not particularly ill. The jail doctor said that I have some vague liver complaint.

Dr. Khare : I am a doctor myself and although I have not examined you, I emphatically say that you do not at all appear ill from your face.

On this Mr. Bose merely smiled but did not say a word. Then I requested him to open an All India Anti-Gandhi Front

to combat Gandhism. I told him in this connection that he should even seek co-operation from Mr. M. N. Roy in this matter.

Mr. Bose : I can never co-operate with Mr. M. N. Roy because I do not trust him.

Dr. Khare : It is strange that you cannot trust Mr. M. N. Roy. Mr. Roy is a politician of international fame. How is it that you do not trust him ?

Mr. Bose : Whatever it may be, I do not trust him because he is not an inveterate anti-British person. From this point of view I can trust you Dr. Khare because you are an inveterate anti-British person. Therefore you should open an anti-Gandhi front in Maharashtra and I would do so in Bengal and there could be complete co-operation between you and me in this matter.

Dr. Khare : Do you remember Mr. Bose that in 1938 when I opened an anti-Gandhi front in Maharashtra, you supported Gandhi.

Mr. Bose : Doctor, it was not a support to Gandhi at all. It was supporting the Congress as a President of the Congress which I was then. Do you remember that on that fateful night of 25th July 1938, when you returned to Wardha from Sevagram with that draft in Gandhi's handwriting which Gandhi asked you to sign, I came to your room at about 12 mid-night and told you that Gandhi and the Congress Working Committee were doing you a great injustice. They were in a majority and I the Congress President was in a minority. Therefore, I was obliged to support the Congress policy of injustice to you. I was very sorry for this. I therefore requested you to sign that Gandhi's draft, and keep quiet for 3-4 months when we would again raise you up.

Dr. Khare : I may remind you Mr. Bose that I told you then that I would never sign that false draft of Gandhi. You are exhorting me to sign it because you want to stand again for election to the Congress Presidentship and therefore you want to gain the favour of Gandhiji

by sacrificing me. But remember that you and Gandhi can never pull on together. I know you both and the politics of you both. You are trying to dishonour me and expel me from the Congress, but I am sure, you will also meet with a similar fate.

Mr. Bose : You are saying very bitter things which hit hard.

Dr. Khare : I am noted for uttering the bitterest truth without hesitation.

Subhash Bose was always uneasy in his mind as he was conscious of the injustice done to me, because soon after this when he came to Nagpur and addressed a public meeting the very first sentence he uttered was 'rightly or wrongly we have removed Dr. Khare from the Prime Ministership'. My prophecy about Subhash came out true and he was expelled from the Congress after the Tripuri session. I had sent him then a telegram of congratulations, which was published in the press.

After this little necessary digression, I return to our present interview and our conversation about anti-Gandhi front was commenced again :

Mr. Bose : Doctor, can you say when this Gandhi will disappear from the politics of India ?

Dr. Khare : Mr. Bose, I am surprised, why do you say this

Mr. Bose : Mr. Gandhi has emasculated the nation and there is no hope for our country as long as Gandhism prevails.

After this Subhash Bose enquired from me the political situation in C. P. and Berar and requested me to establish a ministry again under my leadership.

Dr. Khare : Is it not strange that you are giving me this advice at present because I know that about the Diwali of 1939, when the A. I. C. C. met at Wardha you compelled Gandhi to relinquish all the ministries in the Congress provinces under the threat of Satyagraha by yourself and

your followers. So is not your advice now inconsistent ?

Mr. Bose : Doctor, those times were different and those men were different. At that time, war had just begun. Gandhites were in the provincial ministries. But now the war has reached such a pass that it is becoming unfavourable to the British. It is therefore necessary that to take advantage of this situation adverse to Britain, inveterate anti-British persons should be in high offices. Therefore, I am advising you to form again a ministry in C. P. and Berar.

Dr. Khare : Mr. Bose, after the Congress relinquished the ministries in November 1939, two of my friends, Mr. Kedar and Mr. Pagey who were members of the Assembly were trying to form a ministry under my leadership. Out of the total 112 members of the C. P. Legislative Assembly, I had a support of 48 and 9 Congress M. L. A's. who were in jail had promised to support me in case a ministry was formed. Mr. Kedar, the great constitutional lawyer, had accompanied me to Pachmarhi in the summer of 1940 to see the Governor and he explained the whole position to the Governor Sir Henry Twynam, that since I had a support of 57 members, I was in a majority. But the Governor insisted that if I would disclose the names of the 9 congressmen who were in jail before-hand, I would be able to form a ministry. But I declined to do so as it would have been a breach of trust and betrayal of the 9 congress members who were in jail. The Governor expressed great surprise at this, but I told him emphatically that I would never break a promise given and I did not care if a ministry was not formed. The result was that no ministry was formed and now I am not going to form any ministry at all.

Mr. Bose : Dr. Khare, don't you know that the Viceroy has made a pronouncement on the 8th August 1940 that he was soon going to extend and expand his Executive Council. If by chance, you get an opportunity to

get into this Council, do not lose it. Do not be afraid of the Congress and do not think that that would be an unpatriotic act. It is now very necessary that inveterate anti-British persons like you should be on the high Councils of Government to take advantage of the war situation which is adverse to Britain. You ought to know that in 1917, at the time of the Russian Revolution, the Prefect of the Russian Police was a revolutionary.

Hearing these words of Subhash and seeing the mysterious atmosphere in the room and the growth of beard and mustaches on Subhash Bose's face, I at once inferred that Subhash Bose was intending to undertake some great adventure and I told him so. He merely said that I was right, and smiled and at once kept mum and became grave.

From the foregoing, it will be evident that there was a sort of a secret understanding between Subhash and myself. It was evident that he was soon going to mysteriously and secretly disappear from India. I am not disclosing this fact for the first time in this book. About 4 or 5 years ago, when I had gone to Chinsura in Bengal I had disclosed this fact in a public speech there. Before the attainment of independence, to disclose this fact was not only dangerous but foolish. After this interview, when I returned to Nagpur and read in the papers in a few days that Subhash Bose had disappeared I was not at all surprised. Later on, in the month of April and May 1943, when I was offered a place on the Viceroy's Executive Council, I accepted that job remembering the suggestions made by Subhash in this matter. Subhash Bose at that time was somewhere near Rangoon and later on he invaded India and came upto Manipur and Imphal. If his invasion had been successful and had he set his foot on the soil of Bengal, there would have been red revolution in Bengal supported by civil population and some military also. I had also some plans on what to do in Delhi in that event. In the negotiated freedom that India got, the British set up quarrels between the Hindoos and the Musalmans and retired safely behind that cover without losing even the hair of their head. This would

not have happened. The British were so afraid of this likely revolution in Bengal, that about the second quarter of 1945, they had secretly decided to give up Bengal and Assam and retire to Patna and from there to defend the rest of India against Subhas's Indian National Army. At this time, Pandit Nehru who was then released from jail went to Calcutta and in a public speech there said, that if Subhash invaded Bengal he would fight him with a sword in hand. Pandit Nehru had no occasion to bring into effect his brave threat because the dream of Subhash vanished into thin air by the fall of an atom bomb on Hiroshima about the middle of August 1945. But my being in the Viceroy's Executive Council at this time was of great use as would be evident from the accounts given in this book further on.

From the foregoing, it will be evident that Subhash Bose before his mysterious disappearance from India suggested to me, or rather insisted, that I should not refuse the offer of a job on the Viceroy's Executive Council if made to me. But who inspired Subhash Bose to secretly leave India on his daring and adventurous mission? The answer is that it was Veer V. D. Sawarkar. This disclosure will astound many people and some sceptics will even disbelieve it. It is therefore necessary to trace the events that led to this Sawarkar-Bose interview wherein Subhash Bose was inspired.

This can best be done by quoting here an open letter under the heading 'Challenge to Gandhi' sent by me to him on April 24, 1939. This letter throws immense light on the political situation then obtaining in India.

Nagpur
April 24, 1939.

Dear Mahatmaji,

In my present state of almost a political exile, I have been watching with scrupulous care and attention your recent activities in the light of Truth and Ahimsa and I am so much confused—nay often bewildered—that I have thought it best to directly enquire of you to clear my doubts, and I dare say probably the doubts of many a young man, who has sacrificed in former years the best that he had, at your bidding for getting Swaraj for India.

I am not dwelling in this letter on your past activities preaching boycott of councils, schools and law courts, culminating in the active co-operation with all these institutions so much so, that, even unambiguous words expressing a clear desire of a departed patriot are submitted to a court of law for a legalistic interpretation to suit the convenience of parties. (This refers to the suit filed by Vallabhabhai Patel in which he successfully challenged the will of his brother Vithalbhai Patel bequeathing about a lac of rupees to Subhash Bose.) But I shall confine myself to some of your present activities designed as you say, to purify the Congress. You have been writing in detail in the columns of Harijan about the bogus members in the Congress, particularly in the present year. When Subhash Bose was elected president of the Congress contrary to your wishes, you attributed it to bogus membership. But you have not cared to make any reference to this bogus membership when the infamous resolution of Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant was passed at Tripuri.

Presidential Election and after :

You proclaim, you believe in absolute democracy and when Subhash Bose was elected President, you stated that he was free to choose any Working Committee he liked and many of your trusted 12 disciples of the Working Committee declared publicly to the same effect. They said that they would co-operate with the President whenever possible, and they would keep quiet if it was not possible to do so, and further that they would be the last persons to put spokes in his wheels. Is it not surprising, Mahatmaji, that in spite of this public declaration, an agitation beginning with the resignation of these 12 veterans was actually engineered, fostered and encouraged by your article in the Harijan in which you proclaimed that the election of Subhash was your defeat. This agitation sowed the seeds of that resolution of Pandit Pant at Tripuri and the whole of India now knows, that all kinds of influences amounting to allurements and coercion were employed in securing votes for this resolution, and yet your democratic conscience feels, that Subhash Bose should interpret the resolution as he likes and carry it out. Mahatmaji, you undertook a fast for the soul of the Thakurasaheb of Rajkot. Don't you think Mahatmaji, that such a fast on your part is more necessary

for the benefit of some of your trusted twelve ? The public is bitterly in the dark with regard to the genesis of the Pant resolution. They are bewildered by the misleading statements and counter statements issued in this behalf. It is therefore necessary to know whether the resolution of Pandit Pant at Tripuri was drafted and moved with your previous approval and consent. You alone can throw any light on this if you so choose. Any way, if the resolution had your previous approval, then the less said about it, the better.

If the resolution was sponsored without your knowledge, then its sponsors, including Pandit Pant do not care to follow the advice which they had the temerity to tender to the elected tribune of the people (Subhash Bose).

The Rajkot Fast :

When you found that your anti-Subhash campaign needed some more strength, you launched on the Rajkot fast, apparently to compel the ruling chief of a small State to act up to his word. Under similar circumstances, Mr. Ruikar of Nagpur had undertaken a fast at Rajnandgaon and you thought it was violence to coerce any party by such methods. Do you consider this fair and honest ? Have you really achieved anything substantial by your Rajkot fast ? Is it not a fact that the Rajkot sore has festered on account of the application of a humbug ointment ? Mahatmaji, if the fast was for reforming the Ruling chief's nature—why did you give up the fast as soon as His Excellency the Viceroy (Lord Linlithgow) agreed to refer your dispute to the Chief Justice of the Federal Court (Sir Maurice Gwyer) ? Has the award satisfied the Bhayyats and the Musalmans to whom you had given solemn assurance ? At the time of your fast and on the eve of the Tripuri Congress, the Congress Ministries threatened to relinquish their responsibility without reference to the Congress which was soon to meet, and even without reference to the elected President. Has this action not lowered the prestige of the Congress and its President ? Is this not an act of grave indiscipline and ugly haste ? Could they not have consulted the President on the phone ? Then Mahatmaji, why have you not uttered one single word in condemnation of this act ? Does not this your

silence mean encouragement to indiscipline and Tammany Hall methods in congress activities? I know, you will trot out the excuse that you are not even a four anna member of the Congress, but Mahatmaji, do you think, the public will believe this, specially after Tripuri and after your confession that "Pattabhi's defeat is your defeat"?

Negotiations with Viceroy :

Coming to your recent frequent interviews with the Viceroy, I wish to know the need of such frequent and lengthy interviews after the decision of Sir Maurice Gwyer. No one will believe that you talked of the weather or spiritualism, or stud-bulls, during these interviews. The conversation must have centered round political issues like Federation etc. Is there any resolution of the Congress, as there was one when you were sent to the 'Round Table Conference' authorising you to negotiate with the Viceroy regarding India's future in the Federation? Mahatmaji you abhor secret methods! Then why so much secrecy about these interviews? Why not take the public into your confidence and allay all doubts and suspicions? And there are reasons for these suspicions to arise. The Lahore Congress in 1929, under the Presidentship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has passed a resolution in favour of complete and undiluted independence. But you have in effect whittled it down by defining independence as 'substance of independence', whatever that may mean! And report goes, that you have done this in pursuance of an assurance given to Mr. Emerson, the then Home Secretary to the Government of India during the famous Gandhi-Emerson interview which took place in March 1931 after the Gandhi-Irwin Truce. I wonder why some of your lieutenants take delight in interviewing high Government officials and joining social functions. Is discipline not binding on them? Or have they taken permission of the Congress President under some special circumstances? Don't you think, all these matters must be cleared up in the interest of the Congress itself?

Situation in C. P. :

" Mahatmaji, you always say that you want greater purity in the congress organisation and in the administration of Congress

provinces. Do you know that this purity is conspicuous by its absence in this province? Your trusted lieutenants have encouraged and helped some undershable persons to be at the helm of congress affairs. These are the persons who defied the order of the Congress President and set up a candidate on behalf of the Congress in a recent bye election to the provincial assembly, got defeated and lowered the prestige of the Congress. I may also mention here the recent Nagpur Municipal muddle wherein Machiavellian tactics were employed to oust a set of office bearers (G. D. Dhawale, E. S. Patwardhan and Bal Veer Harkare, to favour Poonamchand- Awari group which was dear to the ministry and to the High Command . Numerous complaints have been made by congressmen in Nagpur against the members of this group, but nobody listens to them -- no proper enquiry even is held by your Wardha lieutenants. All this relates to the congress organisation, but in matters of administration of this province, it is still worse. One responsible member of the Legislative Assembly has sent you certain papers about the character and antecedents of a C. P. Minister and you have received the same. Do you sincerely, with God as your witness, say and are you prepared to reply openly, that a minister with the life described therein deserves to be a minister and that too a Congress minister? Mahatmaji, I have sacrificed myself for the purity of the Congress, and you only talk of purity. You do not want to remove this minister because his removal will mean full justification and complete vindication of my conduct during the ministerial crisis. Dear Mahatmaji, inspite of my reverence for you, I feel that there is something wrong in your notions of morals and ethics, if you can tolerate these impurities in the congress organisation and in the Congress Government of the province.

Wrecking the Constitution

You proclaimed from house tops and people like me here deeply believed that we were accepting the office to wreck the reforms, but what is happening. There is strike in Bombay and the Congress Government of Bombay which I hope has not yet forgotten the Jallianwala Bag firing, orders firing on unarmed workers. The people of Madras started an anti-Hindi agitation and Mr. C. Rajgopalachariar uses the much condemned weapon of Criminal Law

Amendment Act to send to jail peaceful agitators. (now Rajgopalachariar is himself agitating against the Hindi language). Your ministers are criticised and they demand heavy security from the press, thus helping the much proclaimed liberty of the press ! Where is the Wrecking or Combating in all this ? When you are put to it, you say " Do not make a fetish of a Congress resolution". *You have said in an article that the Congress has entered into an alliance with the British Government.* This is the real truth which you have uttered. If you have entered into an alliance, can you fight ? The Civil service people must be literally laughing in their sleeves at finding how you have successfully killed the anti-imperialist feelings in the minds of the masses and have created in them the desire to flatter the tin Gods of the Congress Committees to secure the mirage of Swaraj. The local Marathi newspapers here have published a news that you felt some qualms of conscience at having made an untrue and foolish charge in the Working Committee's resolution against H. E. Sir Francis Wylie, the Governor of C. P. and Berar, who terminated the the services of your present pet ministers and at Delhi in the Viceregal Lodge you apologised to him. The country would like to know if there is any truth in this report.

A Challenge

As I have already stated before, the action I have taken before what is known as the Khare Episode in the Congress history, was taken to purify the Congress and the administration and to wipe out cowardise, treachery, hypocrisy and lack of character, but you and your Working Committee thought otherwise and butchered me on the Congress Altar -- yet this letter will show that I am still alive and kicking. The Working Committee has first expelled me from the Congress and then demanded my resignation from the Provincial Assembly . I have not swerved an inch from my loyalty to the Congress for the last 20 years, but I am not going to obey this mandate of the Working Committee asking me to resign from the Assembly, not because I feel attached to my seat in the Assembly but because I firmly believe that it is cowardise to obey discipline when it is prostituted to serve the unholy ambitions of a group or a *junta*. The Hon'ble Pandit D. P. Mishra has thrown out a public challenge to me on

the Jallianwala Bag day meeting asking me to resign and stand for re-election to the provincial Assembly in order to test my popularity in my constituency. My popularity has been proved in the recent bi-election to the Assembly, when a candidate Hemchandra Khandekar supported by me from the same constituency was returned by a thumping majority inspite of vigorous opposition from Congress ministers and the official congress group. This is one reason why I need not accept that challenge, the second being that I am not accustomed to accept challenges from those who are not my equals.

Inspite of all this, I am quite willing to obey discipline, resign my seat and stand for re-election on one condition and one condition alone, and that being that you should stand against me as an official Congress candidate. I do not know whether your name is on the voters' list, even if it is not there, there will not be any great difficulty in your way of standing as a candidate because the Congress Ministry in this province which has issued a *firman* to style you as Mahatma in official correspondence, can surely issue an ordinance declaring you a voter for the purpose of the bye-election.

I have made bold to write this open letter because I believe that you and some of your lieutenants by your recent activities are writing an epitaph of the Congress which you have so carefully nursed in the past.

Awaiting your esteemed reply.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) N. B. Khare

The Diwan of Rajkot, Mr. Virawala, was a very stubborn person who never attached any importance to Gandhi's fast at Rajkot, and the Prince of Rajkot belonged also to the same category. Gandhi's fast which was a fast unto death created a grave situation in view of the stubbornness of the Rajkot Ruler and his Diwan. Lord Linlithgow did a friendly act in rescuing Mahatma Gandhi from the grave peril by appointing Sir Maurice

Gwyer, the Federal Court Judge as an Arbitrator. It was natural after this to seek almost daily interviews with the Viceroy and enter into friendly alliance with the British Government. This will also explain why about July 1939, or a little after that, telecommunication was extended to Sewagram under special instructions from the Viceroy. A Secrophone was also installed at Sewagram in the name of Mahadeo Desai, Gandhiji's Secretary. This proves the friendly alliance. At the next session of the Congress held at Ramgarh this friendly alliance between Mahatma Gandhi and the British Government was maintained, as will be evident from the main resolution passed there advocating a policy of negation or benevolent neutrality, towards the British Government during war.

It will be quite relevant to quote here an extract from a letter from Subhash Bose to J. Nehru, dated 28th March, 1939, about the Rajkot fast from the book 'Bunch of old letters' recently published by J. Nehru; because the quotation as given below shows a striking similarity of thought between me and Subhash Bose in the matter.

"Apropos of the Rajkot affair, I want to say a few words. You thought a lot of the terms of settlement which terminated Mahatmaji's fast. There is no Indian who did not feel happy and relieved that Mahatmaji's life was saved. But when one analysed the terms of settlement with the cold eye of logic, what did one find? In the first place, Sir Maurice Gwyer, who is a part and parcel of the Federal Scheme was recognised as the umpire or arbitrator. Did that not amount to a tacit recognition of that Scheme (Federal) itself? Secondly Sir Maurice Gwyer is neither our man nor an independent agent. He is a Government man—pure and simple. In any conflict with the British Government, if we accept a High Court Judge or a Sessions Judge as umpire or arbitrator the British Government will very gladly agree to it. For instance, in the matter of State prisoners detained without trial, the Government always boasts that the relevant papers are placed before two High Court or Sessions Judges. But we never accept that as a satisfactory settlement. Why then has there been a departure in the case of Rajkot?

There is another point in this connection which I cannot understand and on which you will be able to enlighten me. Mahatma Gandhi went to see the Viceroy and the interview took place duly. Why is he still waiting there? "

Subhash Bose who was ousted from the Congress after Tripuri and who was not an Anglo-phile like the Mahatma, but was an inveterate anti-British, established his separate organisation named Forward Block. He was dissatisfied with Gandhi's do nothing policy during the war which was taking an unfavourable turn towards the British. He decided to take advantage of the situation, put pressure on the British and wrest from their hands some substantial rights during the war. As an initial movement, he thought of removing the British statues of the Hollowell Monument in Calcutta. For this also according to Gandhian ideology he thought, that complete Hindu-Muslim unity was necessary and he was even prepared to give greater concessions to the Muslims than Gandhi. With this intention he went to Bombay and met Mr. Jinnah at his house about the 22nd of June 1940, to solve the Hindoo-Muslim problem with Jinnah's help and guidance and thus secure an *entete cordiale* between them to put combined and effective pressure upon the British.

Mr. Jinnah, the Furehr of the Muslim League refused to talk with Mr. Bose on the Hindoo-Muslim problem, because according to him Subhash Bose did not represent the Hindoos. Subhash Bose said to him that he was a Hindoo alright. Jinnah said that Subhash and Gandhi were both Hindoos. There was no doubt about it, but both the organisations, viz., the Congress and the Forward Block admitted non-Hindoos as members. Therefore both of them could not be deemed to represent Hindoos alone. If Mr. V. D. Sawarkar came and talked to him (Mr. Jinnah) about the Hindoo-Muslim problem, he would certainly welcome him and have a free and frank talk, as he really represents Hindus alone.

Subhash Bose was disappointed and out of curiosity went to Sawarkar's house and met him and told him all that had transpired at Jinnah's place. Sawarkar heard

him patiently, but ridiculed him for this endeavour to re-remove the dead statues of the British comprising the Hollowell Monument. He said it was strange that Bose was wasting his energy in this endeavour because it was no use removing these dead statues as long as live Britishers from Viceroy down to the Joint Magistrate are dancing upon the chest of Bharat Mata and perpetrating all manner of zulum. Sawarkar said, you drive out the British and the statues will automatically disappear. He drew attention of Subhash Bose to the efforts made by some revolutionaries to drive away the British from India at the time of the First World War 1915-1918. He said "this was the only way to drive out the British by taking advantage of their defficulties." He told Subhash Bose that a daring and enterprising young man like him should slip away from India, secure help from the enemies of the British and invade India to drive away the British by an armed conflict.

This advice of Sawarkar must have had an effect upon Subhash Bose. From Bombay he returned to Calcutta and started the movement for removing the Hollowell Monument Statues as was announced by him. He was arrested and put behind prison bars where he must have ruminated over Sawarkar's advice and decided to follow it. In War time it was difficult for a man like Subhash to secretly disappear from India even from his place of residence. Needless to say, it was much more difficult, nay almost impossible to disappear from a jail. Subhash Bose therefore began to fast in jail, feigned illness and even declared that he was tired of politics and now wanted to pursue spiritualism. Seeing this, he was released from jail on the 5th December, 1940, and I visited him in Calcutta about 1st or 2nd Janauary 1941. The mysterious atmosphere which I found in his room and which had been described previously showed that Subhash was determined to follow Sawarkar's advice and slip away from India. In a speech made from Singapore Radio on the 25th June 1944, Subhash condemned the Congress leaders for calling the Indian sepoys as rice soldiers, and praised Veer Sawarkar for his fearlessness in openly advocating recruitment

to the army which helped him to form an Indian National Army consisting of sepoys thoroughly conversant with the technique of war. He had fixed up his future programme when I met him in Calcutta, and he was perhaps in search of a reliable person capable of giving him all help from within. He must have regarded me as such a person and therefore must have advised me either to form a ministry in C. P. or to accept a job in the Viceroy's Council, if offered. If the Atom Bomb would not have been dropped on Hiroshima and if Subhash Bose would have set his foot on the soil of Bengal he would have found that his confidence in me was not misplaced.

CHAPTER IV

FREEDOM IN SIGHT

Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose after giving a slip to the Government of India's watch-dogs, appeared in Germany in 1941. His intention to go abroad was to smash the very root of British Imperialism. At the time of the escape of Shri Bose, the war on the Eastern Front had not broken yet, but the atmosphere was such that the war conflagration could flare up there at any moment. On 8th December 1941, the War broke out on the Eastern Front also. The Japanese launched an all out smashing offensive against the allied forces. On the 25th of February 1942 the British forces surrendered to the Japanese at Singapore with about 50,000 Indian soldiers out of whom the Indian National Army was formed.

According to his policy of militarisation, Veer Sawarkar was carrying on propoganda in favour of recruitment. The Congressmen called him an unpaid recruiting agent. I was a member of the Provincial War Committee and I was also ridiculed by the Congress, but it was surprising that the All India Spinners' Association an ancillary organisation of the Congress, supplied thousands of blankets to the Indian sepoys. When this activity of the All India Spinners' Association was criticised as help to war efforts, Mahatma Gandhi replied that it was not helping the War efforts, but it was only carrying on trade and business. This reply of the Mahatma was clever but unconvincing. The Congress policy of opposition to war efforts was also lukewarm and the British had recruited over 20 lacs of Indian sepoys during war time, the great majority of whom consisted of Hindoos. Detachments from this newly recruited army were sent to protect British territories in South East Asia, but they had to surrender against this attack of the Japanese.

Out of these Indian sepoys who became War prisoners of Japan, the Indian National Army was formed initially by Rasbihari Bose who took refuge in Japan from 1911, as he was involved in the Bomb throwing on Lord Hardinge at Chandni Chowk, Delhi, that year. He settled in Japan

permanently. About this time, Subhash Chandra Bose also reached Malaya and Singapore. Rasbihari Bose was very old at that time and was not conversant with Indian politics of the day. He therefore on 4th July 1943 voluntarily made Subhash Bose, the leader of the Indian National Army to fight freedom's battle as he was young, energetic and well versed in the Indian politics of the day. It was Subhash Bose who thus first established a really Independent Indian National Government in South East Asia. All prominent Indian citizens in Malaya rendered all possible help to this first free Government of India in South East Asia out of whom Dr. Goho was very prominent. In this enterprise Subhash Bose took his inspiration from Sawarkar's book on Indian War of Independence 1857. In one of his speeches Subhash Bose has freely admitted this. He also distributed copies of this book freely amongst the army personnel. He named one of his regiments as Rani of Jhansi Regiment and he borrowed his slogan Chalo Delhi from the Indian soldiers in Meerut who marched on Delhi from there on the 10th May of 1857.

The Indian National Army headed by Subhash Bose invaded India and marched to Manipur Imphal and had won in one or two skirmishes with the India Government forces. It had to face very hard days and sometimes had to live on leaves. *These sepoy's of Bose had not the good fortune of being imprisoned for civil disobedience and being fed in jail on bread and butter.* But unfortunately, America dropped an atom bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki about the middle of August 1945 and Japan was stunned by this novel method of warfare and surrendered. Naturally, the Indian National Army had also to surrender and the British reconquered all the territories in South East Asia like Malaya and Singapore etc., and they wanted to prosecute these war prisoners of the Indian National Army for treason or sedition.

Accordingly, the Commander-in-Chief of India, Sir Claude Auchinleck, forwarded to all the members of the Viceroy's Council a statement giving out the scheme of these I. N. A. trials and the reasons for holding the same. Naturally, I also got this statement as a member of the Viceroy's Council. I firmly held the view

that these I. N. A. people who fought for India's freedom should not be tried. But I was not aware of the views held by my colleagues in the Council. One day I came to know of their views accidentally at the time of an informal tea party at the residence of Sir Ardeshir Dalal, one of my colleagues. All the members of the Council who assembled there were of the view that these trials must be held. I therefore felt dejected that I would not get any support for my views in the Council. Under these circumstances, one day, the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Claude Auchinleck walked down to my office in the North Block of the Secretariat without any previous intimation. I was surprised to see him and all the officials and clerks in my department were also greatly surprised. I asked the Commander-in-Chief the reason for his sudden visit. Auchinleck requested me to withdraw my counter-statement which I had sent to him in reply to his statement advocating the trial of the I. N. A. personnel. On this there was some argument between us.

Why Different Policy in Burma and India :

I said, " a number of Burmese people had consolidated themselves and fought against the Britishers in the same way as the soldiers of the Indian Government had done under peculiar circumstances. (The leader of that Burmese movement who became the Vice-President of the Burmese Interim Government after the Great War was the famous General Aung Saung). No person from that Burmese Army who fought against the British was tried for doing so. Why should not the Indian Government adopt the same policy ? Why should there be such great difference between the policies of the Indian and Burmese Government. For it is the same British Government that is exercising authority both over India and Burma. Now after the war is over, to annoy the public mind in India by holding these trials is not worth experimenting because, all the soldiers of the Indian Government who are the friends of the I. N. A. men will be adversely affected and they are likely to waver in their minds. It is therefore not advisable to try these I. N. A. people even from the point of view of policy. "

The Commander-in-Chief Sir Claude Auchinleck said, " There is one great difference between the party of the Burmese General

Aung Saung and the I. N. A. in India. The men in the I. N. A. were our men from the regular Indian Army. They had taken a particular oath of allegiance to the King. They have now violated it. General Aung Saung's military movement in Burma was of the civilian people not belonging to the regular Army ; they did not take a particular oath of allegiance to the King. They can therefore never be compared with the I. N. A. men".

I said, "This difference is not so important as you say. For General Aung Saung's Army in Burma and the I. N. A. men in India are both the subjects of the British Emperor. Obviously, it is their duty to remain faithful to him. This distinction which you draw therefore is like a distinction between half a dozen and six."

The Commander-in-Chief said, "General Aung Saung first fought against the British in alliance with the Japanese, but at the end, he joined the British and fought against the Japanese. On the contrary, the I. N. A. men have fought against the British till the end."

I. N. A. Men More Honorable :

I immediately retorted that anybody would say that the I. N. A. people were more honorable. The Commander-in-Chief raised one more point. Out of the Indian soldiers who became the Japanese prisoners of War in Malaya, one-third joined the I. N. A., the remaining two-thirds remained faithful to the British, even after enduring the harassments and hardships which they were subjected to by the Japanese. Should this difference in the behaviour of people found in the same situation be not taken into consideration. If it is not done, then allegiance to the King would be meaningless. Besides, if we do not try the I. N. A. soldiers, then what difference will there be between these mutineers and the lakhs of soldiers who were faithful to us upto the end ? The Commander-in-Chief maintained therefore that the I. N. A. men must be tried otherwise the loyalty of the Indian soldiers to the British would be undermined.

Upon this I replied, "I am an Indian and you are a Britisher. You cannot know the heart of Indians as much as I know it. I

assure you that a majority of the Indian soldiers will never feel that the I. N. A. men should be tried. (I had learnt this from some secret source of information). If you enquire, you will definitely find this out. I think, considering the whole political situation, it will be proper to adopt a lenient policy in this respect. ”

I secured pardon for the I. N. A. accused :

On this the Commander-in-Chief said, “ Dr. Khare don't you agree that the majesty of the law must be maintained. Therefore on this ground at least, you should give up your opposition to these I. N. A. trials. I assure you that even if the tribunal passes sentences on the accused in these trials and I find that the sentence is unwarranted or cruel, I as a Commander-in-Chief, will make full use of the authority that vests in me under the Army Act and pardon the accused.” On this assurance, I thought it proper to withdraw my opposition to the scheme of trials because, after all, had I fought in the Council, I would not have got the support of the majority of the Council. I thought it wise to take what was offered and did not fight in the Council.

The first trial of the I. N. A. prisoners in which the accused were Capt. Shahnawaz, Col. Dhillan and Major Sahgal, was concluded in December 1945. Bhulabhai Desai fought very strenuously for the accused. He even showed that under International Law, to fight for the independence of one's country was no offence. Pandit Nehru also donned the robe of a barrister and stood by Bhulabhai Desai as a junior counsel. (Although he had condemned the I. N. A. and threatened to fight against it in his speech at Calcutta with sword in hand) But all these efforts proved ineffective and the accused were sentenced to long term imprisonment. The Commander-in-Chief as per promise given to me, pardoned these accused immediately and they had no necessity even to see the door of the prison. It would be pertinent to record here that during this time, the wife (since dead) of Major Jagannathrao Bhonsle another accused, came to see me and requested me to try to save her husband from the gallows (as she thought). I had already promised her that I would try my best.

Loyalty of Indian Army undermined :

After this first trial of the I. N. A. people, they lost all their importance and later on a gallop poll was taken of the army personnel, both officers and men, as to whether the trials should be held or not. The result of the poll was that 80 per cent men opined that these trials should not be held. They also added a rider that under these circumstances, they would also have done the same. Only 20 per cent of the army personnel voted in favour of the trials. This result opened the eyes of the Britishers and they were thoroughly disillusioned about the vaunted loyalty of the army personnel to the British. In this connection it is quite relevant here to quote an extract from a book entitled "The partition of India" 1947, written by Shri G. V. Subbarav. Says he in his preface "As a matter of fact, I have learnt on a very high authority, that Lord Wavell was assured that the Army in India was resolved not to raise its little finger against the Nationalist movement or its leaders." They were convinced that it would not be wise to rely upon that doubtful loyalty and carry on the Government of India. This is really the ultimate reason for getting freedom for India. The British quitted India on account of this and not on account of the spinning wheel and its adjuncts. This fact has been freely admitted in Parliament by Mr. Atlee, the then Prime Minister of Britain in July 1947 when the Indian Independence Act dividing India into two Dominions was passed. This shows that ultimately Sawarkar's policy was successful as he used to say, 'let the rifle come to the hands of the Indians, then they would know when and against whom to use it.' All this account justifies the propriety of the heading (Freedom in Sight) given to this chapter.

CHAPTER V

INDIAN ACCUSED IN MALAYA SAVED FROM THE GALLOWS

Before proceeding further with the narration, it will be appropriate to indicate to the reader the topics on which he should expect detailed information hereafter. This can be best done by quoting an extract from 'Loka Sabha Who is Who', an authoritative publication published under the authority of Shri M. N. Kaul, Secretary to the Loka Sabha, on 1st March 1956. The extract giving my description as a member of Parliament in the above book is as follows :—

“ First Congress Premier of the former U. P. and Berar 14th July 1937 to 29th July 1938 ; formed the Capital Punishment Relief Society to help the Chimur-Ashti prisoners : member in charge of Commonwealth Relations Department Viceroy's Executive Council, 7th May 1943 to 3rd July 1946. As a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council was responsible for placing on the Statute Book the Indian Reciprocity Act Amendment Bill and enforcing it against South African Europeans, for getting acquitted all the highly placed Indians in Malaya like Dr. Goho who were charged with high treason and collaboration with the Japanese, for securing rights of citizenship for Indians domiciled in America, for withdrawing the High Commissioner of India from South Africa and for lodging a complaint against South Africa in U. N. O ; presided over the annual session of the Brihan Maharashtra Parishad at Khandwa, Prime Minister of the former State of Alwar 19th April 1947 to February 1948 ; member Constituent Assembly of India July 1947 to February 1948 ; joined the Hindu Mahasabha on 15th August 1949 and was its President from 1949 to 1951. ”

The events will not be necessarily dealt with in the sequence of their occurrence, but according to convenience. In the last chapter the subject of the Indian National Army accused was dealt with. In this chapter, it will be appropriate to deal with a similar subject, viz., Indian accused in Malaya, 1946.

Just as I fought to protect the Indian National Army accused, I also fought in the Viceroy's Executive Council to save the lives

of the Indian accused in Malaya. These accused in Malaya were of a high social status and the charge against them was very grave. It was high treason and collaboration with the Japanese, the only punishment being death. When Malaya was reconquered from Japan by the British the Government of Malaya which was formed there consisted mainly of European planters in Malaya or persons under their influence. The Indian accused in Malaya were naturally sympathetic towards the Indian labourers there and the relations between the Indian labourers in Malaya and their European masters, the planters, were of the nature of those between cats and rats. In consequence, the Malayan Government was very hostile to the Indian accused there—on account of their sympathy to the Indian labourers—and it was determined to get these accused tried convicted and hanged. Another reason for this hostility of the Malayan Government towards the Indian accused was that almost all of them had helped the formation of an Independent Parallel Government of India by Subhash Chandra Bose in all manner of ways. Therefore, there was no wonder in the decision taken by the Malayan Government to get them hanged.

I sent all kinds of help to Malaya

When Malaya was in the occupation of the Japanese, they had given very harsh treatment to the Indian labourers there, by compelling them to build up new railways and work in other war activities. Hundreds of Indian labourers had died while working in this manner and almost all of them, suffered from starvation and bad health. Besides this, they suffered from scarcity and dearness of the necessities of life and also lack of medical help. I got this information from some people who came to India from Malaya and also from Mr. Chettur, the I. C. S. officer whom I had appointed as a representative of the Indian Government in Malaya. To mitigate the misery of our people in Malaya I quickly sent there enough money, grain, cloth, medicines and other articles necessary for life. I also sent a medical mission on behalf of the Government of India to render medical help to the Indians in Malaya under the leadership of Col. Shastri of Madras. While this activity of mine was going on, I had an interview with Mahatma Gandhi at Sodepur near Calcutta on 12th December 1945. The account of this interview would be given in a subse-

quent chapter. There was some correspondence between me and Mahatma Gandhi after this interview.

Gandhi's letter to me :

16th January 1946

Sodepur

Brother Khare,

I received your letter I am glad that you wrote it in Hindi and signed it in the Urdu alphabet.

I am watching what you are doing in Malaya and Burma. I hope that it will result in great good to the people there. Where is the harm if Dr. Bidhan Roy's Medical Mission (Congress) goes to Malaya and Burma to render medical help there.

I understand what you wrote in your letter about the Congress. I do not want to enter into any discussion about it.

Yours truly,

(Sd) M. K. GANDHI

My reply to this letter :

NEW DELHI

22nd January 1946

Mahatmajji,

I received your letter dated 16-1-1946 and was very pleased. I am confident that my efforts in Malaya will result in great good to the people there. I am trying to secure permission to send Dr. Bidhan's Medical Mission to Malaya. I am confident that I will succeed by your blessings. The matter will be decided in a day or two.

Respectfully Yours

(Sd) N. B. KHARE

The scheme of sending the Congress Medical Mission to Malaya was sponsored by Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, the present Chief Minister of Bengal. In his letter Mahatma Gandhi had asked for permission of the Government of India to send this mission to

Malaya. I regarded that moment as the proudest moment of my life, as the Mahatma who had declared me unfit for public life and for holding any position of power and authority, and had thrown me into the dust-bin, had to request me for securing the permission and thus in a way to admit incidentally my fitness for occupying the position of power and responsibility. That was a sort of revenge taken by hoary time on the Mahatma and I was glad. I had of course never been a goody goody sort of a man. The Government of India gave permission to the Congress mission to go to Malaya. It went there under the leadership of Dr. Cholkar of Nagpur and rendered medical help in co-operation with the Government medical mission.

Anxiety to save the lives of the Indian accused :

I was not satisfied at all with doing all this. I was very anxious to remove the noose round the neck of the Indian accused in Malaya. Proper and straightforward way to do this was to send renowned advocates and barristers from India to defend them in Malaya. I therefore asked the Secretary of my Department, Shri R. N. Banerjee, I. C. S. to prepare a statement setting out the necessity and the reasons for sending lawyers from India, to be placed before the Government of India for consideration. I also asked him not to indulge in red tape but to go personally to take the written opinion of the Finance and the Home Departments on this proposal. Accordingly, Banerjee went personally to both the Departments for this purpose. The Secretaries of both these Departments ridiculed this proposal of mine and wrote strong notes opposing it. Seeing this, Banerjee came immediately to me and said, " Dr. Khare, you will have to break your head against a stone wall, as both the Secretaries of these important departments have written notes opposing your proposal. Viceroy's Council would never agree to your proposal. You should therefore give up this attempt."

My Stratagem :

On hearing this, I became very dejected and gave deep thought to the matter. It is well known that if a person is uncautious and in this state of mind sudden and onerous pressure is brought to bear upon him, his mind generally yields

to that pressure. I thought of using this stratagem on the Executive Council. To understand this, it would be necessary to explain the working of the Government of India at that time. All the business of the Government of India at that time was completed in two sittings, one after the other. The first sitting of the Viceroy's Council considered a previously circulated agenda took decisions and recorded them as orders of the Government of India. This meeting was called the meeting of the Viceroy's Cabinet or the Executive Council. Immediately after the termination of this meeting, the same members, at the same time considered a weekly summary circulated along with the agenda, by the Military Department. This summary consisted of important items or events happening in all the Departments during the week. This meeting was called the meeting of the Committee of the Council. While discussing these matters in the weekly summary, members used to ask questions to each other about them and also gave information about the events in their own Departments; a sort of joint responsibility. It was customary during this discussion to ask questions about cognate subjects also, with the previous permission of the Viceroy who presided.

Grave situation of the Malaya accused :

About this time, the Congress was defending the I. N. A. accused and had formed a Committee for this purpose. The Secretary of this Committee was Barrister Asaf Ali. He had requested me in a letter for permission of the Government of India to send lawyers from India to defend the Indian accused in Malaya. He made it clear in that letter, that no fees would be charged by these lawyers from the Government who should only issue the passports and make arrangements for the journey (plane). Many accused in Malaya hailed from the Madras province. The Bar Association at Madras therefore had also formed a Committee to defend them. The President of this Committee was Sir Alladi Krishna Swami Iyer, ex-Advocate-General of Madras. He also wrote to me in the same strain as Barrister Asaf Ali and sought travel facilities to send lawyers from Madras to Malaya. On the day of a meeting of the Viceroy's Executive Council, I took these two letters with me. After the previously circulated agenda was discussed and decided upon,

and the Committee of Council began to discuss the weekly summary a question about some events in Australia or South Africa came up. Taking advantage of this, I requested the Viceroy for permission to raise a question about Malaya. On his agreeing, I said, "All the Indians of high status in Malaya are being prosecuted there, for offences similar to those for which the accused of the Indian National Army are being tried here. But the situation in Malaya is very distressing because all of them have been charged with capital offence and there is nobody free to arrange for their defence. I therefore suggest that the Government of India should send lawyers to defend the Indian accused in Malaya on payment basis." On hearing this, some members of the Council said that the Government of India need have no concern with this matter because it should be the concern of the Malayan Government. I replied, "Although the event has happened in Malaya, all the accused there are citizens of India and to-day they are quite helpless. The Government of India prosecutes a person for murder and if he is helpless and unable to defend himself, the Government itself provides and pays for his defence. The Government should follow the same practice in Malaya." On this, one member objected, that the Malayan Government should do that. Why should the Government of India poke its nose in that affair? On this, I again laid great emphasis on the helplessness of the Indian accused in Malaya and repeated my request. But the Finance Member, Sir Archibald Rowlands said, "Dr. Khare's idea is very romantic, but the Finance Department will not spare a single farthing for it." The Home Member, Sir Francis Mudie said, "Dr. Khare's proposal will have very unhealthy reaction on the political and diplomatic situation. The Government of India has no right to meddle with affairs in another country." I replied, "the Finance Member said that he will not provide any finance for this proposal, but I am suggesting a way by which the Government of India will get all the credit without spending any cash." On a member asking me about this suggestion of mine, I mentioned the purport of the letters sent to me by Asaf Ali and Sir Alladi Krishna Swami Iyer and said, "This is a very good opportunity. I think, we should agree to the proposal made by these two worthies and should arrange for passports and aeroplane for these lawyers to be sent to Malaya from India. The

Government of India will get all the credit of carrying out a humanitarian task without spending any cash for it." When I made this suggestion, the atmosphere of the meeting became very serious. But the Home Minister, Mudie said, "If we do this and allow the lawyers suggested by these private associations to go to Malaya, these associations will be praised by the public and the Government of India will be criticised. Therefore, I clearly express my opinion here that Dr. Khare's suggestion should not be accepted." I said, "this is most unfortunate. **The Government of India is not itself ready to do a good thing and is also not willing to allow others to do it. This is sheer cussedness. How is it possible to call this Government a civilised Government under such circumstances? This cussedness can be easily classified as barbarism.**" Any one would ask as to how I was able to utter such bitter words in the open meeting of the Viceroy's Council even before the Viceroy and whether I was not afraid to do so. I would say that fear was the offspring of selfishness and cupidity. I never cared for the position of authority and the financial gain accruing from it. I was therefore always fearless. No position of authority was ever-lasting. The Khare episode itself which I had experienced and the happenings in many countries like Russia, Pakistan, France and the Middle East Muslim countries, where jokeying for power or even murders were common enough, would prove this. It is therefore proper that none should be after power and pelf. If such a position of authority came one's way, one should certainly accept it and use it to the country's benefit. But one should never give up one's honesty, idealism and patriotism while doing so. Although I was a member of the Viceroy's Council or the Government of India, I never regarded that Government as my Government. I never lost sight of the fact that the Government of India was a Government subordinate to the Government of England which was obviously hostile to the interests of India. It was therefore that I could carry on my work so fearlessly on account of this nature of mine. It is this nature of mine which enabled me to fight single-handed with my back to the wall against such a great and world famous personality as Mahatma Gandhi.

Rowland's liking for a Maratha hat :

Some of my colleagues in the Viceroy's Council expressed their surprise about my conduct. They used to ask me the reason

for my fearlessness. I used to reply to them, "You people are very anxious to retain your jobs. I do not care for my job. This is the only reason of my fearlessness." On account of this attitude of mine, one of my colleagues, Sir Sultan Ahmed of Patna sometimes jocularly called me 'Field Marshal'. How one of my European colleagues, viz., the Finance Member, Sir Archibald Rowlands, regarded me, would be evident from a letter that he sent to me, the fac-simile photo of which was published in my biography written by Mr. J. R. Joshi, a Sub-editor of the Marathi daily *Maharashtra* of Nagpur. It is as follows :—

New Delhi,
May 27, 1946.

My dear Khare,

It was not merely a fit of playfulness that led me to ask you to present me with your Mahratta hat. I genuinely wanted to have it both as a souvenir of a friendship which I greatly value and because I have always been a genuine admirer of the Mahrattas who resemble my own turbulent, warlike and mountaineous (Wales) race. I hope, therefore, that you will permit me to keep it.

Yours sincerely
(Sd) A. Rowlands

Government refuses permission to private lawyers :

The Finance Member, Archibald Rowlands, the would be author of this letter to me, became very uneasy on hearing my straight and bitter reply to the Home Member, Sir Francis Mudie's remarks. He said, "We cannot easily ignore the question raised by Dr. Khare. We must give serious thought to it. I agree with what Sir Francis Mudie says that if we give permission to private lawyers suggested by Asaf Ali and Alladi Krishnaswamy Iyer, the Government of India will look very small and would be bitterly criticised. I therefore suggest that we should reject their request and I propose that the Government of India should itself send lawyers on its own behalf to Malaya to defend the Indian accused there. This will raise the prestige of the Government of India and the Finance Department is prepared to supply the necessary

finance for the purpose." On hearing Sir Archibald Rowlands, the Council unanimously decided to accept the suggestion and a formal resolution to that effect was recorded, which was sent according to the usual practice, to every Department of Government for information. Needless to say my happiness and joy were boundless, and I was reminded of the phrase, '*a blind man asks for one eye and God gives him two*'. When this decision was sent to the Finance and Home Departments, the Secretaries of these Departments who had recorded adverse notes on my proposal, were stunned and expressed surprise as to how that decision was arrived at without any formal agenda having been circulated to the Council. They said, "*It appears that Dr. Khare has very dexterously manoeuvred the whole thing.*"

Noose round the neck removed at last.

This favourable decision made by the Government of India could not by itself solve the Malayan problem completely. Malaya being a country in the British Empire, a Barrister of Britain could appear before any court there without any hitch, but an advocate from India could not do so. I therefore persuaded the Viceroy to request the Malayan Government to permit the appearance in Malayan courts, of Indian advocates for this purpose. The trials of the I. N. A. accused in India were only token trials, but the policy of the Malayan Government was not lenient at all. It was not proper that there should be a great difference in the policy of India and Malaya, both neighbouring countries, governed by the British. I therefore put pressure through the Viceroy on the British Colonial Secretary and influenced the Malayan Government to adopt a policy in this matter similar to that in India. I sent to Malaya on behalf of the Government of India, Indian barristers and advocates like Shri Bhashyam from Madras and Messers Sapru and Dongre, Barristers of Allahabad, Shri K. F. Nariman, an advocate of Bombay and some other Sikhs and Hindoos from Delhi and Punjab. All this endeavour of mine was very successful and all the accused in Malaya were acquitted, and the noose round their neck was removed. Two or three of these accused saw me at Delhi after this and expressed their gratitude to me with tears in their eyes.

Bhulabhai says 'Do not fall into Gandhi's Trap.'

At this time, Bhulabhai Desai, the great and experienced lawyer was defending the I. N. A. accused. I therefore desired to consult him on the personnel of lawyers to be sent to Malaya and wrote to him for an interview for this purpose. He fixed 19th December 1945, as the date of this interview in Birla House, on Albuquerque Road, New Delhi. At this interview, I told Bhulabhai that the Government of India had decided to send lawyers from India to Malaya to defend the Indian accused there and requested him to suggest some names of able and efficient lawyers to be sent to Malaya. He asked me whether the Government of India or the Finance Department had agreed to pay the lawyer's fees. I told him that he need not be anxious about that, because I had sought his interview after everything was settled. I also joked with him a little, saying that he being a lawyer, it was natural that he would first ask for the fees. He said that we would talk about that matter later on, and asked me whether I was in a hurry. On my replying in the negative he took me to the drawing room (all the talk upto this point took place while we were standing in the verandah) and asked me a point blank question, whether I was going to rejoin the Congress, because my interview with Gandhi at Sodepur, Calcutta on the 12th December 1945, was reported in the newspapers like *National Call*, *Hindustan Standard*, *Amrit Bazar Patrika* etc. Bhulabhai further asked me whether I had been to Calcutta for that very purpose. I told him that during that interview Gandhiji asked me to forget the past and rejoin the Congress and take up again the Chief Ministership of Central Provinces. I further told him that I had definitely decided never to fall in the trap of Gandhi. On this Bhulabhai said, "You have done very well. Never again fall into the trap of Gandhi and never again be victimised by his temptation and never again rejoin the Congress." This blunt observation amazed me, and I said, "Bhulabhai, you are a great Congress leader and an ex-member of the Working Committee, a leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly and a man of Gandhi's confidence. I never dreamt that of all persons, you would give me such an advice." On this Bhulabhai said that there were cogent reasons for giving me such advice. I asked him to tell me these reasons if there was no objection to do so.

This must be done :

On this, Bhulabhai said, "I will certainly tell you those reasons. Doctor, you know that after the unsuccessful Gandhi-Jinnah interview in September 1944, Dr. Syed Mahmud, a member of the Congress Working Committee was released from Ahmednagar jail. Naturally, he went to Sewagram to see Gandhi after his release. Gandhi made him write to me a letter in which I was asked to contact Nawabzada Liaquat ali Khan, the leader of the Muslim League Party in the Central Assembly and discuss with him the formation of a composite Government of India, consisting of the Congress and the Muslim league. I did not like to compromise with the Musalmans in that fashion; I therefore ignored the letter written by Dr. Syed Mahmud at the behest of Gandhi, and did not even send a reply to it. But Gandhiji, after waiting for about a fortnight for a reply, sent me a short letter in his own handwriting in Gujarathi in which the last sentence was that 'this must be done'. I was therefore helpless on account of this Gandhi's order and met Liaquat Ali and brought about the famous Bhulabhai-Liaquat Agreement, which we both initialled. I took this draft to Wardha. Gandhi approved that draft and asked me to see Lord Wavell, the Viceroy in this connection. Accordingly I saw the Viceroy who was summoned to England for a personal consultation to enable the British Government to consider that draft and take a decision about it. The British Government made slight changes in that draft and Wavell returned with that formula approved by the British Government under the name Wavell Formula. The Simla Conference was held in July 1945 in pursuance of that formula. The main object of this conference was to establish a Viceroy's Executive Council with the co-operation of the Congress and the Muslim League." After hearing this long account, I said, "Bhulabhai, the Bhulabhai-Liaquat Ali Formula was based upon Congress-Muslim League parity in the Viceroy's Council. In the Wavell Formula, this parity was to be between the caste Hindoos and the Muslims. This was the only difference between the two formulae, is it not?"

After replying in the affirmative, Bhulabhai continued, "The Congress Working Committee met in Bombay in June 1945, to consider whether the invitation to the Simla conference was

to be accepted or not. Naturally, I thought that if the Working Committee accepted that invitation to the Simla conference and the Conference was successful, I would surely get a position on the Viceroy's Council, but I never imagined that Maulana Azad, Sardar Patel and Pandit Nehru would call me for an interview and censure me for my endeavour. They told me that while the Working Committee members were in Ahmednager Jail, that endeavour of mine amounted to treachery and by doing that, I had thrust a dagger in their back. Therefore, even if the Simla Conference succeeded, I should not expect any assignment on the Viceroy's Council. I was astounded by that unexpected attack and told them that whatever I did, I did at the bidding of the Mahatma. Why did they tell me all that and why did they not say anything to the Mahatma? On this they replied, that they would see what to do about the Mahatma later on, but I should not entertain any hopes about the Simla Conference and my assignment in future. I felt greatly irritated by that and went to the Mahatma in that mood and told him how the Working Committee members treated me and insulted me. In the end, I requested the Mahatma to protect me from that attack by the Working Committee members as whatever I did was done at his instance. I also requested the Mahatma to give me a just and fair treatment and told him that to deny me any assignment on the Viceroy's Council under those circumstances, would be a great injustice to me. On this Gandhi said, " Bhulabhai, why are you so anxious ? Why should you insist so much on getting a job on the Viceroy's Council when the Working Committee members do not like you to be there, why should you be so eager ? You are a lawyer of a very high status and you have also got a very high social position. You have also amassed great wealth and your name and fame are resounding in the whole of India. Under such circumstances it is but proper that you should not covet the insignificant job on the Viceroy's Council. " This reigned praise of mine by Gandhi irritated me still further, and I told him point blanc, "I did not see you merely to secure a job on the Viceroy's Council. I saw you to request you to remove the injustice done to me and to protect me from the attack made upon me by the members of the Working Committee. If my objective was only to secure a job on the Viceroy's Council, I

would have secured it long ago. Not only that, but even if today I express my desire for such a job, the Viceroy will readily and gladly take me on his Council. " On this Gandhi said, "Bhulabhai, I am afraid of you on account of this last statement. Perhaps, you will fall a victim to that temptation,. Therefore, you write a draft here and now and give it to me."

Gandhi's tactics :

Bhulabhai continued. "I was wonderstruck by this demand of Gandhi. I asked him what he expected from me. What does he want me to write?" Gandhi said, "You write that I, Bhulabhai Desai, consider myself incompetent to be a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council and I also declare that I will never accept such a job even now or at any time in future." These words from Gandhi raised my anger to the highest pitch and I told him, "Mahatmaji, what are you asking me? How can I subscribe to such a falsehood? I regard myself as more competent for a job on the Viceroy's Council than all the other members of the Working Committee. This is the naked truth. You are doing terrible injustice to me," This instance reminded me of another such incident which occurred at Sewagram and I immediately said to Gandhi, "Mahatmaji, you demanded such a draft from Dr. Khare also. At that time, I had clearly warned you that you are doing injustice to Dr. Khare and now you are treating me in the same fashion. Dr. Khare did not give you such a draft as you demanded and I am also not going to do it. Gandhiji, you use a person as an instrument for your purpose and as soon as that purpose is served, you bury that individual. No one should expect any justice at your hands."

After this long narration by Bhulabhai, I said to him, "Bhulabhai, you know, I did not sign the draft prepared by Gandhiji for my signature. But I took it away and published facsimile photograph of it in the papers. Did you really tell Gandhiji that he was doing injustice to Dr. Khare? Because, at that time, you voted with Gandhiji." Bhulabhai replied, "Let it go, that is politics. *There is a golden gang formed by some members of the Working Committee.* Why should you join them? Moreover, the position which you have got is due to retributory justice and

you are doing good work there. Continue it. Do not think of resigning at all." I said, "Bhulabhai, you should not worry. I have grown wiser and I will never join that gang. You told me just now that I am doing good work in the Viceroy's Council. If it is so, why do you abuse me in the Central Assembly?" Bhulabhai said, "That is again politics." After this, I asked him, "Why don't you tell the public what injustice was done to you by Gandhiji? Do you remember, in my episode how I attacked you all in public meetings? Bhulabhai replied, "I do not wish to abuse anybody."

Although Bhulabhai said this, when I was a guest of Shri Jamnadas Mehta in September 1951 in Bombay, he told me that Bhulabhai intended to publicly attack Gandhiji and the Working Committee. But soon after, he died of frustration. No one should think that I was disclosing this account of the interview between me and Bhulabhai for the first time in this book. A few days after this interview with Bhulabhai Desai on the 19th December, 1945, I happened to visit Nagpur on some business, when I was entertained to tea at the Mount Hotel. In the informal conversation at this party, I described this interview of mine with Bhulabhai Desai in some detail, the synopsis of which was published in the Marathi newspaper '*Maharashtra*' of Nagpur the next day.

After this interview with Bhulabhai Desai, I had no occasion to meet him again. But I met his Private Secretary Mr. Vaidyanath Iyer, at Delhi in 1947 when I was a member of the Constituent Assembly, representing the Alwar State. He gave me a statement throwing light on this Bhulabhai and Gandhi affair, which I am reproducing below :—

"Bhulabhai Desai received a letter from Dr. Syed Mahmud in October-November 1944, after the famous Gandhi-Jinnah interview in September 1944. This letter was written by Dr. Syed Mahmud under orders of Gandhi. Its purport was as follows:—

Bhulabhai should enquire from Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan whether the Muslim League was willing to form a Viceroy's Council in co-operation with the Congress. If so, Bhulabhai should bring about this compromise for this limited

purpose, and also find out whether an all comprehensive agreement was possible.

Bhulabhai kept quiet for about 10 to 15 days on receipt of this letter because he did not like to bring about a compromise with the Muslim League in this manner. But soon after this, he received a personal letter from Gandhiji himself written in the Gujarathi language consisting only of five or six lines. It said that Bhulabhai should meet Liaquat Ali Khan and bring about the compromise and he should also see Lord Wavell and arrange for an interview between Gandhi and him. Being helpless, Bhulabhai arranged a tea party at Liaquat Ali's place after receipt of this letter from Gandhi.

Consent of Gandhi and Jinnah :

After the tea was over, Mrs. Liaquat Ali said, "both of you have met like good friends and are having a free and frank talk. Why should not the Hindoos and Musalmans do the same way and establish a composite Viceroy's Council ? " This was the starting point for the talk between Bhulabhai Desai and Liaquat Ali Khan. The terms and conditions of the agreement were recorded on a piece of paper which was initialled by both of them. After the interview was over, Bhulabhai insisted that Liaquat Ali should get the approval of Jinnah for that agreement, and he himself undertook the responsibility of getting the approval of Gandhiji. Soon after this, Bhulabhai took this draft to Wardha and showed it to Gandhiji. Gandhiji wrote a separate draft in the Gujarathi language incorporating most of the terms of the Bhulabhai-Liaquat formula. Bhulabhai took this approved draft of Gandhiji to Delhi, saw Liaquat Ali there and enquired whether he had got the approval from Jinnah. After this, Bhulabhai insisted on drafting a fresh formula, providing that after the agreement between the Congress and the Muslim League was finalised, Jinnah should see the Viceroy, and suggest the names of the members from the Muslim League party to be nominated on the Viceroy's Council and Gandhiji should suggest the names of the members from the Congress party. "

After a little while, Bhulabhai saw the Viceroy Lord Wavell, and showed him the draft approved by Gandhiji. The Viceroy

expressed his fear to Bhulabhai that Gandhiji would not stick to the draft till the last, but told him that on his (Bhulabhai's) assurance, he had decided to go to England to consult the British Government about that draft. While departing Bhulabhai assured the Viceroy of Gandhi's support to the draft till the last.

Mid-night Episode :

The third night after Lord Wavell's departure for England, a female messenger came to Bhulabhai's quarter in the Canning Lane, New Delhi, at about 11.30 P. M. and told Bhulabhai that Gandhi would not now bless the Government formed by Bhulabhai and Liaquat Ali, because he did not like that agreement. The messenger began to explain the reasons for the change of attitude of Gandhiji. (This messenger might have been either Rajkumari Amrit Kaur or Mridula Sarabhai). As it was mid-night, Bhulabhai doubted whether he was awake or asleep and pinched himself to be sure. Then he said in a fit of anger, " let Bapu go to hell. *I will stand by what I have done.* "

The reason for this somersault of Gandhi is not far to seek. A formal meeting of the Congress Working Committee was held in Ahmednagar jail and a resolution disapproving this Bhulabhai-Liaquat Ali endeavour was recorded. It was also recorded therein that even if Gandhiji supported that Bhulabhai-Liaquat Ali endeavour, the Working Committee would not hesitate to throw him overboard. After this resolution was passed, a member of the Working Committee viz., Dr. P. C. Ghosh was released from Jail, who immediately on his release went to Sewagram and posted Gandhi with the resolution of the Working Committee. The lady messenger was sent to Bhulabhai after this event. Lord Wavell must have naturally been aware of this resolution of the Working Committee, and therefore he expressed his doubt about Gandhiji's support to the Bhulabhai-Liaquat Ali endeavour till the last. Bhulabhai not being aware of it, guaranteed Gandhiji's support to the last.

Newspaper readers will not at all be surprised by this account of the interview with Bhulabhai Desai and the statement given by his Private Secretary Mr. Vaidyanath Iyer, because this Bhulabhai-Liaquat formula was discussed thread-bare in the press at

that time, and caused great dissatisfaction even amongst congressmen. Gandhiji also had publicly expressed his approval of this Bhulabhai-Liaquat formula, but ultimately tried to wriggle out of it by making contradictory statements. This throws a lurid light upon the general policy of Gandhiji and the Congress.

The 1942 Quit India Movement ended in a miserable failure. The British also in pursuance of their divide and rule policy, set up communal quarrels between Hindoos and Muslims and others. This created a problem for the Congress leaders, and they indulged in many contradictory acts to solve this problem. It is amusing and amazing that while doing this, the Congress leaders went on harping on truth and non-violence. Being advanced in age, the Congress leaders were too eager to get political power and indulged in hypocrisy. History will record that in this transitional period Nariman, Khare, Subhash Bose, and in the end Bhulabhai Desai were sacrificed on the altar of Congress cupidity.

After this necessary digression, I revert to the original subject. Although I did everything necessary and possible to relieve the distress of my Indian brethren in Malaya, I did not have any mental peace, because all this was done by me as a member of the Government of India which was then not at all popular. People rightly thought that a foreign Government could not have any regard or sympathy for the people's misery. I therefore thought that I should send some top ranking non-official Indians to Malaya to console the Indians there in their misery. In one of my interviews with the Viceroy, I expressed my desire to him, and suggested that two members of the Servants of India Society, viz., Pandit Kunzru and Shri P. Kodand Rao should be sent to Malaya on behalf of the Government to tour the country and console and reassure the Indians there. Lord Wavell, curtly refused this request of mine. He said "Dr. Khare, everything has been done in Malaya according to your choice and desire. There is nothing left now to be done there. Therefore, I would not consent to your proposal and put the Government to an unnecessary expenditure of the Malayan tour of these two Jonnies." On this I reiterated my request and said, "These two Jonnies are liberals. There is no political danger from them and the expenditure will be a mere flea-bite. You should not therefore refuse my request. The

consolation offered by non-officials is valued more than any Government effort. *If you accept this humble request, your name will go down in the history of India, as the most humane Viceroy of India.*" After great persuasion, Lord Wavell agreed to my proposal and Pandit Kunzru and Kodand Rao were sent to Malaya. All this happened during the first quarter of 1946. Everything was quiet in Malaya. There was no necessity at all of sending anybody else to Malaya.

I was therefore very much surprised, and got the shock of my life, when Lord Wavell told me during the course of an interview that he was sending Pandit Nehru to Malaya.

It was most intriguing that Lord Wavell who stoutly opposed the sending of harmless liberals like Pandit Kunzru and Kodand Rao to Malaya, should want to send an extremist 'Quit India' politician like Nehru to Malaya. Obviously, this must be regarded as an outcome of a secret confabulation between Pandit Nehru and Wavell either direct or through some intermediary. The reasons for this were not far to seek. Although Subhash Chandra Bose disappeared after the fall of Atom Bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, about the middle of August 1945, pro-Subhash influence still persisted in Malaya. There could not have been any better antidote counteracting this pro-Subhash influence, than Pandit Nehru, because when the invasion by Subhash Bose was threatening Bengal about July-August 1945, Pandit Nehru went to Calcutta and in a public speech threatened to fight against Subhash with a sword in hand. Against Subhash Bose means obviously for the British. The political significance of this was not lost sight of by the acutely politically minded British. Therefore, they must have decided to send Nehru to Malaya and also transfer power to his hands. Wavell, howsoever pro-Muslim, was not for partition of India. In a joint meeting of the Central Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, which he addressed once, he said, "India was one country from Peshawar to Cape Camorin and what God has made one, cannot be partitioned." He was therefore to be recalled

and was to be succeeded by Mountbatten as Viceroy, as the South East Asia Command was in its closing phases. Mountbatten, as events proved was obviously in favour of furthering the policy of the partition of India. It was therefore necessary to bring Nehru under the influence of Mountbatten, so that with power in hand, he might readily consent to partition as soon as Mountbatten became the Viceroy. Nehru's nature was assessed by Campbell Johnson, the press attached to Viceroy Mountbatten in his book 'My Mission with Mountbatten, in the following words, "Lord Louis Mountbatten soon found out that Pandit Nehru was amenable to flattery and fond of self-adulation." Therefore, Pandit Nehru was sent to Singapore to be brought under the influence of Mountbatten. As mentioned in the English Biography of Pandit Nehru by Frank Moraes, "Pandit Nehru had admitted to an acquaintance that Mountbatten and he did a bit of mutual indoctrination."

The sending of Nehru to Malaya was very skilfully managed by Lord Wavell and the Congress. In order that it should not appear that Nehru was going to Malaya at the instance of Wavell, the Congress was asked to pay Rs. 4,000 to the Government to cover the cost of Nehru's Malayan tour. After depositing this amount, the Congress informed Nehru's date of departure for Malaya to Lord Wavell. But Lord Wavell asked the Congress to wait for a few days so that a grand reception of Nehru in Malaya could be arranged by Lord Mountbatten. Why should Mountbatten arrange this reception to Nehru in Malaya, unless he was deemed to be sent by Lord Wavell? In the meantime, a secret message was sent to Mountbatten in the following terms, "*Régard Pandit Nehru as the future Prime Minister of India and accord him befitting reception*". Newspaper readers will remember that at that time flashy photographs of Nehru's reception by the Mountbattens were published in the Indian press. I will throw more light on this Malayan tour of Pandit Nehru in the next chapter.

From the foregoing account, it will be evident that in 1946 when the Government of India was not an independent Government, but a dependency of the British Government, all the Indian

accused in Malaya charged with high treason and collaboration with the Japanese were saved from the gallows. None was hanged at that time, like S. R. Ganapathi, the communist leader in Malaya who was hanged there about the first week of May 1949, when the Government of India was an independent Government. And what was the offence of S. R. Ganapathi? Nothing but the possession of unlicensed arms. Pandit Nehru, the Prime Minister of Independent India who was then in England about this very time, that is the first week of May 1949, could not save the life of this one Indian accused, who was hanged for such a trivial offence. *Pandit Nehru was at this time engaged in a delicate diplomatic task of deciding the future relationship of Independent India with the British Empire.* While S. R. Ganapathi was being hanged about the first week of May 1949, Pandit Nehru was enjoying the rural scenery of England and the homely hospitality of the Mountbatten at their country residence, Broadlands, in Hampshire, England. What a tragedy? The Congress Press naturally did not make any reference to this sad event, but an English Weekly, viz., the *Sunday Observer* of Madras (since defunct) criticised very bitterly this neglect shown by Nehru in this S. R. Ganapathi incident, on 15th May 1949. It said :

“ We wonder what face our Prime Minister will put on this studied insult offered to India, hard on the heels of the conclusion of his much-vaunted bargain at the Commonwealth Conference, ‘ highly favourable to India ’, as he phrased it. We heartily commend to his attention, the article appearing elsewhere in this issue on what Dr. Khare accomplished a similar occasion in Malaya. That was at a time when India was not free ! And yet Dr. Khare succeeded in getting all the accused discharged. But our highly nationalist Congress leaders stand by and see an Indian hanged, with death sentence hanging over yet another Indian, Sambashivam ! And these speak of having won freedom for India. ”

Another paper, a Marathi daily of Poona, viz., ‘ *Kal* ’ (since defunct) commented on this S. R. Ganapathi hanging in Malaya in the following terms. “ The Malayan Government has hanged

the Communist leader in Malaya, viz., S. R. Ganpathi. Our Government is complaining about it now after the execution. But it did not make any move before the execution or at least the public is not aware if it had made any move in this matter to avoid the catastrophe. Formerly, when Dr. Khare was in charge of the Commonwealth Affairs, he saved all the accused in Malaya from the gallows. Nothing of this kind has happened during the regime of the Nehru Government ! What is the use of complaining after the event. *In contrast with the successful efforts made by Dr. Khare when he was the member for Commonwealth Affairs, this Nehru Government, appears careless, inefficient and impotent.*

CHAPTER VI

HOW PAKISTAN WAS BORN

In this chapter, I propose to describe in detail in the order of their sequence, the events which led ultimately to the establishment of Pakistan. The readers can then form their own opinion as to how Pakistan came into existence and who was responsible for it. When these events were taking place, I was very near and in a very favourable position to observe them, on account of my position in the Viceroy's Executive Council. On reading this chapter, the public will find out how the attitude of the British Government towards the Congress changed from enmity to friendship.

A meeting of the All India Congress Committee was held at Allahabad in the month of May 1942. In this meeting, a resolution moved by Jagatnarayan Lal of Bihar against territorial self-determination was passed. This resolution prevented the seceding of any territories or provinces from India. C. Rajagopalachari was against this resolution because he was in favour of such seceding. On account of this there was some wordy war between him and rest of the members of the Working Committee and he had to leave the Congress on this account. Or perhaps, he was deliberately kept outside. He did not take part in the 1942 'Quit India' Movement and kept himself out of jail and carried on vigorous propaganda in favour of Pakistan among the Hindoos for which he had to receive coal tar and rotten eggs at a meeting at Dadar, Bombay.

That Resolution was not Honest :

After the Allahabad meeting of the All India Congress Committee, a meeting of the Working Committee of the Congress took place at Wardha on the 14th of July 1942. At this meeting, the famous 'Quit India' resolution was passed, which was endorsed later on by the All India Congress Committee in Bombay on the 8th of August 1942. In my humble opinion, this Quit India resolution was not honest. A little analysis of this resolution will prove my contention. This resolution emphasises the fact that the people of India are feeling happy on account of the victory

of Japan and on account of this are becoming more and more hostile to the British. Besides, this resolution, while saying Quit India to the British, permits the stationing of the Allied Army in India. From this, it will be evident that this resolution does not contemplate any real obstruction to the British war efforts. Shri Frank Moraes, the author of Pandit Nehru's English Biography, has also pointed out that Nehru and Gandhi, both had the same feeling that there should not be any large scale embarrassment to the British War Efforts. "The resolution", Nehru affirmed, "is in no sense a challenge to any one. If the British Government accepts the proposal (formation of an interim Government) it will change the position for the better, both internally and internationally from every point of view. You know that Gandhiji has agreed that British and other Armed forces in India might continue." This explanation by Pandit Nehru of that resolution strikes out the very bottom of 'Quit India'. This inference is further strengthened by the fact that after passing this 'Quit India' Resolution on the 8th August 1942, the very next day, i. e. on the 9th of August Gandhi remarked to his Secretary, Mahadeo Desai, "After my speech of last night, they will never arrest me." Subsequent events were a satire on Gandhi's political acumen, *The purport of this resolution really was to secure the establishment of an Interim Government.* That shows how eager the Congress was to co-operate with British even in War efforts. That is why I said that "this resolution was nothing but an offer of co-operation and therefore not very honest."

Greed for Power :

When this resolution of 'Quit India' was broadcast to the whole world in the month of July 1942, the then leader of China, Chaing-Kai-Sheikh, became naturally afraid and suspicious about the intentions of the Indian Congress. Because, if there was a serious obstruction to War efforts in India, the defence of China also might have suffered. Chaing-Kai-Sheikh, therefore, wrote a letter to Gandhi asking him to clear the position. To this letter Gandhi replied. "we will take no hasty action, and whatever action is taken, will be governed by the consideration that it should not injure China or encourage Japanese aggression in India or China. I am straining every nerve to avoid a conflict

with British authority." This would show that whatever might have been the meaning of the words used in this resolution, the real purport of it was a request to the Government to hand over power to the Congress by forming an interim Government. At the same time, there was also a desire to keep the public on tenterhooks by dangling before their eyes, the possibility of a heroic struggle for independence. It will be quite pertinent here to quote an extract from a book named 'Gandhi as I know Him' written by Shri Indulal Yadnik one time Gujerathi Secretary of Gandhi. The extract is as follows :—

"He (Gandhi) knew full well that his power of holding the forces of revolution in leash, depended on his readiness and capacity for launching a mock heroic struggle, which while doing the least damage to the foundations of British power, might enshrine him once again in the imagination of the millions of the country as the Commander-in-Chief of independence." The British might have been well aware of this inherently friendly attitude of Gandhi towards them, on account of which they kept Gandhi free while he was conducting the individual civil disobedience movement in 1941. At that time, the British used to arrest only the person named by Gandhi as his satyagrahi. It is significant to note that about this very time, the British hanged the son of Mr. Amery, the then Secretary of State for India for his anti-British activities.

As soon as the quit India resolution was passed, the Government arrested all Congress leaders in the early morning of the 9th August 1942 including Gandhi and after a couple of days, there was an outburst of violent agitation all over the country. Today, at this distance of time, the Congressmen take upon themselves the authorship of that violent movement. Because now it is safe and convenient to do so. But Gandhiji himself while in jail had denied the authorship of that movement when the Viceroy Lord Linlithgow sent him in jail a pamphlet entitled 'Congress responsibility of 1942 Disturbances' written by Tottenham, the then Army Secretary. *Not only that but Gandhiji condemned that movement as it was based on violence.* This movement was very quickly suppressed by the Government and the atmosphere of

the whole country became dark and hopeless. In reply to the Viceroy's charge, conveyed in the pamphlet, Gandhiji started a fast unto capacity in the Aga Khan Palace Jail for 21 days in early February 1943. Viceroy informed Gandhiji that he was prepared to release him from jail during the period of the fast. But Gandhi informed the Viceroy that as soon as he was released he would break his fast, and if rearrested he would restart the fast. From this, it would be evident that Gandhi started this fast only to secure the release of himself and also perhaps of all the Working Committee members from jail. It will be quite pertinent to quote here what Frank Moraes says in the English Biography of Nehru about this fast of Gandhi. Says he, "*What the Mahatma possibly visualised (object of the fast) was the release of the members of the Working Committee and himself.*" But on account of Gandhi's threat of restarting the fast if re-arrested, the Viceroy did not release him.

This fast failed to achieve its object causing perhaps great mental frustration. Under such circumstances, on 22nd February 1944, Gandhi's wife, Kasturba died in detention. It was natural for Gandhiji's health to deteriorate on account of this frustration and shock, leading ultimately to an heart attack. On account of this heart attack, Gandhi was released from the jail on the 5th May 1944. This heart attack was such that after release, Gandhi climbed the steps of Parnakuti or Marble Palace unaided ! The Indian Press was all praise and admiration for this miraculous power of Gandhi. *This release of Gandhi from the jail was very intriguing, because the Viceroy released him without taking his Executive Council into confidence.* In the very first meeting of the Viceroy's Council after Gandhi's release, the Viceroy was asked inconvenient questions about it. On not receiving any satisfactory reply from the Viceroy, the Executive Council expressed its serious disapproval of the hole and corner method in which Gandhi was released. They told the Viceroy on his face that they were not against the release of Gandhiji, but it was wrong on his part to ignore them in such an important matter. Naturally, this contentious matter went to the Secretary of State for India and after that in the very next meeting, *the Viceroy expressed his regret for ignoring his Council in such an important matter.*

It was thickly rumoured then in high official circles round the Viceroy that Gandhi had given a verbal assurance that if released, he would bring the Congress to the constitutional path and keep it there. This verbal assurance was conveyed to the Viceroy through a high Bombay Government official. The fact that the Viceroy released Gandhi secretly without taking into confidence the Executive Council, supports this rumour. Besides this, Sri Pyarelal, a Secretary of Gandhi has published in the *Times of India* during January-February 1956, a series of articles under the caption 'Last phase'. From these articles, it would be evident that during this heart attack, Gandhiji's life was despaired of and the Government was so adamant and so cruel, that it was determined not to release Gandhi at all, under any circumstances and to allow him to die in jail. In these articles, Pyarelal also discloses that in the event of the death of Gandhi in jail, Government had issued instructions to its officers in the matter of performing the obsequies after death. Pyarelal attributed the sudden release of Gandhi under such heart rending circumstances to the grace of God. But this fact can be explained on a more rational hypothesis of cause and effect. *The sudden release makes one infer that the rumour of assurance given by Gandhi must be true.* No Government in the world would be foolish enough to allow a person of Gandhi's eminence and importance to die in jail under those conditions. Further and above this, subsequent behaviour of Gandhiji also strongly supports this rumour of assurance given by Gandhi, because after release, Gandhiji never said no to any scheme or suggestion, made by British Imperialists, whether it was the Cabinet Mission Scheme of 16th May 1946 or its explanation of February 1947 dividing the Constituent Assembly of India into two, that is Hindoo and Muslim, or last but not the least, the unwhittened Plan of partition of India of 3rd June 1947.

Besides the foregoing, other political considerations also must have been a contributory cause to the release of Gandhi. The British Government had expressed its readiness to confer Swaraj on India if India would decide to remain in the Empire. The British must have thought this opportunity very favourable for its overtures because the top leaders of the Congress at this time were becoming old and also frustrated on account of long incarceration.

tion. At this time, Hitler was also being defeated and the world war was showing signs of coming soon to an end. The British were also committed to grant freedom to India at the time of the formation of the United Nations Organisation. Besides this, the British wanted to cause the maximum harm to India through the Muslim League, and they were well aware of the Congress policy of appeasement of the Muslim League, and fully satisfied with it. The British therefore might have thought this a proper opportunity to start negotiations for transfer of power and therefore they might have released Gandhi for this purpose.

Many events led to the relinquishment of power by the British in India. One of them certainly was the recognition of India as a Sovereign Independent State by all the nations which constituted the United Nations Organisation. Congressmen alone would not recognise this fact. They say that the British quitted India on account of the non-violent non-co-operation carried on by the Congress. But congressmen are not at all on strong ground in this matter, because Shri Vinoba Bhave who is highly respected by Congressmen, has in one of his recent statements emphatically said that the British did not quit India fearing the non-violent agitation of the Congress. They have been compelled to quit India by world events and their own weakness caused by the World War. Although congressmen respect Vinoba Bhave, they do not accept his contention. They say that India was also an equal member of the League of Nations established after the First World War. Why did not the British quit India then? But in furthering this argument, Congressmen conveniently forget the difference between these two organisations and their background. The establishment of the U. N. O. was under consideration for a very long time. The leaders of summit powers of that time, i. e. Messrs. Churchill, Stalin, and Roosevelt, had met in 1942, on Board a ship in Atlantic Ocean and they had declared that after the end of the War, all the nations participating in the War defeating Hitler, would get the four fundamental freedoms and also would be recognised as Sovereign Independent States. Such a decisive proclamation was never made before the formation of the old League of Nations. Sometime in 1944, the rules, regu-

lations and the ideals of the U. N. O. were placed before the Viceroy's Council for consideration. At that time, all these things and even the four fundamental freedoms were considered.

Wanted Freedom From Humbug :

The four fundamental freedoms were freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom of association and freedom from want. When discussion was going on in the Viceroy's Council over these four freedoms, I said in a joke, that before these four freedoms could be achieved, it was very necessary that there should be freedom from humbug. There was a loud laughter in the Viceroy's Council when I uttered this joke. To make a long story short, after considering the constitution of the U. N. O. from all the points of view, the Government of India decided to join that organisation as a member, and India was recognised as a Sovereign Independent State by Russia, China, England, France, America and other independent nations, although actually and factually India was at that time a dependency of England. On account of this, transfer of power to the Indian hands after the war, was unavoidable for Britain. Another point is that after the end of the first World War, when the League of Nations was formed, the United States of America did not join it at all. But this democratic nation became the member of the United Nations Organisation from the very beginning and it should not be forgotten that America is a powerful nation standing up for democracy and independence, and this fact must have influenced Britain. Moreover, the British power was not shaken at all as a result of the First World War, but on account of Hitler's sledge-hammer blows delivered on Britain during the Second World War, British power was shaken to the very foundations. All these facts would show that the contention of the Congressmen that they alone won Swaraj, was quite wrong.

Gandhiji's release from jail, whatever may have been the reasons for it, must have acted as an inferiority complex upon him, because though Gandhi himself was released, the members of the Working Committee were still in jail. It was natural therefore for Gandhi after his release to try to secure the release

of the Working Committee members also. This could not be done without breaking the political stalemate. It was Gandhi's practice to always seek an interview with the Viceroy after a term in jail. According to this practice, Gandhi wrote a letter to Viceroy Lord Wavell, in the month of May 1944, requesting him for an interview. The Viceroy showed that letter to me during one of my interviews, and asked me rather in a contemptuous tone, whether I knew anything about that 'Gandee'. He said he had no occasion yet to see him. He therefore did not know anything about him. I replied, "I know Gandhi full well. But it is improper to say anything about anybody behind his back. I will therefore not say anything about Gandhi. You can take *any decision you like about his request for an interview I am not concerned with it.*" At this time Lord Wavell refused Gandhi's request for an interview. Perhaps, he might have thought that Gandhi was just released from jail and it would be wise to observe his movements for a while before making contacts with him, to test the sincerity of the alleged assurances given by him. But Gandhiji was not a man to keep quiet. After this refusal by the Viceroy, his inferiority complex must have troubled him a great deal. At that time the political situation was such that the Congress leaders either must have been in jail or in seats of authority. This could not have happened unless there was at least a temporary compromise with the British Government or the Muslim League, or both. Besides *this, if the alleged assurance given by Gandhiji was a fact, it was incumbent upon Gandhiji to bring about such a compromise.* Therefore, after the rebuff from the Viceroy, Gandhiji wrote a letter to Dr. M. R. Jayakar since dead, requesting him to act as a mediator between the Congress and the Viceroy.

I see Darkness Everywhere :

It may be recalled here that in 1931 at the time of the crisis created after the Salt Satyagraha, Dr. Jayakar and Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru had acted as mediators and brought about a compromise. The purport of the letter which Gandhiji wrote to Dr. Jayakar was that although he was released from jail, he felt darkness everywhere, as if he was in a blind alley, and he was unable to find a way out. Dr. Jayakar therefore should help him in this crisis just

as he had done in 1931. This letter was published at that time in the famous Marathi Weekly '*Vividhavritha*' of Bombay.

How Did This Happen .

The news of this letter written by Gandhi to Dr. Jayakar was published in *Vividhavritha* under most strange circumstances. Rambhau Tatnis (since dead), the Editor of that paper who was my friend, told me this personally, as follows :—

"Gandhiji wrote this letter and placed it in an envelope, but forgot to paste it. He gave that open envelope addressed to Dr. Jayakar to an ordinary worker employed in the Associated Press, and asked him to deliver it to Dr. Jayakar. Seeing that this letter addressed to Dr. Jayakar was open his curiosity was aroused and he went behind a tree and began to read it. A worker of *Vividhavritha* who was present there saw this. He immediately went there and read that letter and committed it to memory and informed its contents to the *Vividhavritha* office and it was published by the Editor with great pleasure. Gandhiji's Secretariat was very alert and Gandhi was immediately informed of the publication of that letter in *Vividhavritha*. He became angry and in that angry mood he wrote another letter to Dr. Jayakar accusing him of irresponsibility in such an important matter. On account of this baseless accusation Dr. Jayakar also became very angry and the matter ended there.

It is a Business Secret :

Rambhau Tatnis was a friend of Dr. Jayakar also. So Dr. Jayakar called him for an interview and asked him how he got that letter. Rambhau Tatnis said that he was a journalist and to ferret out news was his business and it was not his practice to disclose how he gathered news. That was our business secret. It was impossible for him therefore to disclose anything. He told Dr. Jayakar with a glad heart that on account of his (Jayakar's) enquiry, he came to know that the letter was genuine and not faked.

The Abject letter to Jinnah raised the Stocks of the Muslim League :

Gandhi's correspondence with Dr. Jayakar thus ended in a fiasco. But Gandhi had fully determined to fulfil his purpose.

of getting Working Committee members released from the jail any how. He therefore wrote a letter to Quaide Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the Furehr of the Muslim League asking for an interview with him. At that time, Ministry of the Unionist Party under the leadership of Khizr Hyat Khan was ruling in the Punjab. There were only two members in the Punjab Legislative Assembly at that time elected on the ticket of the Muslim League. The name of one of them was Mr. Barkat Ali. Bengal was also ruled at that time by a non-Muslim League Ministry under the leadership of Fazlul Huq. In the Frontrier Province also, the Congress ministry under the leadership of Dr. Khan Sahab was ruling. Practically speaking at that time, Muslim League was in the doldrums and there was no ray of hope anywhere. Jinnah was suffering from frustration and was staying at Shrinagar for recouping his health. It was rumoured at that time that he was thinking of quitting India and practising in London. *Thus, when the League was down and out, this letter of Gandhiji to Jinnah suddenly raised its stocks.* Jinnah sent an impudent letter to Gandhi in reply to his request for an interview saying that he was then staying at Shrinagar and could not give any time to Gandhi for an interview. He would however not object if Gandhi called upon him at his Bombay residence after he came down to the plains in September 1944. According to this letter, this interview between Jinnah and Gandhi took place at Jinnah's residence at Malabar Hill Bombay for 18 days resulting in the Muslim League stocks being raised. Even Frank Moracs, the Biographer of Pandit Nehru has said about this interview that, "it pointed to the leeway which the League had made up while the Congress was immobilised."

Gandhi's offer of Pakistan to Jinnah on a plate :

All the talks that took place between Gandhi and Jinnah during the course of this long interview were published in the press. Besides the talks, they had also exchanged some letters, which were also published in the press. In his first letter which Gandhi wrote to Jinnah asking for an interview he expressed his willingness to discuss the partition of India and in the last letter which he wrote to Jinnah about the 24th September 1944. Gandhi said, "I do not accept your two nation theory. But I have offered you

all or almost all the concrete consequences of it." Still Gandhi continued to prattle that there could be no Pakistan except on his dead body. But there is nothing surprising in this. Gandhi was not Bhishma of the Mahabharat fame. In spite of this abject surrender of Gandhi to Jinnah, the talks between them proved to be unsuccessful. If at all, they created more bitterness between the Hindoos and the Muslims

Dr. Syed Mahmud's Apology :

Gandhi did not give up his efforts for a compromise with the Muslim League. In spite of his deep disappointment brought about by his interview with Jinnah, he decided to find out other ways and means for this purpose. About this time, Dr. Syed Mahmud, a member of the Working Committee was released from Ahmednagar Jail because he sent a long letter of apology to the Viceroy. This letter was read in the Executive Council. In it, Dr. Syed Mahmud informed the Viceroy on oath of Quran that he lived in the same room with Pandit Nehru in the jail, yet Pandit Nehru did not know a word of that letter of apology. This created laughter in the Executive Council which ordered his release. The echoes of this apology of Dr. Syed Mahmud were raised even in the Congress press at that time which bitterly criticised his action describing it as a breach of trust and treachery to the Congress. But Gandhi issued a statement to the press trying to protect Dr. Syed Mahmud. In the statement Gandhi said, "Dr. Syed Mahmud has committed a grave blunder, but it is not proper to criticise him so bitterly. People should take into consideration the long and valuable service which he has rendered to the Congress in the past. They should also remember that Dr. Syed Mahmud is the son-in-law of a departed dear friend of mine, Maulana Mazhar-ul-Huq." I was amazed at this statement of Gandhi and in reply to it I also issued a statement to be published through the Associated Press of India. This news agency at that time eagerly sought after our statements. But now the Press Trust of India deliberately ignores or even misrepresents people like us. But one should not be surprised at this, because human nature in general is to worship the rising sun. My statement in reply to Gandhi stated that, in the history of the Congress, some other persons had the misfortune

of being the targets of bitter criticism, but when they were sacrificed, nobody took into consideration the valuable service rendered by them in the past, because none of them had the good fortune of being the sons-in-law of Gandhi's friends or the fathers-in-law of Gandhi's sons. Gandhi's son, Deodas Gandhi, Editor of *Hindustan Times* became very angry at this statement of mine and instructed his assistant, Durgadas to criticise me bitterly in the *Hindustan Times* thereafter.

Truant Faquir in a Mosque

Justifying the above maxim, Dr. Syed Mahmud at once went to Sewagram to see Mahatma Gandhi after his release from jail after the apology. Gandhiji asked Dr. Syed Mahmud to write a letter to Bhulabhai Desai asking him to bring about a compromise with the Muslim League, so that a joint Viceroy's Council consisting of members from the Muslim League and the Congress might be formed. This has been referred to previously. I will now here enumerate the terms of that compromise known as the Bhulabhai-Liaquat Formula. They were :—

- (1) There should be parity between the Congress and the Muslim League in the Central Government.
- (2) This pact will not have any effect on the ideology of the Muslim League.
- (3) This Central Government will simply carry on the day to day administration of the country and will not be able to make any fundamental change in the policy and will fully co-operate in the war efforts.
- (4) *When this Government comes into existence, it will immediately release the Congress Working Committee members from jail.*

As mentioned before, Bhulabhai met the Viceroy and handed over this formula to him. *The Viceroy was delighted at the surrender of the Congress and he immediately communicated with the British Government.* All these things happened in between December 1944 and January 1945. This conspiracy was published in the press at the time and Bhulabhai was bitterly criticised even

by the Congress press. On seeing this criticism, Gandhiji came out to the rescue of Bhulabhai Desai in a press statement which said, "Bhulabhai should not be so bitterly criticised as his efforts had my blessings." *Immediately after this statement of Gandhi, the criticism of Bhulabhai Desai was stopped. This is an indication of the spread of mental slavery in India.* When Wavell went to England, the Governor of Bombay, Sir John Colville was appointed as officiating Viceroy in his place. Wavell was in England for about 3 months and he came back to India on the 5th of the June 1945 with the Wavell Formula approved by the British Government. This Wavell Formula reduced in a great measure the injustice done to the Hindoos in the Bhulabhai-Liaquat Formula because the Wavell Formula provided for parity between the caste Hindoos and the Muslims and provided also for a representation for other minorities like the Sikhs, Harijans, Christians in the Viceroy's Council. I think, the British Government also must have seen the enormity of the injustice to the Hindoos contemplated in the Bhulabhai-Liaquat Formula supported by Gandhi. Besides this, the Wavell Formula gave a go-by to the political parties like the Congress and the Muslim League and recognised only the castes and communities. At this very time another scheme for political reforms was sponsored by politicians like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, and C. Rajagopalachariar under the name of Sapru proposals which was similar to the Bhulabhai-Liaquat Scheme supported by Gandhi. I also in my own way made some efforts as a member of the Viceroy's Council to soften the injustice done to the Hindoos by the Bhulabhai-Liaquat Formula. For this purpose, I sent a secret telegram to the Secretary of State through Lord Wavell who was then in London, dated the 19th April 1945, It is as follows :—

"As one of your Hindoo colleagues (who can claim to speak for Marathi speaking Hindoos, one of the politically and intellectually most advanced sections of Hindoos) I deem it my duty to urge for your consideration the following aspects of the Sapru Proposals :

- (1) Muslims forming 25 per cent of total population of India are to be equated with caste Hindoos forming 55 percent of the total. There is no parallel in democratic Government

to such reduction to minority of intellectually, politically and otherwise most enlightened section of population of a country.

- (2) Such disproportionate weightage to minority and statutory permanent deprivation of majority of their natural weightage can never achieve the main object of constitutional settlement, viz., conciliation of claims of all communities culminating in establishment of progressive and orderly self-Government in the country. Human nature being what it is, large elements, if not a majority of caste Hindoo population are bound to remain unreconciled to the unparalleled and undemocratic handicap imposed on them. Their struggle to regain their legitimate status in the body politic will hamper the working of any new constitution.
- (3) Numerically, Muslims (70 millions) and Scheduled Castes (60 millions) in British India are about equal. 50 seats are to be allowed to the former as against 20 to the latter. Muslims are thus again to receive a disproportionately heavy weightage as between two minorities. There is no justice or equity in such discrimination between two important minorities, particularly as the professed object of the scheme is safeguarding interests of minorities.
- (4) Large sections of thinking elements of caste Hindoos, particularly in areas like Bengal, Maharashtra and Madras have held aloof from Congress. Many have rallied round the Hindoo Sabha organisationally and ideologically. All such elements have, from the very outset, unreservedly and actively supported the war effort, in particular, recruitment in the army. I personally share the faith of this class and made a public declaration of it soon after the outbreak of war. Rajputs, Marathas, Madrasis, Jats, Dogras and other Hindoo martial classes come from these elements. Muslims and their political organisation, the Muslim League, have not opposed the war effort positively and actively, but their support of the war effort has been but negative and their attitude but one of sullen

neutrality. The public enthusiasm displayed by them in the cause of the war effort cannot stand comparison with whole-hearted and unreserved support of these caste Hindoos. The over-weightage to such a community at the cost of those who have been champions of the war efforts will mean penalising those who helped and favouring those who sulked. Thus the repercussions on these powerful and thinking elements of caste Hindoos, of the proposed weightage to Muslims cannot but be detrimental, particularly from the Commonwealth point of view.

No constitution maker for India can get away from the fundamental, historical and ethnic fact that Indian people both Hindoos and Muslims are composed of elements with racial, linguistic and cultural differences. While it is recognised that no constitution which ignores these fundamental differences can work successfully, over-weightage to a minority, however clamant and intransigent, cannot also make for a stable and orderly constitution. There are minorities in other countries as well, and there are certain recognised canons and principles on which the rights of minorities have been safeguarded in such countries. History is not thus without all precedent in this matter. Let us face facts and not shrink from upholding the basic principle recognised throughout that in the constitution of a country with heterogeneous elements of population, the representation of each element should be proportionate to its numerical strength. It is more or less on these lines that the problem of minorities has been solved and safeguards for their interests included in the constitution of India so far. His Majesty's Government will certainly be on strong ground if they settle the question of minorities in India on this basis even now."

It is possible that this telegram of mine might have suggested the change from the Congress Muslim parity suggested by Gandhi, to the caste Hindoo Muslim parity suggested by the British Government in the Wavell Formula.

In March 1945, during the budget session of the Central Legislative Assembly, the Congress and the Muslim League brought about a superficial unity among them with a view to throw out the Finance

Bill. In this session Bhulabhai Desai in his speech made bitter attack against the Government of India and personally against me also. I made a speech in the Central Assembly on 22nd of March 1945, in reply to this bitter attack of Bhulabhai against the Government and myself. *In that speech I also described the Bhulabhai-Liaquat endeavour as treachery to the Congress and my attack on Bhulabhai was also very bitter.* It would be quite relevant to quote here some extracts from that speech of mine :—

“We see the Muslim League members walking arm in arm with the Congress party members into the lobby, but I am certain that this apparent unity is only a make-believe because while doing so here, the Congress has thrown out the Muslim League ministry in the North-West Frontier Province, the pivot of Pakistan, and established the Congress Ministry there.

To understand all the implications of the situation, we must take a bird's eye view of some happenings in the past. After the 1942 disorders, complete demoralisation and a sense of frustration had set in in the Congress organisation ; the stocks of the Muslim League also were going down in the Punjab and the Punjab Premier refused even to see the General Secretary of the Muslim League in the spring of the previous year, as would be gathered from the issues of *Dawn* during that period. What transpired between them at that time can be summarised in the following two Urdu couplets :—

*Marta hun tere hizra Me Ai Khizra Khabar Lo
League ka lihaj karke Liaquat ko bacha lo*

*Liaquat tu meri arjoo nahak hai lar raha
Jinnah ke taraf se dil me mere chhala hui pad gaya*

The plain meaning of these couplets is as follows :—

Liaquat Ali Khan, Secretary, Muslim League says to Khizr Hyat Khan, the Premier of the Punjab, “I am dying of separation from you Oh Khizr, please therefore see me and save me and the prestige of the League and your own intelligence.”

Khizr replies “Liaquat, your requests are fruitless, there is nothing but soreness towards Jinnah in my heart.”

It is after this, that the Fuehrers of both the organisations (Gandhi and Jinnah) met together in Bombay for 18 days and tried hard to bring about a rapprochement between the two organisations. But as was expected, they miserably failed. Today also, these two organisations are coming together, but it is not a common ideology that has brought them together but adversity has done the trick. It is well said that adversity makes strange bed fellows. This is the genesis of the superficial unity which we witness in the House everyday. What Hitlers failed to achieve is being attempted by Goebbels and Himmlers (Bhulabhai and Liaquat Ali) of the parties and secret negotiations are going on to achieve it. It appears that some compromise is being considered to form a composite Viceroy's Council consisting of members of the Muslim League and the Congress. If this is true, it is in tune with the Congress history of the last 20 years, that is, first non-co-operation followed by conditional co-operation and then surrender after a mock fight and so on and so forth. Even Hitler and Stalin will yield before this double handed onslaught. It is no wonder if the British Government also yields before such an attack. By this arrangement they will get a fine team drawing in opposite directions, because the leader of the opposition (Bhulabhai) very recently at the Rotary Club, Delhi preached *Ahimsa* or non-killing and the Deputy Leader of the Muslim League party (Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan) as was said by him, believes in killing and getting killed. The Congress has always refused what has been offered by the British Government. Witness the history of 1942, I mean the Cripps proposals. If they are now thinking of revising their attitude after the rejection of the Cripps proposals, there is no point in throwing out the Finance Bill. So, after I spoke on the last occasion, my Congress friends were annoyed with me, but the House will be surprised to find that the same sentiments as were expressed by me were expressed recently by a Congress organ, the *Hindustan Times*. It says, ' Boycott of Legislatures and Ministries has a meaning and purpose as a preliminary to non-violent direct action ; by itself, it is a mere gesture of protest which may be justified occasionally but not as a prolonged policy.' There is no ignominy in surrender if it is honest. But hypocrisy is dishonourable. If they want to defeat the Government and occupy these benches, they should give a decent burial

to the corpse of 'Quit India'. 'Quit India' may have been dear to them, but even the corpse of a beloved person stinks. They should therefore bury the hatchet and elect to support war efforts as has been done in the Frontier. This will be the duty of a person who is intellectually honest. Sir, I have always been a firm believer in the war efforts. I have never concealed it from anybody and I have preached it openly even incurring the odium from the fraternity of friends opposite. Sir, war is now coming to an end, preliminary conferences for peace are going to be held. Yesterday, I read in papers that the Indian Immigration Bill in the U. S. A. has been indefinitely shelved inspite of President Roosevelt's strong support. All honour to him for that. But this shows which way the wind is blowing for coloured people. Indians who fought side by side in this war along with the Americans for a common purpose of freedom and equality, are denied even a modicum of citizenship rights in that country. There is no wonder if one begins to doubt whether coloured people are going to be emancipated at all as a result of this War, but one thing is certain that a large proportion of white people are surely going to be enslaved for a good long time after this war. I have no hesitation therefore to support this war still, because to that extent at least the inequality between the white and the coloured will be wiped out. This is my individual view as a coloured man, and I hope that world's statesmen will take a note of it, if they want to avoid future conflicts which may occur between the coloured and the white people.

Sir, I have come to occupy this office in a straight manner. I never sought after it, never begged before anybody, never conspired for it and never intrigued for it. Yet, the Deputy Leader of the Muslim League party had the temerity to say that I came here for job and bread and in support of it quoted some words from a contemptuous reply which I gave to an irresponsible juvenile interjector at a public meeting in Cuttuck which was evidently ironical. If people are so dense as not to understand irony, nobody can help them. I never thought that the Deputy Leader of the Muslim League could be as obtuse in his intelligence as in his form and figure. I am not a job hunter, it is those who conspire and

intrigue for it are job hunters, in my view. I have been called a jester. That only shows that some of my thrusts have gone home. It is no wonder therefore, that my Hon'ble friend Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan who is proud of his suavity and and urbanity, and rightly so, threw down the mask once and defended the League by blurting out 'Musalmans believe in killing and getting killed'. (Noise and excitement in the House).

Liaquat Ali : " I have full faith in killing and getting k'iled ".

I continued, " I am sure in his saner moments, he will repent for having said so. Incidentally, this *throws a flood of light on the genesis of communal riots in this unfortunate country* and if unfortunately, my Hon'ble friend, the future Home Member according to the new scheme (Bhulabhai-Liaquat Formula) still believes in this dictum, then woe to this unfortunate country. Sir, exhausted patience has made my Hon'ble friend (Bhulabhai Desai) lose his balance and he has compared his attempt to get on the Treasury benches with the formation of the ministry by Prime Minister Churchill. Mr. Churchill is a Prime Minister of an independent country and he was called by his Majesty the King with honour and dignity to form a cabinet ; he had no occasion to go a begging from door to door and call on even Private Secretaries. The two things are incomparable, *Kahan Raja Bhoj* and *Kahan Ganga Teli*. I hope and trust, that at all events, now at least, my Hon'ble friend, will realise that he exhibited a sorry lack of sense of proportion when he made that comparison. If my Hon'ble friend the ex-Advocate-General and the future member for Planning and Development (Bhulabhai-Liaquat Formula) assumes office in independent India, I will certainly bow before him, but so long as there is no advance in the constitutional position of this country, there is no ground for any discrimination between him and me. But his dictum is that whatever he does, is patriotic. If he withdraws from the Legislature, it is patriotic, if he reenters it, it is patriotic, if he fights, it is patriotic ; if he surrenders, it is patriotic ; if he resigns from the Working Committee before the storm, it is patriotic ; if he yawns, it is patriotic and thinking that he has got the monopoly of patriotism, he has twitted my Hon'ble friend, the Supply Member (A. Ramaswamy Mudliar) by saying, " that an impressive declaration of patriotism is the last argument

of an unpatriotic person." Sir, we do not parade our patriotism. It is the other side which always parades it. May I therefore say that the observation made by him, if reversed, would be equally true of him? Sir, as I have said before, there has been no advance in the constitutional position—thanks to the parties opposite—since I accepted my office, and since my friends by all accounts are eager to step into office under the present constitution, I congratulate them and *I am proud that my erstwhile leader is following the footsteps of a humble follower like me.* I take it that they have realised that short of achieving independence, the present constitution does offer opportunities for rendering some services to the country however little they may be. It is exactly in this spirit that I have also accepted office under the present constitution with all its limitations.

Sir, as I have said before, the Congress technique is to refuse what is offered by the British Government, then to start some sort of a struggle and get beaten and then enjoy a certain period of demoralisation and frustration, going abegging for something much less than what was offered, accept it and delude the public that they have won. I am afraid, there is no departure from this technique this time also. When they come in power, they will delude the public by calling it a National Government. I want to know how it will be a national Government in the proper sense of the term, within the present constitutional limitations, and I also want to know what magic would they possess, which will enable them to extract more good from the present Executive Council. No individual or a group of individuals can dispose of the future of this country. It is not their patrimony to be so disposed of. The whole *nation* is concerned with it. Such attempts can best be described as treachery against democracy and nationalism. It may be remembered that they refused the Cripps offer when Japan's stars were in the ascendancy. Now they are ingratiating themselves in the favour of Great Britain as her stars are fortunately in the ascendancy. But I do not blame them. They have a natural desire to get into power and they are angry on account of their failure so far and they are egotists because they maintain, that, they alone are patriots.

Shri Krishnain Bhagwat Gita says that "desire and anger in an egotist create hypocrisy and suppression of truth. They destroy mental peace and substitute illusion (Maya) which overpowers even the sages."

The above bitter criticism in my speech was very penetrating and irritating to both the Congress and the Muslim League. I suspect therefore that both these organisations must have complained against me to the Viceroy and told him that Dr. Khare bitterly criticised both these organisations and created bad blood between them which created difficulties in the matter of bringing about a compromise between them. I think, it is on account of this complaint of both these organisations that the Viceroy cancelled my membership of the Central Legislative Assembly and put me in the Council of State because in that sleeping House there was no chance of any such bitter arguments.

You should not be so hard heartened :

On account of this bitter criticism of mine, two prominent and high placed Congressmen saw me at my residence at different times to remonstrate with me. One of them was Mr. Shri Prakash, the Present Governor of Bombay. He came to my house at 2, King Edward Road, New Delhi and severely castigated me for bitterly criticising my erstwhile leader Bhulabhai, when I was a member of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly. He said, it was unbecoming on my part to be so hostile towards my old leader and old organisation. I should not be so cruel. *Furthermore, he asked me to give the benefit of my official position to the Congress by trying to get the Working Committee members released from jail, as they must have been tired and frustrated by their long confinement in jail for about three years.* I said that the Congress leaders regarded me as their enemy, so why should I care for them. But I have not imprisoned them. It is the British who have put them in jail and the British were the enemies of both, i. e. the Congress leaders as well as myself. I would therefore adopt the policy described in Mahabharat, that is, as between themselves the five Pandawas were the enemies of 100 Kauravas, but as against a common enemy, they were solid 105. In consonance with this policy described in Mahabharat, I promised that I would try my best to get the Working Committee members released

from jail. Moreover, although I was not in the Congress, I strongly desired that the Congress should not be debunked or made to look small before British Imperialism. The Bhulabhai-Liaquat Formula which had contemplated the formation of Viceroy's Executive Council, keeping the Working Committee members in jail, was really a conspiracy to lower the prestige of the Congress. One of my colleagues, namely Sir Francis Mudie, the Home Member and the sundried bureaucrat was also making efforts to lower the prestige of the Congress because he toured some of the provinces to find out some soft congressmen willing to enter the Viceroy's Council keeping the Working Committee members in jail. With this end in view, he approached Shri B. G. Kher of Bombay in January 1945, to sound him whether he was willing to join the Viceroy's Executive Council while the Working Committee members were in jail. I did not like that the Congress prestige should be lowered in this fashion although the Congressmen, I knew, hated me. I had therefore no hesitation in giving the promise I gave to Mr. Sri Prakash. After giving this promise, I happened to go to Nagpur for some business. About this time, Hitler was crushed and V Day was to be celebrated and I took this opportunity to get the Working Committee members released and sent the following letter to Sir John Colville who was officiating as Viceroy then.

Indira Mahal,
Nagpur,
9th May 1945.

My dear Sir John,

I am very happy on account of the crushing defeat of Hitler and surrender of the Nazis. V Day is to be celebrated, on this joyful occasion. I suggest that it will be a good gesture to release the Working Committee members and other detainees on this occasion, and also to commute the life sentence of the Chimur and Ashti prisoners and other similar prisoners. This will have a very good and favourable effect upon the minds of the people.

I am making this suggestion with full responsibility and realising its importance.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) N. B. Khare

The officiating Viceroy, Sir John Colville, very promptly replied to this letter of mine. The reply is given below:—

No. 423/7

Viceroy's House,
New Delhi,
May 12, 1945.

My dear Dr. Khare,

Thank you for your letter. We rejoice indeed that V Day has come with all that it means. I am grateful for the suggestions you sent me in your letter of the 9th May for marking the occasion. Commutation of the death sentences in the Chimur and Ashti and other similar cases is an idea that I have had under consideration. I doubt the suitability of this step as a celebration of the occasion, but I find a number of practical reasons which in any case make it advisable to wait till the legal position is clear. As regards the release of the Congress Working Committee members and other detenues, I will bring the suggestion to Lord Wavell's notice. But you will appreciate that this is hardly a matter for me to consider during my short period as acting Governor General.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) John Colville.

The fac simile photograph of the above letter has been published in my Marathi biography written by Shri J. R. Joshi, the Sub-editor of Maharashtra.

Lord Wavell, the permanent Viceroy returned to India on the 5th June 1945 and resumed his charge. As mentioned before, he brought with him his Wavell Formula with the approval of the British Government. He desired to call a conference at Simla in pursuance of this Wavell Formula consisting of the representatives of Hindoos, Muslims and other minorities. The Bhulabhai Liaquat Formula recognised only the political organisations, viz. the Congress and the Muslim League. But the Wavell Formula recognised only the castes and religions. Some members

of the Viceroy's Council were against the idea of holding the Simla Conference because they thought that, that was a device to side track the question of India's independence. These members therefore submitted to the Viceroy a joint representation against holding the Simla Conference. They were Sir Sultan Ahmed, Sir Feroze Khan Noon, Sir Azizul Huq, Sir J. P. Shrivastava, Sir Jogendrasingh, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and Dr. Khare. This joint representation was regarded as a mild revolt.

It is our duty to expose your designs :

The news of this joint representation submitted to the Viceroy Lord Wavell, was somehow published in the Press. Mr. Shankar, (who publishes the '*Shankar's Weekly* ') was employed as a cartoonist in the *Hindustan Times* at that time ; and he published a cartoon about this joint representation in that paper. Lord Wavell, who was angry on account of this joint representation became more so on account of this publication of this cartoon, in which Wavell was depicted as a captain of a ship sailing in stormy seas and the seven Councillors were depicted as sailors attacking the captain in his cabin with daggers drawn. Wavell was so angry at this that he specially called me and held me responsible for the publication of that cartoon. As I was not responsible for it, I also felt angry and said to the Viceroy, " You are plotting to side-track the question of Indian independence. Is it not the duty of people like us who love their country to expose this plot of yours ? The people of India are also entitled to express their opinion on this plot of yours. Had each one of us Councillors submitted to you a separate representation, it would have been quite in order. You should not be so angry merely because we have submitted it jointly." After this explanation of mine, the Viceroy cooled down.

Some days after this incident, a meeting of the Viceroy's Council was held to consider the question of holding the Simla Conference. In spite of the opposition of some of us Councillors who submitted a joint representation, the Council passed a resolution in favour of holding the Simla Conference. The officiating Viceroy, Sir John Colville, must have placed my letter requesting the release of the Working Committee members of the Congress in the hands of the Viceroy. I therefore in that very meeting of the Council

insisted that the Working Committees members should be released before the Simla Conference. Some members opposed this suggestion of mine. They said that if the Working Committee members were released, they would start violent movement like Quit India of 1942 again. I said that it was impossible because they were now tired and dejected and did not possess either the energy or the inclination to do that. Some members raised the objection that there was no earthly connection between the Simla Conference and the release of the members of the Working Committee of the Congress. I said, "I strongly hold the view that the Simla Conference should not be held at all, but it seems now, that it is inevitable. Therefore, if it is desired that it should be regarded as an important conference, it is necessary that the Congress representatives should take part in it. Bhulabhai Desai and Gandhi do not represent the Congress either individually or collectively, Bhulabhai Desai is not a member of the Working Committee and Mahatma Gandhi is not even a four anna member of the Congress. They therefore do not count and it is necessary that the members of the Working Committee should be released to enable them to attend the Simla Conference and enhance its importance." On account of this insistence and persistence of mine, the meeting of the Viceroy's Council resolved that the Working Committee members should be released. Accordingly, they were released on or about the 14th of June 1945 and it was announced that the Simla Conference would be held from the 14th of July 1945.

Greed for office is irrepressible :

There was another reason also for my insistence on the release of the Working Committee members. I thought that as the Working Committee members had deprecated this Bhulabhai-Liaquat endeavour in the Ahmednagar jail, in no uncertain terms, and had also resolved to throw the Mahatma overboard, if he supported this endeavour, the Working Committee will boycott the Simla Conference which was obviously an offshoot of the Bhulabhai-Liaquat endeavour and thus the defeatist politics of the Simla Conference would be scotched. But this estimate of mine proved to be entirely wrong, because the Congress Working Committee which met at Bombay on the 21st or 22nd June

1945 to decide whether to accept the invitation of the Simla Conference or not, resolved to accept it. But at the same time they called Bhulabhai Desai and severely censured him as described in the last chapter. This shows that desire for power is irrepressible.

Hindoo Sabha is an inveterate Anti-British Organisation :

It was inevitable that in the Simla Conference the question of parity and Pakistan would be discussed. The Congress and the Muslim League were not expected to oppose these unpatriotic suggestions. It was therefore necessary that somebody in the Simla Conference should oppose them. Although I was not then in the Hindoo Mahasabha, I was sure that the leaders of the Hindoo Mahasabha would surely oppose these unpatriotic things. Therefore, in my weekly interview with the Viceroy on 12th June 1945 I requested him to invite Shri L. B. Bhopatkar and Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, the two leaders of Hindoo Mahasabha to the Simla Conference. The Viceroy very curtly turned down my request. He said, "I will never extend the invitation of the Simla Conference to the leaders of the Hindoo Mahasabha because the Hindoo Mahasabha is more bitterly opposed to the British Empire than even the Congress. All the speeches made by the leaders of the Hindoo Mahasabha are also more bitter than those delivered by the Congress leaders." I felt frustrated by this reply of the Viceroy, but decided to continue my efforts, in this behalf. After this interview of mine, I went to Poona and from there wrote a letter to the Viceroy as follows :—

Private and Personal

Camp Poona

Date 21st June 1945,

Dear Lord Wavell,

The other day, that is, 12th June, when I had my interview with your Excellency, you mentioned to me that the speeches made by some of the Hindoo Mahasabha leaders were worse than the speeches made by the Congress leaders. I am enclosing herewith a press cutting from *Bombay Chronicle*, dated the 21st June 1945, which gives the report of a speech made by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at Allahabad on the 18th June. From the portions underlined in red chalk, it would be seen that he had paid glowing tributes

to those who took part in the sabotage movement in 1942. He has also made a special mention about the districts of Ballia, Azamgadh, and Gorakhpur, which as one knows, were worst affected.

This is the speech which he has made just after his release and he is very highly placed and an important member of a party whose representatives may attend the Conference (Simla), where names for the future Executive Council, responsible to make efforts and devote full energy to defeat Japan will be suggested.

Yours sincerely
(Sd) N. B. KHARE

The Viceroy, Lord Wavell, replied to this letter of mine His reply is as follows :

No. 592/9/II.

Viceroy's Camp
Simla

Dated 26th June, 1945.

Dear Dr. Khare,

Thank you for your letter of 21st June, 1945, enclosing a newspaper report of the speech made by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at Allahabad on the 18th June. I think, it is fair to remember that when Pandit Nehru made this speech, he had just been released from a long period of confinement.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd) Wavell

Wavell's Parental Love :

This reply of the Viceroy is like the action of a loving father who glosses over all the faults of his dear son. This letter would show that the angle of vision of the British Government about the Congress had changed and they thought it desirable to pamper the Congress to further the ends of their imperial politics.

My Mourning for Congress :

The decision of the Working Committee to accept the invitation to the Simla Conference was published in the press. After this, a meeting on behalf of the Hindoo Mahasabha was held in Poona on the Parshuram Bhau Patwardhan College Grounds. This meeting was attended by Sawarkar, Bhopatkar, Shyama Prasad Mukherjee and other big leaders of Hindoo Mahasabha. I happened to attend this meeting and was requested to make a speech. In this speech, I said that the Congress had fallen from its high ideals. It had lost its zest for independence and even nationalism. The Congress was always very eloquent in denouncing casteism and proclaiming its forte for pure nationalism without any consideration of religion and caste. But it was surprising that it had accepted the invitation to the Simla Conference as a representative of caste Hindoos. What a fall and what a disgrace ! I used to insist on being called a protestant Congressman and felt proud of that epithet. But after this fall of the Congress from its high ideals and the sorry exhibition of its opportunism, I am ashamed to be called a Congressman. From today, onwards, nobody should call me a protestant Congressman. I would regard it as an insult and an abuse. I regard the Congress as dead.

Why did the British transfer power :

The Simla Conference ended in a fiasco. The Viceroy could bag the Congress leaders, but he failed to capture Jinnah, the Muslim League leader. But the British Government must have gauged the political situation. It therefore invited the Viceroy again to England to discuss the matter. According to this invitation, Wavell went to England in September 1945 and returned to India after a stay of five or six weeks there. After his return, he called a meeting of the Viceroy's Council to discuss this inevitable future transfer of power. Besides the members of the Viceroy's Council, special experts belonging to the Political, Home and Army Departments were called to attend this meeting and give their advice. This meeting discussed this problem from all aspects, and also considered an important letter received from the British Government. I will quote here

only one sentence from this letter, which is as follows : *"England will not be able hereafter to spare one single man and one single thing for the governance of India."*

This sentence will show how Hitler while being defeated, broke the back of England by his sledge hammer blows. After a long discussion, this meeting of the Executive Council decided unanimously that transfer of power to Indian hands was inevitable and this decision was communicated to the British Government in England.

Unholy Alliance :

We shall now see why the British wooed the Congress and despised the Hindoo Mahasabha. No one will deny that after the War of Independence of 1857, the Hindoos had the lion's share of all the movements for the liberation of India, whether violent or non-violent. The British therefore realised that the Hindoos who were the real nationalists of this country were their real enemies. It did not escape their notice that all renowned revolutionaries joined the Hindoo Mahasabha. The British therefore must have decided to damage the Hindoo interests while transferring power. It was impossible for them therefore to make friends with the Hindoo Mahasabha. The damage to the Hindoo interests obviously means dividing the country and granting a separate homeland for the Muslims. It is also well known that the Imperial policy of Britain is to divide a country before quitting it. i. e. Ireland, Egypt, Sudan, Palestine, India, Burma etc. etc. The Hindoo Mahasabha could never have supported the British policy of dividing India. This is also one of the reasons why the British despised the Hindoo Mahasabha and kept it at a distance. The Muslim League, in a way a creation of the British, was always pampered and encouraged by the British in its separatist tendencies and Congress also was and is famous or infamous for its policy of appeasement of the Muslims. It was very natural therefore for the British, the Congress, and the Muslim League to enter into a conspiracy to divide the Country.

Mutiny of Naval Ratings :

I have already disclosed before how Lord Wavell, the Viceroy had mentioned the name of Gandhi in May 1944 in a contemptuous tone. After this, as the results of the Great War and the British policy began to take shape, the British also began to view the Congress from a favourable angle and to make friends with it. This is why, as I have mentioned before, the Viceroy in his correspondence in June 1945, exhibited a sort of parental love for Pandit Nehru. The Simla Conference ended in a failure in July 1945. After this, even the big Congress leaders made it a point to visit Delhi often, they almost made it their abode. As a result of this, there were frequent interviews between the Congress leaders and the Government authorities. I came to know about this in the first quarter of the year 1946, when the Viceroy's Council was discussing the *mutiny* of the Naval Ratings in Bombay. The Council was considering a resolution to appoint a committee to investigate into the grievances of these ratings and to redress them. It would be quite relevant here to let the readers know the nature of the grievances of these ratings. The imperial policy of Britain was always anti-Hindoo. They therefore never recruited as naval ratings Hindoos from even maritime areas. They generally recruited to this force uneducated Punjabi, and Sindhi Muslims. On account of their being uneducated and backward, generally they used to quietly put up with insults and abuses showered on them by the British officers. In the Great War, supply of men from this category fell short of the demand. The British were compelled therefore to recruit educated and half-educated middle class Hindoos who were matriculates or Inter failed or B. A. failed. These Hindoos were naturally patriotic and self-respecting. They could not put up with the insults and abuses heaped on them by the British officers. Besides this, there was also differential treatment as between the black and the white. It must be recorded here that generally the Hindoo youths were self-respecting and fired with intense desire for freedom. This was evidenced on the celebration of 'V' Day at Delhi when the Hindoo police rebelled and this rebellion had to be suppressed with the help of British Tommies. Naval ratings in Bombay also rebelled against the British authorities on account of these insults and bad treatment and their ideas of self-respect

and patriotism and they *imprisoned their British officers* on board their ships and they had trained their guns on the city of Bombay and British aeroplanes were hovering over their own ships.

Mahatma's Blessings to Wavell :

While the Executive Council was considering this problem of the mutiny of the naval ratings in Bombay, Lord Wavell interrupted in the middle and said, "I am not at all afraid of this mutiny of the naval ratings in Bombay as two big leaders of a big political party have assured me of all help to suppress the rebellion." These two big leaders must have been Maulana Azad and Sardar Patel, because within four or five days of this incident, a statement signed by these two leaders was published in the press exhorting the ratings to withdraw their strike unconditionally. Is it possible that this assurance could have been given without any interviews either direct or through an intermediary ? Certainly not. It is clear therefore that the Congress policy was two-faced. They used to say Quit India outside or openly, and privately assured the British Government of all sorts of help. At this very meeting of the Council, the Viceroy disclosed that he had received blessings of Mahatma Gandhi in the matter of quelling this mutiny of the ratings. I was amazed at this strange disclosure, and I silently praised the cunning diplomacy of the British. I never thought that the Viceroy was sincere in this matter. This was a diplomatic move for a political purpose. These blessings of the Mahatma could not have been secured without an interview either direct or through some intermediary. This episode of the blessings created bitter feelings in my heart about the duplicity of Gandhi and Wavell. As a result, I said to the Viceroy, "I am surprised that in this 20th century, a British Viceroy is depending upon the blessings of a Sadhu or a Mahatma for continuance of his rule. I challenge your Excellency to show one single example of such an event in the whole history of the world. From your Excellency's solicitude towards the Mahatma, I am convinced that you are doubtful about the stability of your rule and you want to strengthen it by taking an adventitious support from a political party. But this is not proper. Under these circumstances, it is your duty to hand over power to the people and quit India."

There was a pin-drop silence in the meeting of the Executive Council after this.

Why was the Viceroy recalled :

The visit of Pandit Nehru to meet Lord Mountbatten in the first quarter of 1946 referred to in the previous chapter was also an event in the chain of secret manoeuvres. It appears that these directives to send Pandit Nehru to to meet Mountbatten at Singapore may have been received from the British Government, in order to create cordial relations between the two and to bring Pandit Nehru under the influence of Lord Mountbatten who may have been tipped as the future Viceroy to succeed Lord Wavell. Lord Wavell howsoever pro-Muslim he might have been, was definitely against partitioning the country. He had unequivocally given expression to his sentiments against partition. In a joint meeting of the then Central Legislative Assembly and the Council of State he said, "India is one country from Peshawar to Cape Camorin. What God has made one cannot be partitioned." This sentence of his so openly expressed, was against the *imperial policy* of Great Britain. The British Government must have therefore decided to recall him before the expiry of his full term of office and to appoint Mountbatten in his place, who was obviously in favour of partitioning the country. Therefore, Pandit Nehru, the future Prime Minister, was sent to Malaya or Singapore to be brought under the influence of Mountbatten, the future Viceroy of India. This conclusion is inevitable in view of the events that happened thereafter.

The Empire Parliamentary Delegation consisting of 8 or 9 members of the British House of Commons, including a lady, visited India towards the end of 1945, after a unanimous decision of the Viceroy's Council about the transfer of power to Indian hands was communicated to the British Government as mentioned before. This Empire Parliamentary Delegation after a long itinerary in the various territories of India, left the shores of India for England on the 9th February 1946. I had submitted to this Empire Parliamentary Delegation, in my individual capacity, a representation showing how the demand of Pakistan was improper and how Pakistan was also liable to be divided in the same way

as the Muslim League demanded the division of India. It will be quite relevant to quote some extracts from that representation of mine here :

“The British statesmen, British Ministers and authorised representatives of Britain in India like the Viceroy have expressly and without a doubt referred to the desire and readiness of the British to quit India and hand over power to the people, but they say that if we do so under the present circumstances obtaining in the country, it will result in internecine quarrels or perhaps a civil war. Therefore these people insist on the complete unity of different parties and communities in India in the interest of India itself before they quit. But unity amongst whom ? Between two parties out of which one insists on religion alone and the other the Congress, which lays claim to represent all religions and all people of India. It is fundamentally impossible to attain such unity. The Congress and the other people excluding Muslim League believe even today that India is one nation with well defined geographical boundaries and they are deadly against dividing this country. But the Muslim League emphasises that the Muslims are a separate nation by themselves and it is necessary to establish a separate home-land for their progress and prosperity. They say if this is done, the Musalmans who are a minority in undivided India, will become a huge majority in Pakistan.

Mohammed Ali Jinnah is demanding Pakistan consisting of the North West Frontier, Punjab, and Sindh and British Baluchistan in the north-west of India, and Bengal and Assam in the north-east of India. This demand of Jinnah, to say the least, is ludicrous. In the north-western part of this Pakistan demanded by Jinnah, excluding the Frontier province, in which the percentage of Muslims in the population is 91.79, there are other large areas in this territory which contain big groups of people who are opposed to the division of India. In the Punjab, there are many contiguous districts in which non-Muslims are in a majority and in the whole of the Punjab, the percentage of Muslims in the population is only 57 and the percentage of Hindoos is 28 and Sikhs 13. These Hindoos and Sikhs in the Punjab are one with the rest of India in general politics as well as in their desire to oppose Pakistan. A minority of 41 per cent can certainly be very effective

against the majority of only 57 per cent, especially because this minority consists of martial races not emasculated by the doctrine of *ahimsa*. This militant minority will make orderly Government of the Punjab impossible. (This is the reason why the Hindoos and the Sikhs were quickly expelled from West Pakistan). In Sindh, the Muslim percentage is only 70.72 and in the British Baluchistan, the Muslim percentage is 87.5. But the population of British Baluchistan is only 5 lakhs. When these figures are taken into consideration in the total population of this north-western area of Pakistan, which is 360.86 lakhs, the Muslims are only 223.47 lakhs, that is only 61.93 percent. It must also be remembered in this connection that the percentage of Hindoos in this north-western area is much greater than the percentage of Muslims in whole of India, which is only 26.84 per cent. This small percentage of Muslims in the whole of India is laying claim to a separate country for themselves. This same reasoning can be applied to the north-west area of Pakistan of Jinnah's conception, and the Hindoos' claim also to demand a separate country for themselves in that area can be justified; because all the reasons cited by the Muslims for a separate land for them can be equally applied in the case of Hindoos. This Hindoo group is a fairly large one and staying in an area contiguous to a territory inhabited by a large majority of Hindoos will naturally demand its inclusion in that area.

The demand for a separate Pakistan in the north-east territory of India is even more ludicrous. In this area in Assam, the Hindoos and the aborigines are 66.28 per cent in the population and the Muslims constitute only 33.72 per cent of the population, yet the Muslims want the whole of Assam to be included in their Pakistan. If the population of Bengal and Assam is counted together, it amounts to 700.5 lakhs. Out of this, the Muslims constitute only 364.39 lakhs. That means 51.69 per cent of the total population. This is only a mathematical majority and of no consequence. Jinnah demands that Assam, a Hindoo majority province should be tagged on to Bengal which is a Muslim majority province. If that is so, why not Bihar also be tagged on to Bengal. If this is done, the total population of this area of Bengal, Bihar and Assam amounts to 966.46 lakhs in which the Muslims constitute only 39.03 per cent, that is, a definite minority. Even if Jinnah's suggestion of joining Assam and Benagal is accepted, the Muslims

only secure a mathematical majority and the Hindoos can also demand a separate territory for themselves just like in the north-western area. All these calculations unmistakably show that the Pakistan demand of Jinnah has no bottom and is a counsel of despair.

Azad's Appeal to Musalmans :

I submitted this memorandum or representation to the Empire Parliamentary Delegation because I had been always against the Partition of the country and I am still unreconciled to it and would never be. I have always loved my motherland with its bounderies from Indus to the sea. This memorandum would show how impracticable the scheme of Pakistan was. After this parliamentary delegation left India, the Cabinet Mission, authorised by the British Government visited India and placed before the country its scheme for political reforms of India which is well known as the 16th May 1946 scheme, sponsored by the Cabinet Mission. This scheme was also in effect granting of Pakistan by the back door, and it was based on the principles enunciated in the scheme sponsored by Maulana Azad, the then Congress President. The Cabinet Mission itself has admitted this fact in its introduction to its scheme. Maulana Azad was recouping his health at Shrinagar towards the end of April 1946. From there, this Musalman President of the secular Congress issued an appeal to his co-religionists in the following terms: "Oh Musalmans, you accept the scheme sponsored by me without any hesitation. My scheme will confer on you all the benefits of Pakistan and you will not have to share any harm which would be caused by the division of the country." About this time, meetings between the Cabinet Mission and the various political parties were taking place at Simla. I referred to this fact in my speech in Poona on the 1st of May 1946 while inaugurating the Spring Lecture Series here. In my speech, I described these meetings between the Cabinet Mission and the political parties in India as the churning of words and compared it to the great mythological churning of the oceans by the Devas and the Asuras. This churning of the oceans produced the famous 14 jewels according to the Hindoo mythology. In my speech I said that out of these jewels churned out from this ocean of words, some will get Kaustubha, some will

get Laxmi, that is wealth, myself will get Dhanwantari, that is, I will go back to my profession and the Hindoos will get Halahala, that is the deadly poison. It is strange that within 3 and half months of this speech of mine, that is, on the 16th of August 1946, the Hindoos got the deadly poison in the shape of the great Calcutta killing and sometime later, the Congress got the Kaustubha, that is, the power of ruling the country and the Muslim League got Laxmi, that is wealth i. e. a large territory of India and I went back to my profession because towards the end of May 1946, resignations from all the Viceroy's Councillors were demanded to facilitate negotiation between the Congress and the League and they were accepted with effect from the 3rd of July 1946.

British Government prefers Nehru to Patel :

Ultimately the negotiations between the Congress and the Muslim League failed, and the Viceroy formed his Council of 8 or 9 I. C. S. officers, but this Council could not go on for ever and when all hopes of success of negotiations between the Congress and Muslim League were lost, the Government decided to form the Viceroy's Council consisting of congressmen and their Muslim nominees according to the principle of parity. It was of course decided that power was to be transferred into Nehru's hands. Nehru, hypnotised by Mountbatten and groomed for power, as described in the previous chapter returned to India from Malaya. Democratically it was improper to give power in Nehru's hands unless he was the President of the Congress or the leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly. He was neither. At that time, elections to the Central Assembly were already held. So there was no chance of Nehru becoming the leader of the Congress party in the Central Assembly. At that time, the annual session of the Congress could not be held. In fact, it was not held also. Therefore Maulana Azad who was the President of the Congress till then was inspired to resign on the score of ill health. Because during the delicate negotiations between the Congress and the Muslim League, which were to follow, the British must have thought it improper to have a Muslim as a President of the Congress. Maulana insisted that his resignation must be accepted without delay. The Congress Working Committee therefore met and gave a directive to all the Provincial Congress Committees

to suggest one name of their choice for the office of the Congress president. India was not divided at this time. All the Provincial Congress Committees therefore from the Frontier to Tamilnad, suggested names for the Presidentship according to their choice. On this list, Patel had the majority and Nehru was in a minority. If this list as such had gone to the All India Congress Committee, Sardar Patel would have naturally been elected to the Congress Presidentship on account of the majority secured by him. But the British wanted Nehru alone for their special politics. To get over this difficulty again, the sick Maulana went to the Mahatma and said to the Mahatma, "Mahatmaji, in the present context of the international situation, it is necessary that Nehru alone should be the Congress President. But majority has been secured by Sardar Patel. You alone can help in this crisis." Accordingly, the Mahatma sent for Sardar Patel and ordered him to retire from the contest. Thus Nehru was elected unopposed to the Congress Presidentship and appointed as Vice President of the Viceroy's Council formed by the Congress on 2nd September 1946.

A fortnight before this, that is exactly on the 16th August 1946, the great Calcutta killing of the Hindoos, according to the Direct Action Resolution of the Muslim League, to secure Pakistan had started. On the 1st September 1946, the Muslims attacked the Hindoos at Bhendi Bazar in Bombay. The Muslim League did not join this Viceroy's Council because the negotiations had failed. This was a golden opportunity for the Congress to declare the Muslim League illegal and put behind prison bars Jinnah and Liaquat Ali. This Council was formed under the Government of India Act, 1919 and it is conceivable that the Viceroy would have exercised his veto and prevented the Congress from taking action against the Muslim League. But at this very time, the Congress had eight Provincial Governments under its thumb and these Governments were formed under the Provincial Autonomy Act of 1935 and they had full rights to maintain law and order in the provinces and the Viceroy under the then existing law, could not have interfered with that. The Congress could have taken advantage of this situation and ordered the Kher Ministry in Bombay to declare the Muslim League illegal in the Bombay province

and arrest Jinnah, and the Pant Ministry in U. P., to declare the Muslim illegal in that Province, and arrest Liaquat Ali. Had the Congress shown this much courage Pakistan would have died in conception. It is the Congress principle that all coercion and intimidation is reserved for the Hindoos and all supplication, flattery and genu-flexion is meant for the Muslims. Therefore the Congress did not take any steps mentioned above, but on the contrary, joined the Viceroy in cooing and wooing the Muslim League. On account of this flattery, the Muslim League agreed to join the Viceroy's Council. The Congress did not even show the courage of asking the Muslim League to cancel their resolution of direct action before joining the Viceroy's Council. The Muslim League on account of this persuasion by the Congress and the Viceroy, joined the Viceroy's Council on 25th of October 1946, and to make room for the members of the Muslim League, men like Shafat Ahmed Khan and Sarat Chandra Bose had to be turned out. So the Muslim League got the best in both worlds. The massacre of Hindoos went on as per the Direct Action resolution, and at the same time, they could also enjoy the authority provided in the Viceroy's Council, and disrupt the Central Government. On account of this, terrible slaughter of the Hindoos took place at many places in India, making the flesh creep and unheard of before in history.

As mentioned before, Lord Wavell was recalled after 3½ years and Mountbatten took charge of the Viceroyalty of India on the 22nd March 1947. The then Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Atlee had directed Lord Mountbatten to study and watch the situation in India for six months and make a report to the British Government on the 1st of October 1947, so that the British Government would enact a law on the 1st of July 1948, constituting either one Indian Dominion or two independent Indian Dominions. But this long delay was not at all necessary because Nehru was already hypnotised by the influence of Lord and Lady Mountbatten and the Congress leaders were also eager to grab power. Mountbatten rightly gauged the situation and suggested the scheme of partition as soon as he came to India

and his assistant, Lord Ismay, left for England on the 2nd May 1947 taking in his pocket the consent of Jinnah and Nehru for partition, which was officially proclaimed on the 3rd June 1947. In the middle of July 1947, the British Parliament enacted the Indian Independence Act, constituting two independent dominions, named India and Pakistan and this Act came into force on the 15th August 1947. This, I would call a day of tragedy and not of joy. What indecent haste !! And what success to Mountbatten's British diplomacy! Really according to his English name, Lord Mountbatten *mounted* on all with his *baton*. He compelled the Congress to consent to partition. He compelled the Muslim League to accept truncated and moth-eaten Pakistan and he compelled the Indian Princes to join the Constituent Assembly or align themselves with India. Pandit Mountbatten ki jai !!!

While doing all this, Mountbatten gave a glimpse of clever British diplomacy. He did not allow the blame of partitioning the country to attach to himself. He knew that the Congress leaders were very eager for power. He therefore told them, "If you are prepared to wait for a year or so, you should not consent to the partition of the country, because it is certain that after waiting for some time political power will certainly come to your hands without any division. But if you are not prepared to wait and you want power here and now, then you should consent to partition." But he took care also to express his own opinion that "it was essential to take a plebiscite of the people before partition, while the sovereignty of such a big country as India was being transferred. It is improper to partition the country without a plebiscite". But the Congressmen had no patience. They told Mountbatten that it would take a long time to prepare the list of voters for a plebiscite which was not feasible. They were therefore prepared to take upon themselves the whole responsibility of dividing the country. Some people say that Mahatma Gandhi was against the partitioning of the country. But this is not true, because in the meeting of the A. I. C. C. held in the middle of July 1947, which rubber-stamped the scheme of partition, Mahatma Gandhi was present, but did not oppose the partition. Moreover, Acharya Kripalani who was the President of the Congress

at that that time, had said in a meeting of All India Congress Committee held in November 1947, that Gandhiji consented to partition, because there was no other way out to solve the deadlock. Similarly, Lord Mountbatten also in a speech made in England emphatically declared that Mahatma Gandhi had given his consent to the partition. An extract of the speech of Lord Mountbatten has been published in the issue of *Amrit Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta dated the 18th or 19th October 1950. It was regrettable that the Congress talked of chastity but practised adultery and Pakistan was the offspring of this illegitimate connection between the Congress and the British Imperialism. This is a great memorial which Gandhiji has left behind. There is therefore no necessity of erecting any memorials of Gandhi consisting of brick and mortar.

Thus Pakistan was brought into existence as a result of thoughtlessness, lack of wisdom, greed for power, indecent haste and dark conspiracy. This is a great misfortune which has befallen the country, and there is no parallel to it in the whole history of the world. There are examples of individuals acting treacherously to their country in many countries of the world. But there is no example in the whole history of the world, of a powerful political organisation acting treacherously towards the country. The Congress bent its knees before the Muslim League, played into the hands of British Imperialism and committed this act of treachery. History will never forget this.

One single sentence from Nehru's speech delivered at Meerut on 21st November 1946, will afford proof of this Anglo-Muslim conspiracy to divide the country, to which the Congress fell a willing victim. Said Nehru, "There is a mental alliance between the League and senior British officials."

In the foregoing pages, I have made it crystal clear how Pakistan was born. Except some blind congressmen, all thinking persons hold this very view about the birth of Pakistan. To illustrate this, it will be worthwhile to quote here some extracts from a chapter 'Origin of Pakistan' from a book named 'Nehru Unlimited' by A. N. Bali. I do so with apologies and thanks to the author. :

“ The Congress opportunists were lacking in courage and vision. Instead of standing up against wrong, they had been making surrenders after surrenders to fanatical Muslim Leaguers. What they condemned one day most vigorously on principle, they accepted the next day in practice for fear of consequences. The fanatics of the Muslim League brand grasped the fundamental weakness of the moral fibre of the so called non-violent satyagrahis and exploited it successfully to gain their points. In 1920 the Congress decided to boycott the Chelmsford-Montague Reforms. The Boycott movement continued to gain momentum till a wave of communal riots started in the north and the south resulting in murders, rape and loot. The Congress refused in principle to accept the communal demands of the Muslim League. But when the Muslim Leaguers backed their arguments with violence and started disturbances, the faint-hearted Congress leaders, at once began to woo them. Mr. Jinnah and other so called nationalist Muslims, who were then for joint electorates and were opposed to extreme communal demands, were entirely ignored and neglected, and court paid to Ali brothers. Mr. Jinnah once complained to press representatives at Lahore against the shabby treatment he had received at the hands of the Congress leaders. “ Mr. Gandhi ”, he complained, “ is running after Sir Mohammed Shafi who had jumped into the seat vacated by Sir Sankaran Nair, who resigned from Viceroy's Executive Council on the issue of the Punjab wrongs. Mr. Gandhi is now wooing those who have joined hands with British imperialists. Time may come when he would be waiting at my door. ” How prophetic were those words ? Few realised at that time the grave import of what Mr. Jinnah said with some earnestness.

When Mr. Jinnah joined the Muslim League, of which Sir Mohammad Shafi and His Highness the Aga Khan were once leaders, he came to be feared by the Congress High Command. In the beginning he was opposed to the demand of Pakistan. He wanted to use it only as a lever to extort the maximum concessions from the Congress. Later on he placed himself completely into the hands of fanatical Muslims. Congressmen would not accept the demand for Pakistan. Vivisection of the motherland, they averred, was an impossibility and Pakistan would be established,

they declared, on their dead bodies. But when fanatical *goondas* let loose hell in Calcutta, then the resistance of Congressmen began to waver. The 16th day of August 1946 was celebrated in Calcutta as Direct Action day by the Muslim League. It resulted in a holocaust. The Calcutta carnage was followed by the Noakhali riot in October the same year. And pray, what was the result? A few months later, the British Government made their June 3, 1947 statement embodying certain proposals for the partition of India and the Congress leaders, frightened out of their wits by the diabolic disturbances caused by fanatical Muslim League *goondas* in north India, accepted these proposals and Pakistan was established on August 14, 1947.

Long before the establishment of Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah had suggested a planned exchange of population and property between India and Pakistan, but Congress leaders continued to delude themselves into the belief that the creation of Pakistan would just be a territorial division of the country. They continued to exhort the Hindoos and Sikhs in Pakistan to stay where they were, but soon they had to change their mind.

After the establishment of Pakistan they agreed to the exchange of Military and police personnel. The Hindoo and Sikh units of the armed forces were withdrawn from Pakistan. The result was that the minorities in West Pakistan were left helpless at the mercy of *goondas* and fanatical bands of armed men in uniforms. Massacre, loot, rape, arson and violence started on an unprecedented scale. Instead of taking up a bold and firm stand for the protection of innocent people, the Congress leaders at the Centre were for a time silent spectators of ghastly mass slaughter and ultimately yielded (last week of August 1947) to the demand of the Muslim League for the exchange of population but that exchange was unplanned and badly carried out. Fanatics and *goondas* helped by police and armed men cleared Western Pakistan of all Hindoos and Sikhs, who had to leave behind their moveable and immoveable properties. Those who were once living like princes, were made paupers overnight. Millions were made to move. They had to abandon their hearths and homes and thousands of them lost their lives, limbs and honour.

But non-violent opportunists had the cowardly satisfaction of boasting that they won independence without shedding a drop of blood !

The hounding out of Hindoos and Sikhs from West Pakistan was complete and thorough. The Pakistani fanatics do not want them either in East Pakistan. They are suspicious about them. Even Shri J. N. Mandal, Law Member of the Pakistan's Central Government, was kept out of secret confabulations of the Pakistan cabinet. Later, he resigned and returned to India as a bitterly disappointed man. His statement on the development of Pakistan as an Islamic State made a horrid reading. He laid bare the anti-Hindoo policy of East Bengal administration. He detailed the barbarous atrocities committed by police and *goondas* on Namashudras near Gopalgunj. His narration of military oppression in the district of Syllhet was followed by a heart-rending account of Dacca riots where some fanatical employees of the Secretariat had organised the procession which culminated in diabolical crimes.".....

..... "Extermination, conversion or migration were the three alternatives left for minorities in East Pakistan. That explains their mass exodus to West Bengal. They came away in lakhs. The Nehru-Liaquat pact failed to inspire their confidence in the promises of Pakistani leaders. But many of them later on returned to East Bengal in sheer disgust and disappointment. The Congress Government of West Bengal failed miserably in the humanitarian task of relief and rehabilitation. The authorities at the Centre, instead of providing it with adequate funds for efficient relief, asked it to persuade the refugees to return to their homes. The persuasion meant more than persuasion. The refugees got no shelter, no homes and no work. Therefore they could stay here only to starve or struggle against heavy odds. Many of them must have returned to Pakistan to embrace Islam, openly or to live as half Muslims. If not immediately, within a short period the entire population of East Pakistan is threatened with mass conversion to Islam. But Congress opportunists are so de-Hindooised that they are not concerned about this mass conversion. Some of the Congress opportunists run down those who yield to forcible conversion, maintaining that such people

are not worth retaining in the Hindoo fold. They forget that a large majority of the present fanatical Pakistanis had ancestors who professed the Hindoo faith. They were somehow made to embrace Islam and their children's children are the aggressive protagonists of separatism now. *Hindoos have suffered terribly in the past by despising* instead of sympathising with the victims of forcible conversions, but the Congress leaders have learned nothing and unlearned nothing from history.

The leaders of Pakistan are clever people. They have killed more than one bird with one stone in forcing Hindoo and Sikh minorities to quit Pakistan. In the first place, they have made room for the easy rehabilitation of those Muslims who have chosen Pakistan to be their home. They have lightened the pressure of population on land. The vast rich properties left behind by Hindoos in Pakistan have enriched the Muslim fanatics and Muslims holding positions of power and prestige. Last but not the least, the evacuation of minorities has ended the danger of minority elements working adversely in the face of a war between India and Pakistan. Troops have not to be detailed for internal security duties with the result that Pakistan army gets a sort of invisible addition of a Division or two, to its nominal strength."

Divide before you quit policy :

"The partition of India is directly in line with the British strategy in all parts of the world. Britain quits a country only after dividing it. Partition is the price that different countries have had to pay for independence. The agricultural part of North America was cut off as Canada. The Southern and Northern parts of the United States of America were also encouraged to divide and what is now known as the United States of America would have been divided into two if the British imperialists had had their way. Before Ireland was granted freedom, it was vivisected and its northern region agriculturally rich, was cut away to form Ulster. When Egypt sought to break imperialist's chains, British imperialists were quick to raise the demand in Sudan for separation from Egypt. In the case of India also, the British imperialists

have repeated their old game, of '*divide and rule and divide before you quit.*' They planned the division of India 50 years ago. The North West Frontier province was lopped off from the Punjab. The East Bengal was partitioned from West Bengal. Two Muslim majority zones, one in the west and the other in the east were thus created. The partition of Bengal to cite the trite declaration of Lord Curzon, was made a 'settled fact'. But that settled fact was unsettled because the people of Bengal, to use the words of late Lokmanya Tilak, "had not lost their soul." They rose like one man against the rape of their homeland. They had no rest and peace of mind till the wrong done to them had been righted. In other countries also nationalists have refused to acquiesce in the division of their motherland. In Ireland, the nationalist leaders are firmly determined to end partition and re-unite northern Ireland and southern Ireland. The leaders of the United States of America bravely resisted the vivisection of their States and fought for seven years on this issue. Quietly but steadily and surely, Canada is being drawn back closer and closer to the United States of America. In Egypt all parties are united to make the British quit Sudan. There is the demand for the union of North and South Korea and the union of Hongkong and Formosa with China in which even Nehru joins.

The partitioning of India is the greatest wrong of History and has to be righted. But the saddest part of the tragedy is that a section of our nationalists instead of feeling furious about what Mountbattens have done feel grateful to them. Instead of feeling ashamed of their helplessness or of the Mir Jaffar or Oomichand's part that they played in accepting the Mountbatten scheme to wreck and ruin India politically, militarily and financially, they try to take credit for achieving something glorious. They boast to be free leaders of independent India.

The sub-continent of India was not partitioned on the basis of houses, shops and bungalows but on the basis of population. Pakistan was established on the basis of religion irrespective of the economic resources, railway tracks, rivers or bungalows.

Mr. V. P. Menon, writing in *Hindustan Times* of 29-1-1951, made a sensational disclosure how the great Sardar Patel and

presumably the other Congress leaders came to accept the partition of the country in 1946, long before it was formally announced. Mr. Menon met Sardar Patel in July 1946 (before the formation of the Executive Council by the Congress) on behalf of the Governor General and acquainted Sardar Patel with the background of the British Government's attitude in the matter of transfer of power. As he says, the last words of Sardar Patel to him before he took leave of him on that date were, " Menon, you and I are working for a common purpose. Let there be no mistake about our determination to achieve independence. *If the British are under the impression that they can hang on because of the difference of opinion between the Congress and the League, they are mistaken.* We will not consider any sacrifice too great to achieve our objective." From that day onwards, Mr. Menon says, he was with the full approval of Lord Mountbatten (after he became Viceroy) in close contact with Sardar Patel and had his complete support. Presumably, Lord Mountbatten must have been given the gist of Sardar Patel's talk by Shri Menon and being a shrewd Englishman, Lord Mountbatten must have come to the conclusion that the Congress in their eagerness to win power will be agreeable to the partition of the country on which he was bent. "....."

Partition and two nation theory :

" In a press conference in London, Pandit Nehru said that partition had been agreed to by India on a territorial basis, not on the basis of the two nation theory. This has been challenged by people who know. The Muslim writer Mr. Ahmed Shafi, writing in the Civil and Military Gazette dated 25-11-1949, said " Either he (Pandit J. L. Nehru) has a short memory or he is feigning ignorance of the events of the second quarter of 1947 in order to refute the general assumption that because India had accepted the partition of the country, it followed that Kashmir with a majority of Muslim population automatically belongs to Pakistan "

Lord Ismay, who was Chief of Staff to Lord Mountbatten, in a lecture at a meeting of the Royal Empire Society in London, gave a personal account of his experience of the last days of British rule in India and said, " I do not think, I am betraying secrets

when I say that at the outset, the Congress would have nothing to do with any plan that involved partition of the country, while the Muslim League would have nothing to do with any plan which did not include a sovereign State of Pakistan. Discussions went on and eventually and gradually one seemed to see a change of heart; one saw them getting closer to each other and the point was reached where it looked likely that the Congress would be prepared to withdraw their unqualified objection to partition, subject to the perfectly reasonable and perfectly logical proviso that if the whole of India were partitioned, Bengal and the Punjab should also be partitioned; and it looked as if the Muslim League while bitterly denouncing the thought and prospect of partitioning these two provinces, would be prepared to concede that a moth-eaten Pakistan was better than no Pakistan. Those were Jinnah's own words. So a plan gradually began to take shape which seemed likely to commend itself to both parties. Pandit Nehru conveniently forgets that the Punjab and Bengal were partitioned into Muslim majority and Hindoo majority tracts and the line of demarcation between the two parts was not drawn by geographical or even economic considerations but by considerations of religion."

From the year 1949, I have been charging Nehru, Patel and Gandhi of playing into the hands of Lord and Lady Mountbatten and accepting partition of the country which was brought about mainly to serve British interests. Excepting blind Congressmen, all thinking persons hold this same view about the birth of Pakistan. Proof of this has now been furnished by the book entitled 'India Wins Freedom' written by Humayun Kabir, secretary to Maulana Azad and approved by Maulana Azad, during his life time. This proof to substantiate my charges comes as if from the horse's mouth and I quote below some relevant extracts from 'Nagpur Times' dated 2nd February 1959.

"The Maulana records that as soon as Sardar Patel had been convinced Lord Mountbatten turned his attention to Jawaharlal. Jawaharlal first reacted violently, but within a month of Lord Mountbatten's arrival in India, Jawaharlal the firm *opponent* of *Partition* had become, if not a *supporter*, at least acquiescent towards the idea."

"The arguments of Sardar Patel", he adds, "must have had some effect but could not have been decisive. Jawaharlal was

also greatly impressed by Lord Mountbatten but perhaps even greater was the influence of Lady Mountbatten.....She is not only extremely intelligent, but has a most attractive and friendly temperament." (This by the way reminds one of stories in ancient Indian history of so-called *Poison Girls* captivating the minds of enemy leaders and bringing about their capitulation.)

"The Maulana then recalls how Gandhiji "(My only hope at that time"), first said that partition could be accepted 'over my dead body' and later virtually succumbed to Sardar Patel's arguments and Lord Mountbatten's in favour of partition." In despondency I said at last "if even you have now adopted these views, I see no hope of saving India from catastrophe."

"The Maulana refers to the historic statement of June 3rd, 1947 as the end of all hopes for preserving the unity of India."

"The Maulana then came to the painful conclusion that the action was governed more by consideration of British than Indian interests. If a United India had become free, according to the Cabinet Mission Plan there was little chance that Britain could retain her position in the economic and industrial life of India."

The partition of India in which Muslim majority provinces formed a separate and independent state would on the other hand give Britain a foot hold in India." On reading these disclosures well might have Nehru exclaimed "thou too Brutus"

From the above quotations from Maulana Azad's autobiography it need not be inferred that the Maulana was genuinely against establishment of Pakistan. If it was so he should have withdrawn from the Congress and given up his position of authority. He should have also resigned from the Congress Working Committee when in March 1947 it passed a resolution demanding that the Hindu majority areas should form India and the Muslim majority areas should form Pakistan. It is well known that the Education Department which he headed, functioned as a Pakistan in India. Maulana's chagrin and consequent disclosures follow from the fact that the Cabinet Mission Plan which was based on a scheme sponsored and recommended by him as Congress

President to the Muslims and which in effect was Pakistan consisting of whole of Bengal, Assam, the whole of the Punjab, Sindh and Frontier province by the backdoor, was given up.

From the reaction of Pt. Nehru to these disclosures published in Nagpur Times of 8-2-1959 it is clear that Nehru has not only not denied them but has admitted them in substance.

CHAPTER VII

CHAMPION OF INDIANS OVERSEAS.

I took charge of the Department of Indians Overseas on the 7th May 1943. As the name Indians Overseas signifies, I thought that I would have the responsibility of the welfare of the Indians domiciled outside India, whether within the British Empire or without it. But in practice I found that the scope of my Department was limited only to Indians living outside India but within the British Empire. This really meant that my Department had to look after the Indian labourers sent by the Indian Government to countries outside but within the British Empire. My Department was therefore sometimes jocularly described as 'Indian Coolies Department'. This situation was not quite tolerable and there was great discrepancy between the name of my Department and its function.

I lost no time in bringing this anomalous position to the notice of Lord Linlithgow the Viceroy in a demi-official letter. In this letter, I requested the Viceroy that since the name of my Department was the Indians Overseas Department, I should be given the responsibility of looking after the welfare of Indians living outside India, whether within or without the British Empire. After a lapse of some time Lord Linlithgow told me that since the question raised by me was a fundamental one, it would not be proper for him (Lord Linlithgow) to take any decision in the matter as he was shortly relinquishing office and a new Viceroy was coming who should not be embarrassed. It would be proper therefore, to raise this question about the scope of this Department with the new Viceroy.

Lord Wavell took charge as the Viceroy in October 1943. I immediately sent him a demi-official letter requesting him that the scope of my department should be enlarged and I should be made responsible for the welfare of Indians overseas, residing anywhere outside India whether within or without the British Empire. After waiting for some time Lord Wavell during the course of an interview pointed out to me that since India was a dependency her foreign affairs

were to be operated through the British Government and this was necessarily to be done through the Viceroy who was the member-in-charge of the External Affairs Department. Lord Wavell also indicated during the course of the talk that India would get Dominion Status sooner than expected, when foreign affairs would be given in charge of an Indian member of the cabinet. To this I replied that I did not care for foreign politics of India, but was only concerned with the welfare of Indians settled in foreign countries. Lord Wavell replied that he saw my point, but it was impossible to dissociate welfare from politics. Therefore, it was impossible to have any formal change in the constitutional status of India. I persisted that even without a formal change, informal arrangements could be made to satisfy me. Lord Wavell was quite convinced of the utility and desirability of the suggestions made by me and told me that I should raise with the Viceroy any question pertaining to the difficulties experienced by Indians abroad and make suggestions or proposals to solve such difficulties and render necessary help to the Indians abroad. I was not satisfied with this verbal assurance from the Viceroy. I therefore insisted that the Viceroy should give me in writing this authority to make suggestions for the welfare of the Indians abroad so that there should be no interference by the departmental officers of the External Affairs Department, and the Viceroy should also instruct the departmental Secretary to send the files concerning the welfare of Indians settled in foreign countries outside the Empire to me for my comments. Lord Wavell agreed to both the suggestions of mine. I achieved my object in a skilful manner and the files concerning Indians settled outside the British Empire began to be sent to me for my comments.

Indians in America :

Under this arrangement, files about the Indians in America were perused and commented upon by me. There were about 3,000 to 4,000 Indians settled in America and there were thousands of Chinese settled there. None of them had any rights of citizenship in America. According to the American laws, only people of European descent and Caucasian origin could secure rights of

citizenship through law courts. Chinese being Mongolian in origin and not Caucasian were debarred from securing rights of citizenship. But two enterprising Indians, Messrs S. L. Gokhale and Gogte, both Chitpawan Maharashtrian Brahmins from the Central Provinces, secured rights of American citizenship by proving their Caucasian origin in American courts. After this decision favourable to Indians, this avenue was blocked by the American Government.

During the Second World War, China was one of the allied nations helping the Anglo-Americans in the war against Hitler. Perhaps, on account of this help rendered by China a Bill was passed in the American Senate conferring American citizenship rights on all the Chinese settled there and allowing an annual quota of 100 Chinese immigrants to settle in America as citizens. Although India was also helping strenuously in the War against Hitler, the claims of Indian nationals settled in America for American citizenship were completely ignored. When this information was conveyed to me in a file in the course of business, I strongly protested against this invidious discrimination against Indian settlers in America. I argued, "If the Chinese were fighting alongside the Anglo-Americans against Hitler, the Indians also are doing the same and rendering perhaps greater help than that rendered by the Chinese; why should rights of citizenship not be conferred on the Indians in America simultaneously with the Chinese." I vehemently argued with the Viceroy and told him straightway that this attitude of America and this indifference towards this question of Indians, by the British Ambassador in America (Lord Halifax) would naturally adversely affect the war efforts of India. After this, the matter was again referred to the U. S. A. Government. The U. S. A. Government authorities pointed out that according to the American Constitution, the Government itself could not change the laws governing citizenship rights. But if a private Senator could be found to introduce a Bill in the Congress, granting citizenship rights to Indians in America, it would meet with their approval. When this American view was communicated to me, I said that the American argument was most unconvincing. If a private senator could be found to introduce a Bill about the

Chinese, it was strange that one could not be found to introduce a Bill for India. A reference on these lines was again made to U. S. A. and they replied that the question of citizenship rights of Indians would be considered along with the question of other South East Asian countries like Indonesia, Malaya etc., after the war was over. I remarked on this with some passion, that this attitude of America to group Indians with half-civilised Malays and Indonesians was positively an insult to India. I was convinced that the partiality shown to China was due to the fact that China was an independent country and India was ignored because it was a dependency of Great Britain and the fault lay with Great Britain, and the Indian question was not solved due to British indifference or opposition. This passionate attitude of mine was exhibited in my speech in the Central Assembly on the 22nd March 1945 on the Finance Bill. I said in that speech that although President Roosevelt was sympathetic towards the Indian demand, it was regrettable that nothing could be done in the matter.

When this question was again referred to America, the irritation and bitterness caused in India was appreciated. Mr. Emanuel Celler, a private Senator was induced to move a Bill for granting citizenship rights to the Indians domiciled in America and also allowing an annual quota of 100 immigrants from India to settle as citizens in America. Thus I succeeded at last in this unequal fight. This success raised the international status of India, thanks to my bold and patriotic perseverance.

Afghanistan :

The Indian nationals domiciled in Afghanistan experienced certain difficulties with regard to maintenance of their account books. The Indian merchants and tradesman were required by the Afghanistan Government to maintain their account books in Pushtu. The Indians wanted to maintain their account books in their own language and resented this order of the Afghanistan Government. When this fact came to the knowledge of the Government of India, I persuaded the Government of India to represent to the Afghan Government that it was customary for the Indians to worship their account books every year on the Diwali or New Years Day, and it offended their religious susceptibilities

if they were required to worship their account books written in Pushtu; therefore they should not be compelled to maintain their account books in Pushtu but should be allowed to maintain them in their own language. It should be enough if they submitted their balance sheet in Pushtu for income tax purposes. The Afghan Government accepted this suggestion of the Government of India and the difficulties of the Indian nationals were removed.

Phillipines :

The Sindhi Hindoo merchants are ubiquitous. They are spread all over the world. There is no wonder therefore if they are found in Phillipines also. These Sindhi merchants in Phillipines suffered from some miscellaneous difficulties. I persuaded the Government of India to correspond with the Phillipines Government to remove these difficulties and it was done.

Ceylon and Burma :

Early in 1943, it was decided that India should send a representative to Ceylon and Burma to safeguard Indian Interests there and Ceylon and Burma should reciprocate. As soon as I took over the portfolio of Indians Overseas, the question of appointing a representative in Ceylon cropped up, and the name of one Mr. Baig was suggested by my Secretary, Mr. Bozman, I. C. S., with the previous approval of Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy. This Mr. Baig was an insurance agent in Bombay. Mr. Bozman requested my signature on the file in token of my approval of the order to appoint Mr. Baig as India's representative in Ceylon. This decision of appointing Mr. Baig was taken before I took charge of the Department and they were awaiting the signature of the member in charge of the department. I took the pen to affix my signature, but suddenly the thought crossed my mind that Mr. Baig was not at all fit for this purpose. I thought that it would be better to appoint some politician of high status in this office in Ceylon, and at once the name of Mr. M. S. Aney came to my mind like an inspiration and I told my Secretary, Mr. Bozman that as the matter was not urgent, it could easily wait. I did not approve of the appointment of Mr. Baig and in a short time, I would be able to suggest the name of a statesman of high status for this job. I therefore would not sign this order.

The name of Mr. M. S. Aney occurred to me because I had read the news of his resignation of the membership of the Viceroy's Council during the fast of Mr. Gandhi in February 1943 in a powerful Marathi weekly named '*Vividhavaritta*' of Bombay. After tendering his resignation, Mr. Aney went straight to Poona to see Mr. Gandhi in the Agakhan Palace jail undergoing the fast. He composed there some Sanskrit poems in praise of Gandhi and his fast. The upshot of this composition was that Gandhi was undergoing this penance in the shape of fast, being chagrined on account of the slaughter of humanity taking place during the World War. I was amazed at this because Mr. M. S. Aney rebelled against the Congress and Gandhi even before me and established the Responsive Co-operation Party along with Messrs. Kelkar, Jayakar and Dr. Moonje. Before this, Aney also several times vehemently criticised Gandhi and his politics in his speeches and writings. Being a learned and well read man, Aney's criticism was always piercing. I had also rebelled against the Congress and was also a bitter critic of Gandhian politics. In 1941, Gandhi was conducting individual civil disobedience on behalf of the Congress to oppose the war efforts. Being anti-Gandhi and anti-Congress, on account of difference in policy and principles, I felt very happy when Aney accepted the appointment on Viceroy's Executive Council in October 1941 and thus acted directly against the all India Congress policy, because at that time I also was helping in the cause of recruitment to the army. I therefore immediately sent a congratulatory wire to Mr. Aney on his appointment to the Viceroy's Council in which I expressed my satisfaction that Mr. Aney had got a golden opportunity of entering the fortress of the Government of India and carrying on Tilakite politics there. Later on, when the Quit India movement of August 1942 started, Aney who was appointed Leader of the House by Lord Linlithgow, bitterly criticised that movement in his speech in the Central Assembly. Being in the know of these facts, I was very much amazed by this resignation of Mr. Aney on account of Gandhi's fast. But this amazement of mine was short-lived. I read the full news published in '*Vividhavaritta*', which disclosed that while returning to Yeotmal from Poona Mr. Aney at the Victoria Terminus, Bombay, expressed his repentance for resigning the job on the Viceroy's Council to a dear friend of his who was none else

but the Editor of '*Vividhavrta*' Shri R. K. Tatnis. (This was disclosed to me by Mr. Tatnis himself). While expressing his repentance, Mr. Aney said, " I thought, the old man (Gandhi) might be moribund, but I saw him quite healthy. I resigned in vain, and I repent for doing so in haste " (Why should not Gandhi look healthy ! He was being fed with sweet lime juice as and when necessary. This has been referred to in this book in the beginning). Because the Marathi paper, '*Vividhavrta*' had published the fact of Mr. Aney's repentance, I thought that it was likely that he might accept the Ceylon offer if properly made. I have given all this account here only to show how my mind was working at that time and not to criticise anybody.

The second reason why I thought of suggesting the name of Shri M. S. Aney for the post of Government of India's representative in Ceylon was Gandhi himself. Because if Aney accepted the appointment, Gandhi could not have the pride and satisfaction that a great intelligent Maharashtrian statesman resigned his high post as a protest against the government and in sympathy with his fast. Gandhi's pride certainly would have had a fall if Aney accepted the job subordinate to his previous job.

The third reason for suggesting Mr. Aney's name was Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy himself. Aney had been the leader of the Congress Nationalist party in the Central Assembly for a number of years. Linlithgow must have been influenced by this political status of Mr. Aney as well as by his personality. He therefore immediately appointed Mr. Aney as a leader of the House in the Central Assembly. This showed the friendship and high regard which Linlithgow entertained for Mr. Aney. I therefore naturally thought, that if I could somehow or other, rope in Mr. Aney in Ceylon, I would create a great impression about my statesmanship on Linlithgow's mind and earn his goodwill which could perhaps be highly useful in political manoeuvres. Future events would show that this estimate of mine was quite correct.

Aney's appointment welcomed all over India :

The fourth reason which made me suggest the name of Mr. Aney was that I would create a good impression upon Maharashtrians by this appointment. It is well known that on account

of special historical reasons, the British and the Congress have been prejudiced against Maharashtrians as such. Maharashtrians therefore do not easily find a place in the distribution of such high jobs. I would therefore create a favourable impression upon the Maharashtrian mind by this appointment of Mr. Aney. I also thought that this appointment of Mr. Aney would be welcomed throughout India, because it was a very proper choice from all points of view. Fortunately, these conjectures of mine were justified by future events because when Aney's appointment was actually published, the Indian press welcomed it. The Congress paper, '*Bombay Chronicle*' also welcomed it very highly.

Contact with Aney :

It was not an easy matter to contact Aney for this purpose. On the one hand, Aney might have taken this offer of this office as a great insult, in view of the fact of his having resigned his higher job on account of Gandhi's fast. On the other hand, Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy, might not have liked to consider Mr. Aney's name as he had deserted the Government on the issue of Gandhi's fast. To solve this difficulty therefore, I thought it necessary to sound Aney's mental reaction in this matter in an indirect manner. I was hopeful that the bait would be taken on account of Aney's repentance and thorough disillusionment to which he had given expression to a friend as mentioned before.

I therefore wrote a letter from Delhi to two of my close friends viz., Shri Eknath Shripat Patwardhan and Shri Anand Nilkanth Udhoji, and asked them to visit Yeotmal on some pretext and put up with Mr. Aney himself, and try to gauge his mind on this question of appointment in Ceylon without giving him any indication or cause for suspicion. In response to my letter, both these friends went to Yeotmal, had a talk with Mr. Aney and informed me in a letter that Aney was not at all against the consideration of this question of the appointment in Ceylon. This information greatly encouraged me and I wrote a demi-official letter to Lord Linlithgow. In this letter I laid emphasis on the fact that Mr. Baig and Mr. Aney bore no comparison. Mr. Baig had no political and social status and Aney was one time colleague of the Viceroy. Further on, I rubbed in the fact that if Aney

actually accepted this job in Ceylon, the prestige of the Government of India lost by Aney's resignation in February on account of Gandhiji's fast, would be restored in a great measure. I also made it clear that I had neither talked to Mr. Aney nor seen him, nor corresponded with him. But some how or other, I had reasons to believe that if a proper approach was made, it was very likely that Aney would accept the offer of the Ceylon office. I therefore should be permitted to contact him.

On getting a favourable reply from Lord Linlithgow, I at once left Delhi for Nagpur to meet Mr. Aney. Fortunately, I had no occasion to go to Yeotmal for that purpose as Aney happened to be at Nagpur on that day. I invited Aney for dinner that night and took his consent for accepting the job in Ceylon. Lord Linlithgow was highly pleased and sincerely happy on account of this political move of mine. In an interview, he thanked me profusely and said, "*I am grateful to you, Dr. Khare for bringing back 'my Aney' to me. How did you manage it?*" I replied, "*It is my own secret and I will not divulge it even to you.*" Lord Linlithgow was so deeply impressed with this, that in my next confidential report which he submitted to the Secretary of State, he wrote, "He (myself) is intelligent, honest, straightforward and a statesman of high calibre." (I have referred to this confidential report not to impress on the public that I possessed all these high qualities, because I am conscious of my shortcomings, but simply to show how deep an impression Aney's appointment created on Linlithgow's mind). This favourable impression created on Linlithgow's mind subsequently proved very useful in my fight against South Africa. Thus all my estimates in this matter came out true. When this appointment of Mr. Aney was discussed in the Viceroy's Council, it surprised all the Councillors very greatly. Because none of them thought that, that was ever possible. One of my colleagues at the time, viz., Sir J. P. Shrivastava went to the extent of saying 'that I had made history by this appointment. In this way, with one stone I killed four birds viz., Gandhiji, Aney, Linlithgow, and Maharashtrian community, symbolically of course.

The echoes of this appointment of Mr. Aney were raised in the press also. Some papers ridiculed Aney and published some

cartoons also about him. I did not like this, because I had always held Aney in high respect and esteem on account of his being a close associate of Lokmanya Tilak and a great statesman well known for his learning and vast knowledge. I was compelled to write all these facts about Mr. Aney in this autobiography on account of their historical importance. Even so my respect for him had not been reduced even by an iota. The Congress High Command did not give him any opportunity hereafter to shine in politics. They only rewarded him with a post of the Governorship of Bihar, an office really of no consequence from the political point of view, and later on got him elected to the House of the People, to weaken the movement for Samyukta Maharashtra.

Burma :

Although Burma was at that time under Japanese occupation and the Burmese Government had an asylum in Simla the Government of India decided to appoint their representative in Burma also. I suggested the name of Shri Jamnadas Mehta for this job to which Lord Wavell, the Viceroy readily agreed. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta took charge of his appointment in Simla itself and was functioning there for some time. Later on, when Burma was re-conquered from Japan, the office of Mr. Jamnadas Mehta was shifted to Rangoon.

Damage to Indian interests in Ceylon and

Burma would have been avoided :

Indians have large interests of all kinds in Ceylon and Burma. More than half of the agricultural land in Burma was owned by Chetties of the Madras Presidency. 60 per cent tax payers in the Rangoon city were Indians. Almost all trade in Ceylon was in the hands of Indians. I tried my best when I was in office to safeguard these large Indian interests. But the Indian merchants and land owners did not listen to the suggestions made by my department. At that time, I called two or three conferences of the Indians who had huge interests in these two countries and advised them to plump for citizenship of these two countries and give up the Indian citizenship. I explained to them that if they took up the citizenship of these two countries, that is, Burma and Ceylon their interests there will be naturally safeguarded and their interests in India would be automatically safeguarded even though

they might not have the citizenship of India. It was easy for them at present to secure the citizenship of these two countries, because Britain was ruling over Burma, Ceylon and India and had been instrumental mainly in the matter of securing such large property interests by Indians there. Later on, when these countries would secure their freedom (which is inevitable) and the nationals of those countries would secure the responsibility for administering them, it would not be easy for Indians to safeguard their interests. But this advice of my department was not accepted by the Indians concerned and therefore they are suffering at present.

Australia and Canada :

The War was in full swing in 1943. Australia was threatened by Japan. During the course of an interview, the Viceroy, Lord Wavell suggested to me that Indian agriculturists should be encouraged to go and settle in Australia because they were sturdy fighters and would be very useful for the defence scheme, if need be. I replied, straightway that I was in favour of Indians settling anywhere in the world on terms of equality with the local citizens in any country. But I was clearly against sending Indians to places where these conditions did not exist. It was well known that the Australian Government followed the notorious 'White Australia' policy; therefore Indians should not go and settle there unless full citizenship rights were granted to them. For this very reason, I stopped emigration of Indian labourers to Burma, Malaya, Ceylon and other places.

After Lord Wavell took charge of the Viceroyalty of India, the British Government decided that the Government of India should appoint High Commissioners on their behalf in Australia and Canada which also in their turn should appoint their High Commissioners in India. When the Viceroy gave this news to the Executive Council, I naturally thought that since the High Commissioner in South Africa and the representatives of India in Burma and Ceylon were attached to my department of Indians Overseas, the High Commissioners in Australia and Canada would also be attached to my Department and I would have the right to appoint them. This was very natural and nobody could imagine that

any difficulty would be created in this matter. But unfortunately, the Commerce Member, Sir Azizul Huq desired that both these appointments should go to the Commerce Department and he began to indulge in flattery and secret manoeuvres to secure this right to make these appointments. I also emphasised my natural right to make these appointments before the Viceroy. So this became a disputed matter. The Viceroy therefore referred this question for their opinion to four departments to enable him to take a proper and correct decision. These Departments were: (i) the External Affairs Department under the Viceroy, (ii) Political Reforms Department under the Viceroy, (iii) Commerce Department headed by Sir Azizul Huq and (iv) Indians Overseas Department in my charge.

In January, 1944, I had to go to Bombay to inspect the pilgrim ships carrying pilgrims to Mecca. As the question of appointment of High Commissioners in Australia and Canada was still hanging fire, I purposely sought an interview with the Viceroy before going to Bombay, and insisted that the right to make these appointments properly and naturally belonged to me and my Department and this fact should be conceded. I told him that those appointments were not commercial in nature, but they were definitely political in nature. The commerce Member, Sir Azizul Huq had already a Trade Commissioner in Australia under him. His claim therefore to make these appointments was absurd. The Viceroy told me in reply that the opinions in this matter of the four departments concerned were lying on his table, and he had no opportunity yet to read them. He therefore could not take any decision just then. But he promised me that before he took the final decision, he would give me a hearing. After receiving this assurance from the Viceroy, I went to Bombay. But what a wonder! I received a letter from the Viceroy within two or three days of my reaching Bombay, that he had decided that the appointments of High Commissioners in Australia and Canada should be made by the Commerce Department. I became very irritated and dejected on account of this glaring breach of promise by the Viceroy and thought of sending my resignation of this job then and there from Bombay and going back to Nagpur. But on second thought to given this matter, I realised that haste and

impatience would not be useful because, if I resigned I would not be able to do anything against South Africa which was one of the reasons of my accepting the job on the Viceroy's Council. I therefore consulted Shri A. V. Pai, I. C. S., Joint Secretary of my Department who had accompanied me to Bombay. He also opined that I should not resign in haste and that I should write to the Viceroy reminding him of the assurance given by him, before my departure for Bombay, and requesting him to suspend his decision till I could see him and place my objections before him again. I received a somewhat favourable reply to this letter of mine. I therefore deferred my decision to resign.

Flattery of Sir Azizul Huq failed :

After returning to Delhi from Bombay, and before seeing the Viceroy, I got a very pleasant and agreeable news. While I was on tour in Bombay, the Australian Government had sent a wire to the Government of India as follows : "The High Commissioner which the Australian Government is appointing in India is regarded by the Australian Government as holding a status equal to that of an Ambassador in an independent country. The Australian Government will not therefore like their High Commissioner in India to be attached to a Department like the Commerce Department. But on the contrary it will insist that he should be attached either to the External Affairs Department or to an allied Department whose function is similar." I was very happy to see this wire with my own eyes. Another funny but agreeable thing which happened during this period was that the British Government also had sent a wire to Lord Wavell in the same terms as the wire of the Australian Government. On account of these two wires, the Viceroy must have been crestfallen. When I went to see him, I was quite confident of gaining my point and the Viceroy was obviously dejected. Because, now in view of these wires he could not please the Commerce Member, Sir Azizul Huq whose flattery thus proved to be fruitless.

The Secretary of State conceded my point :

During my interview, the Viceroy referred to these wires in a dejected tone. On the contrary, I said to him, "I am not at all surprised at these wires. I had warned you before hand that the

Trade Commissioner of India in Australia is attached to the Commerce Department and it was improper to attach the High Commissioner also to that Department. But you did not agree with my suggestions. These wires of both these Governments completely support me. My Department known as Indians Overseas is practically working as Foreign Affairs Department in the Commonwealth countries. I therefore suggest that the High Commissioners of India in Australia and Canada should be appointed by me and should be answerable to my Department." But the Viceroy did not agree at all with this reasonable suggestion of mine. He said that both the wires suggested that the High Commissioners should be attached to the External Affairs Department. He would therefore follow the advice given in those wires. Now his External Affairs Department would appoint those High Commissioners. This obstinacy of the Viceroy not to see reason irritated me and in an angry mood, I told him to take the High Commissioner of India in South Africa also under his own External Affairs Department. This would spare me the abuses which were bestowed upon me by the public. His Department was named as External Affairs Department and dealt with matters pertaining to countries outside the British Empire. I was not aware yet of Australia having gone out of the British Empire. This dispute between me and the Viceroy on fundamentals was naturally referred to the Secretary of State who immediately decided the matter. He ordered that the High Commissioners in Australia and Canada should be appointed by the Member in charge of the Indians Overseas Department and the name of that Department should thereafter be changed into Commonwealth Relations Department. Thus I succeeded in this dispute with the Viceroy as well as the Commerce Member, who felt very much mortified and his dream of appointing a Muslim Leaguer as High Commissioner in Australia vanished into thin air.

Although in this way, I scored a victory in this very intricate and troublesome dispute, my difficulties were not yet over. Mr. Cassey, an Australian (today he is the Foreign Minister of Australia) who was at that time the Governor of Bengal created fresh difficulty for me. He suggested to the Viceroy, Wavell, the name of a big Bengali Maharaja to be appointed as High Commissioner in

Australia. Although under the decision of the Secretary of State, it was now my privilege to make that appointment, the Viceroy requested me to suggest the name of this very big Maharaja in Bengal, obviously to please Mr. Cassey, the Governor of Bengal. The Viceroy also tried to cajole me so that I might agree to Mr. Cassey's suggestion. I declined to accept this advice of the Viceroy and told him that although Mr. Cassey was an Australian, the High Commissioner in Australia was to be appointed to look after the interests of my country in Australia. He therefore must be of my choice. Mr. Cassey should have nothing to do with that appointment merely because it concerned Australia. I would suggest another proper person for this appointment in a few days. After this, Sir B. P. Singh Roy, a liberal leader of Bengal was requested to accept this appointment in Australia, but he declined. Then Shri Gopalaswamy Iyengar (later on he became a Central Minister and died) of Madras was also requested to accept this appointment, but he also declined. This created some difficulty for me, but I managed to solve it. About this time, I had an occasion to go to Ratnagiri to unveil the bust of Lokmanya Tilak in the house in which he was born. While at Ratnagiri, I received a wire from Lord Wavell insisting that I should consent to the name of that Bengali Maharaja to be appointed as High Commissioner in Australia. I promptly replied in the negative by a telegram and informed the Viceroy that I would certainly suggest a better name on my return. While returning from Ratnagiri I stopped in Poona, and called on Sir R. P. Paranjpe and requested him to accept this appointment of High Commissioner in Australia. He at once declined on account of old age. But somehow I persuaded him to accede to my request. I made it clear that in this matter the last word was with the Viceroy. Further I requested him to give his consent in writing so that I may be able to show it to the Viceroy during my conversation if it became necessary. Dr. Paranjpe gave his consent in writing but insisted that it should be used only if occasion to do so arose. As soon as I returned to Delhi, I saw the Viceroy and suggested to him the name of Dr. Paranjpe to be appointed as High Commissioner for India in Australia. The Viceroy immediately referred to 'who is who' and disapproved of my suggestion on account of the old age of Dr. Paranjpe. I told him that old age did not

necessarily depend upon the number of years, but upon so many other factors. Although Dr. Paranjpe was 69, he was healthy and alert like a young man. I said this because I had seen him in Poona. The Viceroy said that my choice was quite good but the only thing was that his old age came in the way. Then I said, "You call him to Delhi for an interview and I am certain that as soon as you see him, you will agree with my choice. If you disagree with my choice on seeing him, then of course, I will not insist upon his name." The Viceroy asked me whether Dr. Paranjpe would make it convenient to come to Delhi for an interview. I assured him, he would. On this, immediately a wire was sent to him and he came and at the very first interview the Viceroy was satisfied and sanctioned his appointment as High Commissioner in Australia. Thus I overcame the difficulties created by Mr. Cassey, the Australian Governor of Bengal.

The Government of Canada postponed the appointment of their High Commissioner in India. Therefore, during my regime, there was no occasion to appoint a High Commissioner in Canada. But I tried to secure citizenship rights for Indians domiciled there. My efforts were crowned with success after my resignation from the Viceroy's Council. What I did for Indians in Malaya has been described in a previous chapter; and what I could do in South Africa would be described in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VIII

RADICAL BLOW ON THE VERY CONCEPTION OF THE EMPIRE

The British Government of India sent Indians to South Africa as labourers to work in the plantations of European planters there. The present Indians who are domiciled in South Africa are the descendants of those Indian labourers. South Africa is famous or infamous for its policy of hatred towards the coloured people. On account of it, the Indian settlers are required to undergo a lot of hardships and oppression, by which they are reduced almost to a sub-human state. About 40 or 45 years ago, Mahatma Gandhi raised his voice of protest against this oppression of Indians in South Africa by his campaign of Satyagraha. But this problem was not solved at that time by Satyagraha, nor is it solved even now. When I took charge of the Indians Overseas Department, in May 1943, the Pegging Act was being passed in South Africa which separated the habitations of the Indians from those of the Europeans. All this happened against the previous agreements between the two countries. The public in India were therefore very much agitated at that time over this act of South Africa. When I took charge of my office, I resolved in my mind that either I would do something in defence of the self-respect of the Indians in South Africa or quit office. Therefore, as soon as I took charge of this office on the Viceroy's Council, I had a talk with Lord Linlithgow on this problem of South Africa. Thinking perhaps that I was quite unaware of the problem, he asked me to go through all the records about South Africa and write a sort of thesis on the problem. When I showed it to him, he said that it appeared that I was quite aware of the problem of South Africa in all details and asked me about the steps I wanted to take in the matter. I replied that it would be proper to call a committee of prominent non-officials and consult them as to the nature of steps to be taken. Lord Linlithgow received that suggestion of mine with a frown on his countenance, because although at that time the embers of 1942-43 Quit India agitation had died out, the relations between the ruled and the rulers were very much estranged. Lord Linlithgow therefore curtly turned down my suggestion but in the end I succeeded in persuading him

to agree to calling a conference of non-official leaders of all political parties. I think, this happened because I had succeeded in roping Mr. M. S. Aney again to the yoke. This conference was held in Delhi in my office on the 7th July 1943. (It is significant to note here that on the 6th of July 1943, the appointment of Mr. M. S. Aney as representative of India in Ceylon was published).

Out of the leaders invited to this conference Bhulabhai Desai representing the Congress and Mohomed Ali Jinnah representing the Muslim League remained absent. Sawarkar could not attend on account of indifferent health. But Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas, Sir Jagdish Prasad, Master Tara Singh, Sir Reza Ali, Sir Richardson, Sir Fredrick James, Hussain Bhai Lalji, Dr. Pramath Nath Banerjee, Shri Rang Biharilal Mehta, Seth Ramkrishna Dalmia and Shri P. Kodand Rao and some others attended the conference. My address to this conference which I delivered in the beginning was so frank and straightforward that the Free Press Journal of Bombay described it as creating a storm in the placid bureaucratic atmosphere of Delhi. The directive given by this conference was that the Government of India should do something in South Africa, so that the self-respect of Indians domiciled there would be vindicated.

Policy of Tit for Tat:

My esteemed friend, Mr. G.V. Deshmukh, Barrister-at-law, had previously got the Indian Reciprocity Act passed in the Central Legislative Assembly, but the Government of India had not brought it into operation. When I saw that Act, my heart was filled with pride and admiration for my friend, Mr. G. V. Deshmukh because after my election to the C. P. Provincial Legislative Assembly in 1937, I had to vacate my seat in the Central Legislative Assembly at Delhi, and it was filled in by Mr. G. V. Deshmukh. I was then the President of the Nagpur Provincial Congress Committee which suggested the name of Govindrao Deshmukh to fill in that vacancy, and the suggestion was approved by Sardar Patel, the head of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee and Govindrao Deshmukh was elected unopposed. When I consulted the Law Department of the Government of India with a view to enforce this Indian Reciprocity Act, passed by Shri G. V. Deshmukh

against South Africa, I was informed that it was impossible to bring that Act into force owing to some technical legal difficulties. I therefore got an amended Indian Reciprocity Act passed in the Central Legislative Assembly on the 26th of July 1943. (This might be regarded as a strange coincidence as five years ago, i. e. exactly on the 26th July 1938, I was deemed to be unfit for holding any post of authority and responsibility by the Congress High Command and deposed from the high office of the Prime Minister of C. P. and Berar. It was also significant that after exactly five years, i. e. 5 years from this event, I took this initial step in my fight against South Africa. Was it not a revenge of time against the Congress High Command!) Evidently, this could not have happened without the approval and consent of Lord Linlithgow. After this, in the month of August 1943, the Government of India took the decision of enforcing economic boycott against South Africa, but this boycott was not to be made applicable to materials necessary for the prosecution of War. Therefore, this question of enforcing economic boycott against South Africa was referred to the War Department and the Commerce Department of the Government of India to sort out such articles necessary for the prosecution of War. This was an intricate job necessitating pretty long time. In the meantime, Lord Linlithgow relinquished his office of the Viceroy on the expiry of the period of his assignment and was succeeded by Lord Wavell in October 1943.

New Viceroy as Stonewall:

The whole thing about South Africa became topsyturvy after the arrival of Lord Wavell. I found now from my very first interview with him that all the decisions taken by the Government of India in Linlithgow's time about South Africa would be futile. Lord Wavell straightaway told me that he was not prepared to do anything against South Africa. Not only that, but he would not allow enforcing the decisions taken against South Africa during Lord Linlithgow's time. He said that General Smutts, the Chief of South African Government was his friend, whom he had met in London before starting for India. He was a very good friend and a thorough gentleman and that he would not allow anybody to do anything against him (i.e. Smutts). I felt very dejected

and frustrated, after this frank statement of Lord Wavell, and though the bitterness in India against South Africa was rising in tempo, I could not do anything to satisfy the Indian feelings on account of the stonewall in the shape of Lord Wavell. But my maxim being never say die until actually dead, I decided to try and secure the consent of Lord Wavell by practising certain political manoeuvres.

Four or five months thus passed away and the budget session of 1944 commenced. During this session my friend Mr. Govind-rao Deshmukh tabled an adjournment motion censuring the Government of India on the issue of South Africa. I felt very happy on account of this because the policy of the Government of India of complete inaction in this matter, was certainly censurable. One day Lord Wavell asked me to request Mr. Govind-rao Deshmukh to withdraw his censure motion. He said that although he was not a parliamentarian, he knew that the practice of making such requests to opposition members was followed by the Government in Great Britain and that I should follow suit.

This problem should be solved at a high level :

I said to the Viceroy that I would never do that and in that matter the position of England and India could not be compared, because there was no similarity at all between those two countries. In England the ultimate interests of the Treasury Benches and the opposition parties were identical. Such was not the case in India. But on one condition, I would openly ask my friend Mr. Govindrao Deshmukh to withdraw his censure motion. The Viceroy asked me to mention that condition. I replied, "If you agree to enter into personal correspondence with General Smutts, on this question of South Africa, to bring about an honourable compromise, and if you also permit me to disclose this fact in the House, I will publicly appeal to the House not to cause any further bitterness between the two countries by moving the censure motion as negotiations from the highest level are going on. I am sure that after this appeal of mine, no member will insist upon moving any censure motion."

In the beginning, Lord Wavell refused to enter into a personal correspondence with General Smutts. He said that as corres-

pondence between the Governments of India and South Africa was going on, it was unnecessary to enter into any personal Correspondence. At the time of this talk, Mr. Abel, I. C. S., Private Secretary to the Viceroy was present, and he also advised the Viceroy against entering into such personal correspondence. But I insisted that it was quite proper to have such correspondence and that I was not anxious to have a quarrel with South Africa. If the self-respect of India could be vindicated by an honourable compromise, it would be welcome. *Where was the harm in corresponding with a personal friend like General Smutts?* There was nothing wrong in doing so. If an honourable compromise to vindicate India's self respect could be achieved through correspondence between two friends, his name would go down in history as the most noble and generous Viceroy of India. This cajoling of mine had the desired effect, and the Viceroy agreed to enter into correspondence with General Smutts and also permitted me to mention that fact in the Central Legislative Assembly. Subsequently, I did so and requested my friend Mr. Govindrao Deshmukh not to move his censure motion and he readily agreed.

When I insisted on Lord Wavell's corresponding with General Smutts and laid emphasis on the friendship between the two, I never thought that anything good or substantial would result from that correspondence. **It was futile and foolish to imagine that such a vexatious question between the two countries would be solved by such correspondence between two friends howsoever dear to each other.** My only object in persuading the Viceroy to enter into correspondence was to involve him personally in the question. After this, I remained quiet for five or six months and one day in an interview with the Viceroy, I asked him what happened to the correspondence between himself and General Smutts. Wavell felt irritated at this question and said that General Smutts did not even care to reply. On hearing this I said, in an ironical voice, "Sir, the people of India are slaves. They have no self respect; the Government of India is a Government subordinate to the British Government and so need not have any self-respect. But the Viceroy of India, who

represents His Majesty the King of England surely must have self-respect which must be vindicated. Don't you think so ? ”

Owing to the involvement of the Viceroy in this question, a situation was created which was inescapable. Lord Wavell therefore immediately asked me to bring before the Executive Council my retaliatory measures against South Africa for consideration and decision. I was very happy on account of this. A meeting of the Executive Council to consider the question of South Africa was fixed to be held on the 2nd of November 1944. But in the meantime, somebody must have advised the Viceroy to find a way of escape and put off the evil day. So a demi-official letter was received by me on the 2nd November 1944, purporting to say that the Viceroy had called Sir A. Ramaswamy Mudliar, Sir Sultan Ahmed, Sir Azizul Huq and myself for a private consultation half an hour before the regular meeting of the Executive Council which was fixed at 6-30 P. M. On receipt of this letter, I at once suspected that there was something up the sleeves of the Viceroy; and that at that private consultative meeting an attempt would be made again to put off the decision on the South African question. So I went to the meeting fully prepared in my mind not to yield any ground whatever the consequences.

I will not allow to postpone this question :

At this private meeting of the four Councillors, Lord Wavell suggested that although Dr. Khare had brought before the Council the question of South Africa for immediate decision, he (the Viceroy) thought that it would be most unwise to take any decision on this matter of fundamental importance, without consulting His Majesty's Government in Great Britain. He therefore proposed that the Government of India should send a delegation consisting of Sir A. Ramaswami Mudliar and Dr. Khare to England to wait upon His Majesty's Government, to place all the facts about South Africa before them, and to take their advice on this grave matter specially when the war was raging, and then to take a decision. Till that time, the question of South Africa which was on the agenda should be postponed.

Sir A. Ramaswamy Mudliar readily agreed to this proposal of the Viceroy and expressed his willingness to go to England as a member of the delegation. Sir Sultan Ahmed and Sir Azizul Huq also expressed their agreement with the Viceroy's proposal. I became very sullen and irritated at this development, and when Lord Wavell asked me to express my views, I said, ' Since there were only five minutes for the commencement of the regular meeting of the Council, I would give my views in that meeting ' The Viceroy said that since it was a question pertaining to my department, my silence was surprising. To this I replied, " If the Viceroy would not be angry at the frank expression of my views in this private meeting, I would do so " On getting an affirmative reply from the Viceroy, I said, "His Majesty's Government is responsible for all the insults, miseries and misfortunes suffered by the Indians in South Africa, because they sent the ancestors of the present Indians in South Africa as labourers to serve the white planters; and they are fully aware of all facts of the problem. There is nothing new that we can tell them. They are not at all inclined to help us, because they have upto now said or done nothing to help us. No useful purpose will be served therefore by sending a delegation to wait upon them, and the Government of India should not take this step. If unfortunately, the Government of India decides to send a delegation, I will never be a member thereof, whatever the consequences." Lord Wavell simply said, 'Thank you' and the meeting dispersed.

Wavell's Proposal was turned down :

Before commencement of the regular meeting of the Viceroy's Council, some members were sitting in their seats. Viceroy had not yet turned up. During this short interval, I hurriedly informed the members of the Viceroy's advice to postpone their decision of the South African question. I also requested Sir A. Ramaswamy Mudliar not to be influenced by the Viceroy. This manoeuvring had a good effect and the Council turned down the Viceroy's proposal of sending a delegation to wait upon His Majesty's Government in England. At the end of the resolution, just to please the Viceroy, a rider was added that a delegation on behalf

of the Government of India should be sent if His Majesty's Government wanted it. (At the time of the second or third meeting after this, a reply was received from the British Government in England countering the sending of a delegation. Viceroy's face was worth seeing at this time). In this meeting also somebody suggested that the consideration of the South African question should be postponed for sometime. I said that if that was done, it would be impossible for me to attend the Central Assembly on the 6th November 1944, on which date a full-dress debate upon the South African question was to take place, if before that date that is today on the 2nd November something even symbolic were not done against South Africa to vindicate India's self-respect.

First Step of India on the Path of Freedom :

The enforcement of economic boycott against South Africa and the withdrawal of the Indian High Commissioner from there could be considered sometime later, but there could not be any difficulty in the way of enforcing the Indian Reciprocity Act against South Africa. This would be a symbolic action to vindicate India's honour. If even that little thing was not done today, I would not attend the Assembly on the 6th. This was almost an ultimatum from me. After this, the Viceroy's Council decided that an Extra-ordinary Gazette of India should be issued on the 4th of November 1944 publicising the enforcement of the Indian Reciprocity Amendment Act against South African Europeans. By this decision, I compelled the Government of India to enforce the Tilakite policy of '*Tit for tat*' against an independent country like South Africa. It must be conceded that, at least, symbolically this was the very first step of *dependent India* on the path of freedom and I am legitimately proud of this achievement. Incidentally, on this very day, that is, on the 4th of November 1944, the wellknown journalist and economist, Shri Lanka Sundaram of Delhi, came to see me. He congratulated me for this step and expressed his opinion that at least symbolically that was the first step of dependent India on the path of freedom. He literally began to dance in my room on that day. He has expressed his appreciation of this step taken by me in his book '*India in World Affairs*.'

With the issue of the Extra-ordinary Gazette of India on the 4th of November, 1944, I went to the Central Assembly on the 6th of November in a happy mood, and proposed my resolution, that the situation in South Africa should be taken into consideration. The speech I delivered that day in support of this resolution was full of enthusiasm and inspiration. I myself considered all the view points likely to be raised by the opposition and replied to them most effectively. After my speech, my friend and the famous surgeon of Bombay Dr. Gopal V. Deshmukh saw me in the lobby and congratulated me on my straightforward speech and said that there was nothing left for the opposition to comment upon because of my anticipation of all the likely points which could have been raised by the opposition, in my speech. It would be relevant here to give some extracts from my speech in the Central Assembly on the 6th November 1944, while introducing my motion.

“ Our patience is now completely exhausted and the whole nation is in the mood of desperation. We have already told the Government of the Union of South Africa in the plainest and most unequivocal terms that the Government of India now hold themselves free to take such counter measures as they can. ”

Referring to East Africa, I said, “ the position arising from representations made by the Government of India was favourable and the colonial Governments have agreed that entry permits will be granted to all bonafide residents in the colonies, even though they have been absent from the colonies for more than 2 years from the date of enforcement of the regulations ; and secondly, that the Secretary of State for the Colonies has given us assurance through the Secretary of State for India that the regulations in question in all the three colonies are purely for meeting war time conditions and not intended to be permanent. I realise that there was public apprehension that these regulations were a prelude to a further attempt at the permanent exclusion of Indians from the Colonies. But I assure the House that the Government of India will keep a vigilant eye on all future developments. ”

In conclusion, I said "It is suggested in some quarters that one of the reasons why the British Government went to War against the Boers in South Africa, in early part of this century, was the bad treatment they were giving to Indians there, and therefore the British Government should now repudiate the Dominion Constitution conferred upon South Africa, and appoint a Royal Commission to enquire into the mal-administration and injustice done by the South African Government to the Indians, Africans and even Europeans. It is not for me to suggest measures to be taken by His Majesty's Government, They claim to be our trustees, and I am bound to say that no trustee in the world can afford for any length of time to look on with supreme indifference while his ward is being insulted and assaulted, for the very simple reason that in the process of natural evolution, as time goes on, the ward is bound to attain the status of an independent entity himself (cheers)."

Two amendments were moved to this motion of mine. The Congress Party amendment asked that the powers under the Indian Reciprocity Act should be exercised against nationals of South African Union not being of Indian origin, and the Indian High Commissioner in South Africa should be recalled immediately. An unattached member, Mr. Husain Bhai Lalji moved an amendment, calling upon the Government of India to enforce economic sanctions against South Africa and East Africa and exercise the powers under the Reciprocity Act.

During the debate that followed, a Congress member asked me to resign my job, because I could not do anything substantial against South Africa, on account of constitutional limitations. I retorted, "You also know the limitations under which the present Assembly suffers. Then why did you come here to this Assembly when you also cannot behave or do anything like a member of a sovereign assembly. No blame can be attached only to me individually, because we have all come here to this House under the existing limitations and therefore all should be equally blameworthy. Not only that, all our ancestors also who allowed the country to be enslaved are blamable. So

the Hon'ble Member need not twit me." Replying to the debate, I said that I had done what I could, within my limited powers and resources. I myself realised that it was quite short of the expectations of any patriotic person. I myself compared the enforcement of Reciprocity Act against South Africa, with a baby's bottle with only the rubber teat and no milk. *I wished that India was in a position to declare War against South Africa here and now. Had it been so, I assured the House that I would have lost no time in taking an army and being in the forefront of the field myself.* "I am grateful to the members who have moved amendments to my resolution. The Government will leave the matter and the amendments entirely to the decision of the House. Government would not take part in the voting on the amendments. I am a doctor and it is a strange coincidence that a medical man has injected the vaccine of resistance against colour prejudice. I hope, in the near future, this vaccine will work and India will develop full power of resistance". The House passed the motion with amendments. Thus it was for the first time in the history of British rule in India that the principle of retaliation was adopted and enforced by the *dependent* Government of India against an *independent* fellow member of the British Empire.

Congratulating me for the bold stand taken by me during this debate on South Africa in the Legislative Assembly, the veteran liberal leader and statesman, Dr. M. R. Jayakar, wrote the following letter to me which is reproduced below :

WINTER ROAD, MALBAR HILL,
BOMBAY, 6
November 8, 1944,

My dear Dr. Khare,

I have great pleasure in tendering you my heartiest congratulations on the bold stand you took in connection with the South African arrogance and the frank and illuminating speech you made in that behalf in the Legislative Assembly. I am particularly happy because, owing to the unjust accusation of the Congress, your reputation had been besmirched. I am so glad that you have retrieved your position so well.

I do not remember for a long time any speech made by any Government member in the Legislative Assembly, which was characterised by so much courage and frankness. I hope that even in hostile quarters which every sincere public worker must have in abundance, you will receive praise for your behaviour. Wishing you a very useful record as a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

I am, Yours sincerely

M. R. JAYAKAR.

Favourable effect of the *tit for tat* policy :

After the enforcement of the Indian Reciprocity Act against South Africa, two South African Europeans landed in Karachi. It was decided to arrest and deport them. Poor fellows, as soon as they got scent of this, they themselves left the shores of India. A board, that *South African Europeans were not allowed*, was prominently displayed at the Taj Mahal Hotel, in Bombay. These symbolic but concrete acts of the Government of India had some desirable effect upon the Government of South Africa. Within a few days, General Smutts, the Prime Minister of South Africa had a talk with the representatives of Indians there and they arrived at an agreement then, known as the ' Pretoria Agreement. '

By this agreement the principle of Apartheid, demanding separate habitations for the black and white people was somewhat modified. This agreement did not solve the Indian question of South Africa, but since the Indians themselves consented to it, the Government of India also extended its moral support to that agreement. In the meantime, General Smutts appointed a Commission under Justice Broome, to consider and decide finally this problem of Indians in South Africa. Two Indians were also appointed on this Broome Commission. But as later on, the Indians boycotted this Broome Commission, it consisted entirely of Europeans. This Broome Commission consisting only of Europeans at its very first sitting, passed a resolution that since the problem of Indians in South Africa had ceased to be a domestic

question and had assumed the characteristics of an international problem, it was strongly recommended that the South African Government should invite a delegation representing the Government of India and settle the matter finally by talking to that delegation across the table.

The above resolution of the Broome Commission pacified the atmosphere a little in both the countries and created a distant hope of solving this vexed question by negotiations. But this hope died out soon, as the South African Government refused to accept this resolution passed unanimously by the Broome Commission consisting entirely of Europeans. Whether this was due to the inherent hatred of General Smutts towards Indians, or pressure brought upon him by the South African Europeans, was irrelevant. The result was that the atmosphere in South Africa was again vitiated.

For getting full and authenticated information therefore on the situation in South Africa, the Government of India decided to call their High Commissioner, viz., Barrister Ramrao Deshmukh for personal consultation. Ramrao Deshmukh arrived in India by plane as the matter was urgent and after full consultation with him, the Government of India gave him a strong demarche to be delivered personally to General Smutts. The Government of India also decided to make efforts through the High Commissioner to get the recommendation of the Broome Commission of calling a delegation from India, accepted by the Government of South Africa.

Secret of Ramrao Deshmukh's appointment in South Africa

In the natural flow of the narration, it will be quite relevant here, to digress a little and disclose how the appointment of Ramrao Deshmukh as High Commissioner in South Africa was made. Ramrao Deshmukh is an intimate friend of mine enjoying my full confidence. He was deposed along with me from the position of a minister in the Central Provinces and Berar in 1938. After that event Sardar Patel himself immediately asked him to accept a ministership in the Shukla cabinet which followed. Ramrao Deshmukh rejected this request of Sardar Patel most contemptuously. While doing so, he told Sardar Patel on his face, that under no

circumstances, he was prepared to work along with *Shuklas* and *Mishras*. When I took charge of the office in the Viceroy's Executive Council, one Sir Shafat Ahmed Khan was the High Commissioner of India in South Africa, but his term of appointment expired and the question of replacing him arose. At this time, Ramrao Deshmukh was Finance Minister in the Gwalior State, but he did not like to continue in Gwalior on account of some domestic difficulties and desired some assignment elsewhere. He conveyed this desire of his to our mutual friend, R. N. Banerjee, I. C. S., the Secretary of my Department who conveyed it to me. I enquired from Banerjee whether Ramrao was prepared to go to South Africa as High Commissioner. On receiving an affirmative reply, I suggested his name to the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, and also informed the Viceroy that at that time, he was the Finance Minister in Gwalior State. Viceroy immediately gave assent to his name because Ramrao was well-known to the Viceroy on account of his membership of the All India Defence Council. He also influenced the Maharaja of Gwalior to release him from his State. Thus, Ramrao was sent to South Africa as High Commissioner of India in that country. What reaction this appointment had on the mind of the Maharaja of Gwalior, will be discussed further on.

Ramrao returned to South Africa by plane with the demarche of the Government of India to be delivered to General Smutts. No reply to this demarche had been received yet from the Government of South Africa. Under these circumstances, I had an interview with Gandhi on the 12th December 1945, at Sodepur near Calcutta, at his request. The how and why of this interview with Gandhi will be described in a separate chapter later on. I am only giving here the particulars of our conversation on South Africa during this interview with Gandhi. At the end of this interview, I asked Mahatma Gandhi, "Mahatmaji, if an occasion arose to send a high power delegation on behalf of the Government of India to South Africa, will you consent to be a member thereof?"

Gandhiji's dream of world greatness :

Mahatma Gandhi appeared to be elated by this question of mine. He said, "Dr. Khare what are you talking? I have

become old. I am also suffering from blood pressure. How can I undertake such a long journey in this condition of health. You are a doctor, feel my pulse and reply." After saying this, Mahatma Gandhi raised his right hand towards me because at this time, Mahatma was sitting and I was standing. I said, "Mahatmaji, no doubt, I am a doctor, but I do not practice my profession now. But without examining your pulse, only by looking at your face, I can tell you that you will easily put up with this long journey. There is no danger and you will return hale and hearty. I am quite confident of it." *Mahatma said, 'Doctor, you say so? Then surely I will go to South Africa. I said, Mahatmaji I was fully confident that you will accept my request, because I know South Africa has been your first love.'* Mahatma said, "I will not go at anybody's request, but if Smutts calls me, I will surely go. Smutts is my friend and possibly therefore, he will invite me." On this, I said, "He is also a pious humbug. I will not send you there unless Smutts invites you and we are making efforts through our High Commissioner there that he should invite you." Mahatma said, "Dr. Khare, if you do this, it will be a great thing. You try for it. I assure you, I will go, and there is no necessity now for you to resign your seat from the Viceroy's Council. You keep on where you are and try to help the Indians in South Africa. If you do this, all the sins of commission and omission done by you against the Congress will be excused."

The conversation between me and the Mahatma on the topic of South Africa ended thus. Mahatma Gandhi felt very elated and his intense desire to go there as a member of the delegation was obvious from this conversation. I believe, he was seeing the dreams of his world greatness by having a trip to South Africa by an aeroplane during war time. But my reason for trying to send him to South Africa was quite different. I had no desire to bolster up his greatness. My only desire was to take revenge upon him by debunking him, because I knew from past experience that in South Africa he would enter into some patched up compromise with General Smutts, his friend which would not be in consonance with India's self-respect. If he did this and returned to India, with that compromise in his pocket, I as a member of Government

of India, had the authority to declare that as being against India's self-respect and unacceptable to the Government of India, and thus he would have been debunked from his high pedestal. But all this my desire ended in smoke.

Later on, General Smutts declined to receive a delegation from the Government of India because he regarded this Indian question in South Africa as a domestic one and did not like that a foreign Government should have a finger in his pie. Not only this, but General Smutts went on much further and declared the cancellation of the Pretoria Agreement, and announced the introduction of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Franchise Bill in South Africa, which was more hostile to the Indian interests and declared that South African Government would call a delegation from India only after that bill was passed. This bill provided for deprivation of all the rights of Indians in South Africa and also provided that the Indians would be represented by two or three Europeans in the Legislative Assembly. This was most insulting and embittered the atmosphere in that country and the Indians there began to talk of Satyagraha. The Government of India also on account of that, thought of doing something further against South Africa.

Enforcing Economic Boycott :

About this time, the world war had practically ended. I felt very much irritated by this fresh insult heaped upon the Indians by General Smutts, and told the Viceroy that the war difficulty having ended, there could be now no reason for delaying the enforcement of economic boycott against South Africa. The Government of India should now recall their High Commissioner from there and put an end also to all commercial relations. But Lord Wavell even at this time, did not like this suggestion of mine. He tried to persuade me that it was proper for me, before breaking such relations with that country, to visit South Africa and have a talk with General Smutts.

I felt very angry at this suggestion of the Viceroy and I said to him "I will never go to South Africa and my visit will never be useful. Smutts has turned down even the recommendation unanimously made by the Broome Commi-

ssion which he himself appointed and he is not willing at all to invite a delegation from India. Do you suggest that I should go to him uninvited? I will never do such a thing which is obviously devoid of self-respect. General Smutts belongs to the party of aggressors and I belong to the party of aggressed. If therefore, General Smutts invites me with honour, I will surely go and talk to him. Otherwise, never. The Government of India should never yield before this arrogance of General Smutts. It is now absolutely necessary to recall the High Commissioner from there and enforce economic sanctions against that country."

A little later, the budget session of 1946 of the Central Legislative Assembly and the Council of State commenced and it was announced in both these Houses that the Government of India had decided to recall the High Commissioner from South Africa and enforce economic Sanctions against that country. This was the only popular demand and I fulfilled it. Thus I compelled the subordinate Government of India to enforce the Tilakite policy of '*tit for tat*' and economic boycott against South Africa. But I was not satisfied merely by doing this, because I wanted to expose the wicked policy of General Smutts in all its nakedness before the world and I thought of referring this South African question to the United Nations Organisation.

Complaint before U. N. O.

While war was on, the allied nations had established a world organisation under the name of United Nations Organisation. It was its duty to decide international problems. The constitution of this U. N. O. was read by me when it was referred for consideration to the Government of India. I thought that under that constitution, it was possible to lodge a complaint before the U. N. O. against South Africa. By this time, no newspaper or no leader had ever suggested that this matter could be taken to the U. N. O. I was the first to refer to this matter in an interview which I gave to the Associated Press of America at Delhi. After this interview, I had an occasion to go to Nagpur about the 10th March 1946, to see an ailing relative. During my stay in Nagpur, the C. P. and Berar Chamber of Commerce gave me a public address in reply to which I suggested that the South African

problem could be taken to the U. N. O. I took great care to emphasise that that was my individual opinion and not of the Government of India. At this time, I had also an occasion to make a speech in the Rotary Club, Nagpur. In this speech, I ridiculed the idea of universal brotherhood preached by the Rotary Club. I said that this Rotary Club was a world organisation preaching universal brotherhood and equality. Was it not strange therefore that the South African branch should segregate the Indians and thus act against the principle of universal brotherhood ?

The Associated Press of India took very pointed notice of my interview with the Associated Press of America in Delhi, and of my speeches made in Nagpur. On account of this the bureaucratic atmosphere of the Government of India in Delhi became hostile to me and I was accused of making irresponsible speeches and giving irresponsible interviews without making any reference to the Government of India. One of my colleagues said to my face that an I. C. S. would never have behaved irresponsibly like that. Promptly I retorted, "I thank God that I am not a member of the I. C. S. I am a public worker and fired by patriotism and the interest of my country. I do not care for anything else." This did not end the matter. During one of my interviews, the Viceroy also charged me with irresponsibility. But I told him straightway that I had made it clear in my speech that that was *my individual opinion* and not of the Government of India. I did not think that I had committed anything wrong in placing my own views before the public. On this, the Viceroy said, "You will never see wrong in anything. You even talk of declaring war against South Africa." I replied, "there is nothing wrong in talking of war against South Africa. At the time of the Boer War at the beginning of this century the British declared that one of the reasons for fighting a war against that country was the bad treatment meted out to the Indians domiciled there, as the Indians were British subjects. *That England, which was not of our flesh and blood could carry on war against South Africa. Was it not strange that I who was of the same flesh and blood as the Indians in South Africa could not even talk of war.*" All this would show that at that time, the atmosphere

in the Government of India was very much against me and there was great bitterness between me and the Viceroy. I had a golden opportunity at that time of extricating myself from this difficult position and plumping for a lucrative job then offered to me.

I have mentioned before that I left Delhi for Nagpur on or about the 10th March 1946. On this very day, or a day previous, the Raja of Khairagarh in C. P. suddenly came to my residence at 2 King Edward Road, New Delhi, without any notice. I was surprised and asked him the purpose of his visit. He said that he had brought a word from the Maharaja of Gwalior, who desired that I should immediately accept the Prime Ministership of his state, Gwalior. He said that the Maharaja was prepared to give me any reasonable salary demanded by me and all conveniences. He asked me to give my consent immediately so that he would go and inform the Maharaja accordingly. I was rather surprised and I was not in a mood to give an immediate reply one way or the other, because I was just on the point of leaving for Nagpur to see an ailing relative and the question was also of such an importance that it deserved deep consideration. I therefore told the Raja of Khairagarh that on my return from Nagpur, I would personally call upon the Maharaja of Gwalior and give him my reply. I returned to Delhi from Nagpur on the 24th of March 1946. Meantime, the Maharaja of Gwalior, it seemed, called at my bungalow in Delhi, as was disclosed from the visiting cards. This would show how impatient and how earnest he was to appoint me as Prime Minister. Therefore I wrote to him a letter on the 30th March 1946 which I give below :

2, King Edward Road,
New Delhi,
30th March 1946.

My dear Maharaja Saheb,

I am grateful for your letter dated the 20th March about Mr. V. P. Datey.

Raja Bahadur Birendra Bahadur Singh, the Ruler of Khairagarh in C. P. saw me here about the 10th of March before I left for Nagpur. During the conversation, he conveyed to me a cer-

tain proposal as emanating from your Highness. I could not consider it then and could not reply because I was in a hurry to go to Nagpur to see a close relative who was dangerously ill there. I came back from Nagpur on the 24th and took this opportunity of writing to your Highness. I have told the Raja Bahadur of Khairagarh that I was prepared to talk the matter with your Highness personally at any place and time convenient to your Highness. I may inform you that I am going to Bombay about the 28th of April and I am likely to stay there for two or three days.

Yours very sincerely,
N. B. Khare.

The reply to this letter from the Maharaja of Gwalior is also given below :—

Jai Vilas, Gwalior,
8th April 1946.

My dear Dr. Khare,

I received your kind letter of the 30th March. I am so sorry, I could not see you while in Delhi as I was busy there. I shall be delighted to meet and discuss with you the proposal about which the Rajasahab of Khairagarh had a talk with you when I get little time.

On my return from Bombay, I had to leave immediately for Delhi and on my return from there only yesterday, I find that files of work are awaiting my early attention. I shall however let you know when I get a little leisure so that you may come here and discuss the matter with me.

Trusting this finds you in the enjoyment of excellent health.

Yours sincerely,
J. M. Sindia

I was really surprised by this offer by the Maharaja of Gwalior of the office of the Prime Minister of his State. When I began to think over this matter, and find out the reasons thereof, the following three reasons suggested themselves to me,

(1) My reputation as an honest and straightforward administrator might have reached the Maharaja of Gwalior and he might have desired to have such an administrator for his State.

(2) Lord Wavell, the Viceroy took away one man, i. e. Ramrao Deshmukh from the Gwalior State and sent him to South Africa. Therefore, the Maharaja of Gwalior might have thought of retaliating against the Viceroy by taking away one man, i. e. Dr. Khare from his Council and appointing him in his own State.

(3) The third reason is rather farfetched, but not absolutely impossible. It is possible that the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, might have regarded my continued association with him in the Viceroy's Council as very troublesome and he might have thought of this subtle device to remove me from his Council through the Maharaja of Gwalior. All these are conjectures. It is not possible to say or find out the real reason at this late stage. Any hard and practical man in my place would have at once grabbed the office offered by the Maharaja of Gwalior, for the sake of release from the difficult position in the Government of India and also for the financial benefit involved. But I am not so practical and I have never regarded money as the be-all and end-all of life. I am always accustomed to view things from the political angle. At this very time, I had started manoeuvring for referring the South African dispute to the U. N. O. I thought therefore that it was not desirable to give up the job on the Viceroy's Council and go to Gwalior before my manoeuvres either ended in success or failure. I therefore wrote a dilatory letter to the Maharaja of Gwalior which resulted in losing that opportunity, but I do not regret for what I have done. On the contrary, I am proud that I had the courage and the spirit of sacrifice to do what was necessary in the interest of the prestige of my country.

I have mentioned before, that the press in India gave prominent publicity to my interview given to the Associated Press of America and my speeches at Nagpur about the question of referring the South African dispute to the U. N. O. On account of this, a member of the Central Assembly by name Maharajkumar of Vijayanagaram moved an adjournment motion in the Assembly

to discuss the question of referring the South African dispute to the U. N. O. At that time, I was not a member of the Central Assembly. I was sent to the Council of State by the Viceroy as mentioned before and my Secretary, Mr. R. N. Banerjee, I. C. S., was appointed as a member of the Central Assembly in my place. While replying to the suggestion of the Maharajkumar of Vijayanagaram, Banerjee said that the question of referring the South African dispute to the U. N. O. was under the consideration of the Government of India. Sir Edward Benthall, the railway Member who was at that time the Leader of the House also supported Banerjee's statement. On this, the Maharajakumar of Vijayanagaram withdrew his motion of adjournment.

Why Benthall supported Banerjee ?

Sometime later, in a private meeting Sir Edward Benthall expressed his serious disapproval of my endeavour. He said, "Dr. Khare I had to tell a lie in the Central Assembly about the speeches made by you in this behalf outside the Assembly. You know, it is a fact that the Government of India is not at all considering the question of lodging a complaint against South Africa before the U. N. O. Still I had to say in the Central Assembly that the matter was under the consideration of the Government of India." I said, "there is nothing untrue in this in view of the method of business of the Government of India. Any Deputy Secretary of any Department publicises a statement in the Gazette of India and signs in it for the Government of India although factually, even the Secretary of that Department has no knowledge of it, what to say of the member of the Executive Council in charge ! You know that this is a fact. Under these circumstances, if a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council publicly expresses his views on a certain matter, why should it not be taken that the matter is under consideration of the Government of India."

The humorous side of this episode on account of the statements made in the Central Assembly by Benthall, was that the Government of India was committed in this matter, and they were compelled to take this matter into consideration. In a few days, the Government of India took a decision in favour of lodging a complaint against South Africa before the U. N. O.

and announced it in the Central Assembly, at the end of the budget session of 1946, about the first or second week of April. Most of the European members of the Central Legislative Assembly were touched to the quick by this announcement. Some of them openly asked me, as to what else I proposed to do against Smutts and South Africa and whether I was satisfied or not by what I had done up to date. I immediately retorted that I was not satisfied at all by what had been done. I would be satisfied only when I declared a war against General Smutts.

Congress leaders attitude of selfish Surrender :

Lord Wavell the Viceroy did not at all like my attempt to lodge a complaint against South Africa before the U. N. O. He tried his level best to dissuade me from this attempt. He showed me also a wire received by him from the British Government. It was pointed out in that wire, that the dispute between South Africa and India had assumed a grave aspect, and that if it was taken to the U. N. O. it would result in bad consequences, and perhaps would react like a boomerang upon India herself. This grave warning from the British Government had no effect upon me, and I remained firm in my determination. Among the members of the Council, Wavell was the friend of General Smutts, but the relations between Sir Claude Auchinleck the Commander-in-Chief, and General Smutts were known to be otherwise. This fact also contributed to favourable decision being taken by the Council. Within forty eight hours of the announcement in the Assembly, of the decision to take the South African dispute to U. N. O., some British statesmen expressed their opinion about it. *They said "this decision of the Government of India to lodge a complaint against South Africa before the U. N. O. appears to be a mere bluff. But if this bluff is translated into action, it will amount to a radical blow on the very conception of the Empire."* But I did not see any remarks about this endeavour of mine by the Indian leaders, published anywhere. At this time, the Cabinet Mission was in India and it was interviewing leaders of different Indian political parties. The Congress leaders at this time were very eager to grab political power. Perhaps, therefore, they did not dare to express any opinion about

this endeavour of mine publicly and hurt the feelings of the Viceroy and other British statesmen. The Indian press whose only occupation was to sing hallelujahs to the Congress leaders, also kept silent about this subject.

Anglo-Muslim Alliance :

The Cabinet Mission which was sent by the British Government to solve the question of political reforms of India consisted of three members, viz., (1) Pethick Lawrence, (2) Alexandar and (3) Sir Stafford Cripps. It was not possible to place before this Cabinet Mission any scheme of political reforms for India agreed to unanimously by the Viceroy's Council because the members of the Council held different views and were of different political persuasions. The Government of India therefore decided that a meeting of the Viceroy's Council and the Cabinet Mission should be held under the presidentship of the Viceroy, and in this meeting members should express their individual opinions about the political reforms for India to the Cabinet Mission. When this meeting was held, it became evident that the European and Muslim members of the Executive Council held identical views of separatism, advocating the division of India. Some of these members emphatically told the Cabinet Mission, that the Muslim fear of Hindoo domination must be allayed. This was really a chorus sung by all, and meant nothing but the division of India and the *Anglo-Muslim conspiracy* for this purpose became self-evident, which made me very uneasy. One of my colleagues the Commerce Member Sir Aziz-ul-Huq who was a Bengali Musalman went beyond all limits in his talk with the Cabinet Mission. In an abject tone, he said to the Cabinet Mission, "Sirs, because you British are ruling over this country, we can get jobs on this Viceroy's Executive Council. If you were not here, and ruling over this country, the Hindoos would have swallowed us." This selfish mentality and abject surrender displayed by a colleague of mine, made me very angry and irritated and I said, "I regret very much this abject attitude of my colleague. He has not come here from Arabia. His ancestors were Hindoos and he is sitting here in the shape of a Muslim. That shows who swallows whom and who oppresses whom. He does not look at all like a Muslim. To me he looks like a Bhattacharjee. I emphatically

declare here that it is not in the blood of the Hindoos to oppress anybody. It is the Muslims who oppress people of other races. Even in India under the British rule wherever the Muslims have an upper hand, that oppression goes on. For example, take the Hyderabad State. In this State, the Hindoos constitute about 90 per cent of the population and the Muslims constitute only 10 per cent. But the percentage in the State service is just the reverse. I challenge anybody here to pick up the Hyderabad State Civil list and satisfy himself about the truth of my statement." Sir Stafford Cripps appeared to be influenced by my statement, and he took some notes. While he was doing so, I quietly told him to call the Hindoo Mahasabha leaders for an interview, so that more light could be thrown on this Hindoo Muslim question. Accordingly, the Hindoo Mahasabha leaders were called for interview by the Cabinet Mission. It is significant to recall here that at the time of the Simla Conference the Viceroy did not call any of the Hindoo Mahasabha leaders and turned down my request made in this behalf.

Somebody discloses secrets :

This meeting terminated at half past nine at night. I went home and saw Shri Durgadas of the '*Hindusthan Times*' and Shri P. D. Sharma of the '*National Call*' waiting for me at my residence, eager to get some news of this meeting. I did not tell anything to Durgadas and he went away. But I took Shri P. D. Sharma in confidence and gave him a short account of what happened in the meeting, and told him that definitely there was an Anglo-Muslim conspiracy to divide the country, and that Pakistan was in the offing. I also told him some specific sentences uttered by some members during the proceedings. The next morning, P. D. Sharma published an account of all this in the '*National Call*'. There was a meeting of the Viceroy's Council at 9 A. M. that morning. The Railway Member, Sir Edward Benthall who was the Vice-President of the Viceroy's Council at that time, brought that day's issue of the '*National Call*' in the Council meeting, and showed to the Viceroy the specific sentences uttered by him the night previous, at the time of the joint meeting of the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy's Council. He complained to the Viceroy, that it was evident that somebody disclosed what happened at

the meeting and secrecy was not kept. It was difficult therefore to carry on the work of the Council under these conditions. He insisted that the matter must be enquired into. On this, the Council decided to hand over the matter to the C. I. D. police for investigation.

Who gives news to the 'Dawn'?

Eight or ten days after, I got a demi-official letter from the Viceroy inviting me for a special interview. Naturally, I sensed what it was about, and decided never to yield or apologise, but remain firm whatever the consequences. As soon as I took the chair, the Viceroy suddenly said, "You gave the account of that day's meeting to one Mr. P. D. Sharma, a journalist. Do you admit or not?" I too promptly replied, "Yes, I admit to have given that news to him, but I am not ashamed of it because it is not an offence involving moral turpitude. It is only a technical and political offence, and I am prepared to bear the consequences whatever they are. I have done what I did being inspired by the love of my country. A conspiracy is being engineered in your Council to divide my motherland. Do you think that a patriot can keep quiet over this? It was my duty to warn my country-men and I am proud of having done that duty. You can prosecute me. I don't mind. I will admit the offence. But I want to tell you that I am not the only one who gives out such news. You must be aware that the Muslim League paper, '*Dawn*' publishes all the news of these political negotiations going on at present. It gets that news within half an hour of the occurrence. Have you ever tried to find out who does this?" The Viceroy appeared to be a bit softened on account of this straight and fearless attitude displayed by me and said, "There is no question of any prosecution, but Dr. Khare you hold very extreme views and you talk anything anywhere in a most irresponsible manner and you have yourself admitted just now that you disclosed official secrets also. It is therefore impossible to work with you." I replied, "I am willing to tender my resignation here and now. I do not care for this job at all because I did not go seeking after this job. The job came seeking after me. I have not lived all my life on Government service. I

practice a profession which has given me high social status and that profession is always open to me." In a still more softened tone, the Viceroy said, "I am not demanding your resignation here and now. My present Council is sure to be dispensed with, in a few weeks and you will naturally go along with the rest and I am satisfied with it." After this, I thanked the Viceroy and sought his permission to ask him a question. After his reply in the affirmative, I said, "As you say, in a few weeks your Council will be replaced by a new Council which will consist of many Congressmen. When you find it impossible to carry on with a simple person like myself, I wonder how you would be able to carry on with Congressmen who are fiery patriots." *The viceroy said, "I can tolerate the Congressmen, but not you", with great emphasis the Viceroy said, "you are an impossibility."* This interview between me and the Viceroy took place about the 2nd week of May 1946.

This work must be done immediately :

In this interview, the Viceroy revealed that I would have to soon relinquish the job in the Viceroy's Council. I therefore decided before that happened, to bring into effect the decision of lodging a complaint before the U. N. O. against South Africa. I thought, otherwise, the credit of having done this would go to the Congressmen who would succeed me. I therefore immediately on my return to my residence after this interview with the Viceroy, sent for my Secretary, Mr. R. N. Banerjee, I. C. S., and directed him to prepare the draft of the plaint to be filed before the U. N. O. against South Africa without any delay so that it could immediately be considered by the Viceroy's Council. I asked him that if he felt the necessity of taking any counsel from any experts, he should do so immediately by personal visits. I also told him that since my exit from the Viceroy's Council was going to take place in the near future, this must be done without any delay.

Banerjee prepared this plaint containing two main points :
 (1) The Government of South Africa is acting against the U. N. O. Charter which provides that there shall be no racial discrimination in any country which is a member of the U. N. O. (2) The South African Government has broken all treaties and agree-

ments made with the Government of India in the matter of treatment of Indians domiciled there.

Complaint lodged at last :

When this draft was placed before the Viceroy's Council for consideration, Lord Wavell the friend of General Smutts, went off at a tangent. He said all these points were irrelevant. No prominence should be given to them. We should emphasise only the fact that the Indians in South Africa were in a minority and the Europeans did not treat them properly. (Even now the Government of South Africa is insisting that the Indian question is only a domestic one and no other country or U. N. O. has any right to interfere). I immediately saw the danger involved in the suggestion of the Viceroy and opposed him strenuously and said, "General Smutts is always saying that the Indian question in South Africa is a domestic question and if we also emphasise this point in our plaint before the U. N. O., it will result in strengthening the hands of General Smutts, and this complaint will not find place before the U. N. O." Lot of argument took place on this point in the Viceroy's Council. To avoid any further argument, Wavell suggested that the form of the complaint should be left to the Indian representative on the U. N. O. at the time, viz., Sir A. Ramaswamy Mudliar (a member of Viceroy's Council). This plaint with all our points should be sent to him, and he should decide as to the prominence and emphasis to be given to the various points in the complaint. I immediately accepted this suggestion of the Viceroy, because a week ago when Sir Ramaswamy Mudliar left India for the United States to act as a representative of the Government of India on the U. N. O., I had met him and had a heart to heart talk with him about all the points involved in this complaint. This talk with him revealed that Sir. A. Ramaswamy Mudliar was entirely in agreement with my view point. I was therefore confident that he would place the complaint before the U. N. O. in the proper form desired by me. Thus this complaint was filed before the U. N. O. through Sir A. Ramaswamy Mudliar on the 17th of June 1946 and I heaved a sigh of relief. Before this, all the Viceroy's Councillors were asked to tender their resignation to make room for the members of the Congress and the Muslim League in view of the attempts at compromise going

on between the two parties, and we had resigned in pursuance of this directive. But the date of acceptance of the resignation had not been yet fixed. Under these conditions, I left for Nagpur on the 23rd of June 1946. I received a wire on reaching Nagpur, intimating the acceptance of my resignation with effect from the 3rd July 1946.

Even today, I am proud of having achieved this. The Government of India at that time was subordinate to the British Government but acted like a fully independent Government. My action was really a radical blow on the very conception of the Empire. In a way, it was a sort of a constitutional revolution. If nothing else, my action resulted in placing the miseries of the Indians in South Africa before the world forum.

Anger of Europeans :

Towards the end of the budget session, a delegation on behalf of the Indians in South Africa visited Delhi. They thanked me for my firm and independent policy towards South Africa and for all that I was able to do for them. They began to praise me very much. I told them that no praise was necessary. I have not obliged anybody personally. I simply fought for the prestige of my motherland which was my duty. In contrast with this, I received half a dozen letters from some Europeans in South Africa unknown to me, bitterly abusing me for poking my nose in South Africa and asking me to thrust my nose in the gutters of India, before turning towards South Africa. I was awfully amused by these letters which I regarded as the real index of my success. My credit as expressed by me previously was usurped by Congress-men as described further.

Apparently, until the third of July 1946, the negotiations between the Congress and the Muslim League did not succeed. Therefore the Viceroy's Council was formed on that day consisting of 8 or 9 senior I. C. S. officials. Although negotiations between the British Government and the two political parties were being continued, there was no sign of success and the British Government decided to form the Viceroy's Council on the basis of parity, and consisting of members of the Congress and such non-League Muslims as were agreeable to the Congress. This

Council was ushered into office on the 2nd September 1946 with Pandit Nehru as the Vice President of the Viceroy's Council and Sardar Patel, Maulana Azad, Barrister Asaf Ali, Sarat Chandra Bose, Sir Shafat Ahmed Khan and some others as members.

Arguments in the U. N. O. based on my draft :

Pandit Nehru who took charge of my department, continued my policy in South Africa. About the end of December 1946, Pandit Nehru sent a delegation from India under the leadership of his sister Vijayalaxmi Pandit to place the Indian case before the U. N. O. against South Africa. This delegation included among others Raja Maharaj Singh, Barrister Ramrao Deshmukh, and Shri R. N. Banerjee, I. C. S., the Secretary of the Commonwealth Relations Department acted as the Secretary of the delegation. Srimati Vijayalaxmi Pandit made a good speech while placing the Indian case before the U. N. O., and deserved all praise for it. But it must be remembered here that the draft on which her speech was based was prepared under my directions when I was the member-in-charge. India secured a victory against South Africa in the U. N. O. This Victory was mainly due to the efforts made by the representatives of Byelo Russia and Mexico on the U. N. O., because they had studied the problem very carefully. I had already anticipated that Russia was bound to help India against Britain in the U. N. O. The arguments used by the representatives of Byelo Russia and Mexico were so unanswerable, that General Smutts attended the sitting of the U. N. O. like an accused hanging down his head.

Nehru's love for truth (?) :

On account of the victory of India in the U. N. O. Shrimati Vijayalaxmi Pandit and Pandit Nehru received shoals of congratulatory wires which they quietly pocketed, but while doing so, they did not utter a word about the person to whom the real credit belonged. If they did so, they could not have avoided the mention of my name. I was rather amused and surprised also by this silence of Pandit Nehru about the person who made all these strenuous efforts. I therefore made attempts to bring out the truth from Pandit Nehru's own mouth in the Central Assembly, but they did not succeed.

The attempts were made as follows :—

I had occasion to visit Delhi on the 3rd or 4th of March 1947 for some business. I was putting up with my friend Mr. P. B. Gole who was then a member of the Central Assembly representing Berar. Gole was my colleague when we were both dismissed as Ministers from the Central Provinces. Naturally therefore we had a heart to heart talk upon many matters. During the conversation Gole said, "Dr., you gave a valiant fight to the Congress High Command single handed with your back to the wall, and good luck came your way. You became a member of the Viceroy's Council and got a name and fame for your work there throughout the world. Now you are shortly going to be appointed as Prime Minister of Alwar. Had I done some such thing, after the Khare episode, perhaps, I also would have attained some good and prominent position." I was surprised by this utterance of Gole and I said, "Gole, whatever I did, I did not do with any expectation of anything. I did it because it was the mandate of my conscience and I did not care for the consequences. I never dreamt that such and such action of mine will lead to such and such results. So all your talk is groundless. You must remember that imitation does not always succeed." On this Gole said, "Whatever it may be, Dr., I am now tired of hypocrisy and sychophancy." I asked Gole to clarify his statement. Gole replied "Dr. these our Congress leaders are now sitting in the Interim Government of India and we are compelled to sing their praise. To tell you the truth nothing that they do is approved by us. Yet we have to say that all that they do is very beneficial to the country. We are compelled to practise this hypocrisy of which I am now very much tired." I said, "Gole your protestation is pointless. One who is tired of hypocrisy and sychophancy, will never remain a single moment at the place where he is required to practise these vices, but will quit immediately. If you are really tired, will you please do something for me? Mind, you, I do not want to put you in any awkward position, and even if you say no, to my request, our friendship will still endure." Gole replied, "Yes, I shall do for you what you want me to do. I am not afraid of anybody."

After this, I gave all the information about the happenings in the U. N. O. on the South African question to Gole. I also

told him that Vijayalaxmi Pandit and Pandit Nehru have received shoals of congratulatory wires, but they have not cared to disclose the person who made all these efforts. They have concealed the truth. I therefore desire to bring out this truth from Nehru's own lips in the Central Assembly, and if you have courage enough I would like you to put the following questions in the Assembly:—

- (1) Will the Government be pleased to state what action it has taken to bring into effect the directive given to the South African Government by the U. N. O. in the matter of India-South Africa dispute.
- (2) If the reply to the above question is in the negative, will the Government state the likely date and the outline of the action Government propose to take.
- (3) Will the Government state the month and the year when the Complaint was lodged against South Africa in the U. N. O.
- (4) Will the Government please state who was the member-in-charge of the Commonwealth Relations Department when this happened.

Gole sent these questions to the notice office of the Assembly. The next day I returned to Nagpur and after waiting for 5 or 6 days, I enquired from Gole about these questions. Gole replied in a letter that although he gave the notice of these questions, they were returned to him, and he was asked to withdraw them as they would be embarrassing to the Government.

The problem of Indians in South Africa is not yet solved. The Government of South Africa is trampling under its feet all the directives which it receives from the U. N. O. Neither the U. N. O dares to take any drastic steps against South Africa, nor South Adrica dares to leave the U. N. O. Presently, France has walked out of the U. N. O. on the question of Algeria. This action of France created some sensation as France is one of the Five Big Nations of the U. N. O. Whatever it may be, this endeavour of mine exposes the so called strength of the U. N. O. and also the so called love of truth of the Congress.

CHAPTER IX

MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITIES

In this chapter, I will describe miscellaneous activities of mine just before and after my appointment to the Viceroy's Council. Three or four instances relating to these activities are connected with the 1942 Quit India Movement. In a way my appointment to the Viceroy's Council is also connected with the Quit India Movement. It will therefore be quite relevant to give here a short account of the Quit India Movement in the province then known as the C. P. and Berar. The descriptions of the Quit India Movement and the account of the Chimur and Ashti incidents and the fast of Prof. Bhansali arising out of it, have been borrowed from my Marathi biography written by Mr. J. R. Joshi, a Sub-Editor of the Marathi daily '*Maharashtra*' of Nagpur and published in Delhi in the month of August 1943. Similarly, the text of some of the correspondence published in this book, has been borrowed from the second part of my Marathi biography written by the same author, and published in December 1949 at Calcutta at the time of the Hindoo Mahasabha Session held there and through Shri L. B. Bhopatkar. I therefore acknowledge my debt of gratitude for this to Mr. J. R. Joshi, the author and Mrs. Sushila Joshi, the publisher of these books. Besides this, in this book elsewhere, I have freely taken the help of my biography in English under the name '*He Fought Gandhism*' published in Delhi in 1951 by Mr. Indra Prakash and a book named '*Some Speeches and Statements of Dr. Khare*' published by Mr. M. G. Datar of Nagpur in 1943, and also my Marathi auto biography published by Shri G. M. Joshi of Bombay. My thanks are due to all these publishers for allowing me to freely draw upon their books. After this I now turn to the Quit India Movement of 1942.

The British bureaucracy strikes the first blow :

The All India Congress Committee passed its Quit India resolution in Bombay on the 8th of August 1942. By this resolution Gandhi was authorised to have a talk with the Viceroy and, if it failed, to start a movement for achieving independence. This resolution by itself did not mean that the movement was started as Gandhi after this resolution intended to see the Viceroy.

Furthermore, Gandhi had clarified the position of the Congress as of non-embarrassment to Britain by writing letters to Chaing-kai-Sheik of China and Joseph Stalin of Russia. Gandhi therefore was quite confident that he would not be arrested, and he expressed that feeling of his to his Secretary, Mahadeo Desai on the night of 8th August. But this estimate of Gandhi proved entirely wrong, because he and all other Congress leaders were arrested in the early morning of the 9th August 1942. This repression was carried on all over India and all local Congress leaders in towns and villages were arrested. The British bureaucracy must have thought that by arresting Congress leaders, they would cut off the very root of the movement. But this understanding of the bureaucracy was entirely wrong. The root of the movement lay not in the Congress leaders who had not even chalked out the programme of civil disobedience.

The Congress did not start the 1942 agitation. As indicated in the preceding paragraph even after the Quit India resolution the Congress still hoped to achieve independence by negotiations. But the British Government was not prepared to allow any latitude to the Congress this time, because the War was on, and therefore it struck at the Congress with all its force. But this did not stop the holocaust, because discontent did not lie in the speeches of the Congress leaders or their activities, but it was rooted in the situation created by the War. **The delaying tactics of the British Government to consider the transfer of power had created deep disappointment in the public mind, and fuel was added to the fire by scarcity and dearness of necessities of life like food and raiment, the tragic tale of the refugees from Burma and the oppression carried on on the rich and the poor, agriculturists and labourers in towns and villages everywhere, the utter disregard shown by the bureaucracy for public good, the insecurity of life and property felt by the people everywhere, the confiscation of country boats and other means of livelihood in the riverine areas of Bengal and Orissa, the atrocities committed by the army and the true or false rumours of outrages on women perpetrated by soldiers and sepoys. These were the real reasons for the discontent, bitter feelings and anger of the public. There-**

fore the mere arrest of Congress leaders proved to be futile and there was a holocaust in many areas of the country.

Mr. Amery's accusations :

For some time, the Indian people were stunned and stupefied by the sudden arrest of the Congress leaders on the 9th of August 1942, but Mr. Amery, the then Secretary of State for India, awakened the Indian people from this temporary stupor. He issued a statement on the 11th of August 1942 in which he alleged that the Congress civil disobedience movement at that time had allowed the blowing of bridges, the dismantling of rails, the cutting of telegraph and telephone wires, the burning of Government offices and the destruction of all external signs of British authority. The movement included also the undermining of loyalty of the police and the military and the bringing of the administrative machinery to a stand-still by any means. To give any latitude to the Congress in such activities would have resulted in serious impediments to war efforts. On these grounds, Amery's statement justified the lightening arrests of all Congress leaders on 9th August. It would be fair to state here that Kaka Kalelkar and Kishorilal Mashruwala, two of Gandhiji's intimate disciples had also issued a statement after the publication of the statement of Amery, that all the things referred to in it were allowable at that time in the Quit India movement. Was it not a cruel joke of Gandhi's *ahimsa* practised by these two intimate disciples of Gandhi ? (As mentioned before, Mahatma Gandhi however had disclaimed this Quit India movement in his letter to the Viceroy on the ground that it was based on violence). It was also a satire on the intelligence of these Congress leaders to have taken a cue about the programme of political movement from Mr. Amery, obviously an enemy of Indian interests. These statements misguided the Indian people at this critical juncture, and they thought that to perpetrate such violent deeds, was really the programme of the Quit India Movement of the Congress at that time.

On account of these misconceptions, many violent deeds were perpetrated by the Indian people at many places all over India. Hundreds of police stations and Tahsil offices were burnt or the

Congress tri-colour flag was planted on them. Telephone and telegraph wires were cut at hundreds of places. Rails were dismantled and communications obstructed. The people gave expression to their deep discontent by any means available to them. Courts and Government offices were closed, schools and colleges were deserted, bazars were also deserted. It appeared for a moment that the British authority had vanished from the country. The British Government also thinking that, that movement was intended to uproot its authority used all means of modern war-fare to suppress the movement. They invaded some localities with their armies and freely used sten-guns, machine-guns, aroplanes etc. The result was that the bullets manufactured to be used on the Japanese soldiers ran through the bodies of Indians.

Storm in Nagpur :

Nagpur was quite peaceful for two days, i. e. on the 9th and 10 of August 1942. But the atmosphere suddenly changed from the mid-day of the 11th August. Boys from 5 to 15 years of age paraded the streets in processions and destroyed all electric bulbs on the lamp-posts on the streets and agitated and angry mobs cut off the telegraph and telephone wires on the 12th August. The goods godown of Itwari station and Itwari post office were burnt. The police outposts in the city were also burnt, and *the Congress tri-colour flag was planted on the office of the Deputy Commissioner.* At many places roads were blocked by Hume pipes and trunks of trees felled down. Government police proved inefficient and inadequate. Courts and offices were closed and there was firing at many places like Jumma Darwaja, Itwari, Sitabuldi, Mahal and people in the houses and galleries were shot down. The whole of Nagpur city was handed over to the military and curfew was enforced at many places after 6 P. M. There was curfew also in front of my dispensary in Sitabuldi. In the evening of 12th August 3 or 4 minutes before 6 P. M. I was engaged in dressing some wounded persons ; while I was performing this humane task a sepoy belonging to the Mahar Regiment entered my dispensary and peremptorily ordered me to close it immediately and placed a loaded pistol on my chest. The result was that I was imme.

diately compelled to close the dispensary leaving the humane task unfinished. This situation in Nagpur had been described at that time by Sir Henry Twynam, the then Governor of C. P. and Berar, in the following words : *"The city of Nagpur was entirely in the hands of rebels for seventy-eight hours."*

Violent incidents like those in Nagpur took place at many places in C. P. and Berar, but the incidents, particularly at Chimur, Ashti, Yash and Ramtek, would not be forgotten for a long time. At these places, regular fights took place between the people and the Government officials. This was naturally followed by military invasion of these places which resulted in atrocities upon the people. Particularly, the terrible atrocities on women perpetrated in Chimur and Ashti would not be forgotten. Similarly, the loot of the Government treasury at Ramtek would also not be forgotten because the officer-in-charge of that treasury at that time, deserted his duty and ran to Nagpur for safety. Perhaps, on account of that officer's desertation of the post of duty, he got promoted under the Shukla Ministry as a result of which he is now living his family and literary life in splendour.

Release of Tukdoji Maharaj :

Tukdoji who has now earned the fame of a national saint by the favours of the Congress Government was suspected of having some connection with the happenings at Chimur during this movement. The Government of C. P. arrested him, perhaps as an under-trial. The reason for this suspicion was that Chimur was a great centre of Tukdoji's disciples and a Bhajan programme of Tukdoji was held at Chimur the night previous to the fight between the people and the Government officials. Besides this, Chimur and Ashti were the centres of the institution called 'Arti Mandal' started by Tukdoji. (Arti Mandal means a centre of worship). Shri Bal Veer Harkare, who is a friend of mine was very friendly with Tukdoji also. He therefore requested me to try and secure Tukdoji's release. For this purpose I and my friend, Shri T. J. Kedar went one day and saw the then Governor of C. P. and Berar, viz., Sir Henry Twynam and requested him to release Tukdoji. We argued that Tukdoji was never a poli-

tician. He was only a religious propagandist. The Governor first refused to listen to our request and quoted some sentences in the police report alleged to have been uttered by Tukdoji at Chimur, the meaning of which was that when necessary stones could become bombs and sticks could become guns. After this, we again emphasised our contention that Tukdoji was never a political agitator and very fervently pleaded for his release which would result in great goodwill towards the Government. On account of this earnest request, the Governor promised to release him within 7-8 days when the situation would be quietened. The Governor carried out the promise given to us and Tukdoji was released. After release, he immediately came to my house and bowed before me and thanked me profusely for saving his life.

In my articles published in newspapers about this movement, I had foretold that it would be a failure on account of the situation in the country not being favourable to it ; and my prophecy came out to be true because the defenceless, leaderless and unarmed public was soon ruthlessly repressed by the British Government. Thousands of people were arrested and put behind prison bars. Special judges and special courts were appointed, who were given special powers to try these cases in the military fashion, and many people were sentenced to be hanged, being held guilty of murder, incendiarism, destruction of property and such other offences, at places like Ashti, Yaoli, Chimur, Ramtek Betul, and Nagpur. This as well as the stories of atrocities on women at Chimur, created great agitation in the public mind.

The account of Chimur incident :

Chimur is a big village in the Chanda district with 6,000 population. It is 32 miles from Warora and surrounded on all sides by thick forests. This village is famous from the Bhonsla times, and because it is inhabited by well to do families like Naiks and Begdes, it is fairly advanced in political thought and a centre of movements like that of the Hindu Mahasabha and Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh. There is no wonder therefore that this village rose in revolt after the arrest of national leaders on the 9th August 1942. On the 16th of August (Nagpanchami day) the police arrested some public workers in Chimur, for taking part

in the agitation. In protest of this arrest, the people of Chimur arranged a procession which was lathi-charged as well as fired on by the police. It could not be said, how many people fell victims to this firing, but it was true that the Police carried on firing till the ammunition was finished. When this was sensed by the public, they attacked the police in return, which resulted in the death of a Sub-Divisional Officer, Sub-Inspector of Police, Naib-Tahsildar and a police constable. The dead bodies of these victims were also burnt along with the buildings of the Government. The agitated public thus took revenge of the atrocities and firing committed by the police, and then blocked the road to Chimur, by placing across it trunks of big trees felled by them. The public also demolished a bridge leading to Chimur and made communication to that place nearly impossible. The District Magistrate, Chanda, Mr. Subramaniam, I. C. S., when he got news of these happenings in Chimur, reported to the Provincial Government that there was rebellion against Government in the forest tract of Chimur. He also gave his own opinion, that this rebellion could not be quelled without the help of the white soldiers.

The Provincial Government responded to this call of the District Magistrate, and sent a special train to Chimur on the 19th of August consisting of 200 soldiers and 50 sepoys. This detachment of the military was also accompanied by military vehicles. When this news of the military invasion reached Chimur the people there were terror-struck and hid themselves behind closed doors. The District Magistrate with the help of the military broke open the doors of the houses of prominent citizens like the Naiks and Begdes. Later on, the same treatment was given to the houses of all and sundry.

On entering the houses, the white soldiers and the black sepoys both severely beat all males of all ages, insulted the women and destroyed goods and furniture. The District Magistrate on this very day arrested 120 citizens of Chimur. After this, he allowed the police and the military to take away anything they needed from anywhere. On account of this free licence given to them by the District Magistrate, the police broke open all the boxes and cupboards in the houses of the prominent people and

behaved like Mahmud of Ghazni. During this loot, kitchens were converted into latrines, household temples were desecrated and any lone woman fallen into the hands of these military people was raped irrespective of her age, physical condition of menstruation or pregnancy. For two days the Chimur people were reminded of the loot rapine and slaughter carried on by Nadir Shah in Delhi in 1739.

Courage displayed by an old woman

At long last, Mrs. Dadibai, an old lady of the Begde family, braved the threats and the bayonets of the police and military and dexterously managed to approach the District Magistrate, Mr. Subramaniam. On meeting him, she asked him pointblank whether he had any sisters and mother or not. The District Magistrate very arrogantly replied to her, that that calamity was brought on by the foolish and thoughtless action of the men of Chimur, and that whenever military got an occasion of acting under such conditions, such things were inevitable. But he was again requested by Mrs. Dadibai to be humane and to show some mercy. This had its effect and he ordered the military officials, not to tease and insult the people any more. Thus the loot and raping in Chimur was stopped, but the people lived in mortal fear and danger, till the 26th of August when the military left Chimur. But the misery and misfortune of the people of Chimur did not end on that date, because a collective fine of Rs. 1 lakh imposed on Chimur was quickly realised. One can imagine the distress and the misery suffered by the women of Chimur, during the process of the realisation of this fine. Almost all responsible men were behind prison bars. Therefore, the fine was necessarily realised from the women remaining behind. After this realisation of the fine, the people of Chimur had to suffer the trials and tribulations incidental to the investigation of crimes.

When the news of these happenings in Chimur reached Nagpur, crossing through the army and police cordon, the Nagpur public became very uneasy and agitated. But they could not do anything even to ascertain the veracity or otherwise of the distressing and heart rending news heard by them. It was impossible then to go to Chimur till the motor communication was re-established

and the police cordon was raised. But the Chanda Bar Association in the last week of August 1942 passed a resolution demanding an enquiry into the Chimur atrocities, and sent it to the Government. But the Government turned down this request of the Chanda Bar Association and also refused to remove the direct and indirect restrictions imposed on going to Chimur. Therefore, the arrangement of defence of about 400 citizens arrested in Chimur, and placing before the public a full account of what happened in Chimur became very difficult. But this difficulty was surmounted in a measure, by Veer Harkare and Shri G. R. Walunjkar who showed great perseverance in personally visiting prominent men and women of all political parties at Wardha, Chanda and Nagpur.

The efforts made by these two gentlemen were successful and Mrs. Vimlabai Deshpande, Mrs. Dwarkabai Deoskar, Miss Vimal Abhyankar, Mrs. Ramabai Tambe, and Dr. Durgabai Wazalwar of Nagpur visited Chimur on the 19th of September for a spot enquiry into the alleged atrocities on the women of Chimur. When these five ladies of Nagpur on return from Chimur, acquainted the Nagpur public with the horrible account of the outrages on women in Chimur, the whole of Nagpur became very much angry and agitated. Dr. Moonje and Mr. Ghatate also visited Chimur about this time, enquired into the incidents there, and placed the information before the Government and requested the Government to hold an enquiry into them. But the Government of C. P. and Berar, issued a long statement on the 16th of October 1942, saying that all the complaints about Chimur were fictitious and the women of Chimur had deliberately made these false accusations against the soldiers of Government to defame the army. The Government of C. P. and Berar suffered in reputation throughout India on account of this attempt to suppress truth. The Government of C. P. became irritated on account of this, and imposed a ban on the publication of any news about Chimur under the Defence of India Rules. On account of this satanic act of the Government, it became impossible to get any justice in this Chimur incident.

Professor Bhansali's fast unto death :

In this situation of despair and disappointment, Professor Bhansali, an intimate disciple of Gandhi came forward. He is

a nephew of Shamji Krishna Verma, the famous revolutionary of Sawarkar's *Abhinava Bharat* party. While working as a Professor in an Ahmedabad College, Bhansali suddenly got an inspiration to renounce worldly life and joined Gandhiji's ashram at Sewagram. Bhansali is a man of religious bent of mind and never took any part in politics. Impelled by his religious sentiments, Bhansali went to Delhi on the 1st of November 1942 and requested Shri M. S. Aney, who was then a member of the Viceroy's Council, to try to bring about an enquiry into the Chimur affairs. He also requested Shri Aney to accompany him to Chimur, and insisted that if Aney was unable to do anything, he should resign, failing which he threatened Aney that he would end his life at his feet by fasting.

Naturally, after this threat, an order was served on Bhansali to quit Delhi immediately. As he did not obey, he was put behind the prison-bars in Delhi and forcibly fed in jail through a nasal tube. Afterwards, he was brought back to Sewagram on the 7th November and released there. Immediately on release, Bhansali went to Chimur. Within three hours of his reaching Chimur, Bhansali was served with an order to leave Chimur immediately. He disobeyed that order. Therefore, he was brought to Sewagram and released there, but served with an order not to leave Sewagram.

Sinister propaganda by K. M. Munshi and others :

Bhansali broke the last order served on him and from Sewagram he went to Wardha, and started fast unto death in the bungalow of Jamanlal Bajaj, as a protest against the injustice done at Chimur. Taking advantage of this, Shri K. M. Munshi who was interested in Bhansali carried on a sinister propaganda that Shri M. S. Aney alone was responsible for the injustice at Chimur. The same propaganda was carried on by some Congress papers also from Delhi to Bombay. But Prof. Bhansali when he came to know about this propaganda, scotched it by writing to Aney that the object of his fast was never to put him into trouble, and that he did not harbour any hostile feelings individually against him. Shri Aney also informed Bhansali in return, that he was making every endeavour to afford relief in

the matter of Chimur according to his own light. Aney also requested Bhansali to give up his demand for an enquiry into the atrocities on women in Chimur as after a lapse of all that time, it was impossible for it to succeed. Aney made this request to Bhansali on the 5th of December 1942. The very next day, that is on the 6th, Prof. Bhansali in his turn thanked Aney by a telegram and emphasised that he felt elevated to sacrifice his life for the sake of honour and prestige of womanhood.

Bhansali's fast continued for nearly two months and great anxiety was felt for his life, to save which efforts began to be made. A letter was sent to Mr. M. R. Jayakar of Bombay requesting him to intercede between Prof. Bhansali and the Government to save his life. My friend Barrister G. V. Deshmukh and myself were also similarly requested and efforts were made to bring about a compromise between Prof. Bhansali and the C. P. Government. An account of these efforts of compromise could be gathered from a letter which Mr. E. S. Patwardhan sent to Mr. Aney on the 9th of January 1943 and Aney's reply to him dated the 11th January 1943. The important portion of both these letters is therefore quoted below : Shri E. S. Patwardhan in his letter says, " Today is the 60th day of the fast unto death started by Prof. Bhansali. You are aware of the present and past history of Prof. Bhansali. I have seen the recent correspondence that took place between you (Mr. Aney) and him (Prof. Bhansali). I have also read the letter which you sent to him yesterday while on your way to Delhi. "

"Shri Gopalrao Walunjkar of Nalwadi near Wardha came to me on the 4th January 1943, and requested me to persuade Dr. Khare to go to Wardha and examine the health of Prof. Bhansali. Immediately Walunjkar and myself went to Dr. Khare and requested him to go to Wardha and examine Prof. Bhansali. For the last four years Dr. Khare harbours a feeling of utter contempt for the Mahatma his associates and his institutions. On account of this very reason he declined to go to Wardha, but we tried our best to persuade him and requested him to defer his answer to us over the matter.

On Wednesday the 6th of January 1943, Mrs. Anusayabai Kale, Shri G. T. Madholkar, Shri Madhaorao Datar and myself (E. S. Patwardhan) went to Wardha to see Prof. Bhansali. It appears that Bhansali is quite alert and capable of considering any point of view placed before him. I think, there are two categories of people surrounding him; some earnestly desire to find some honourable way out of the crisis so that his life may be saved. On the contrary, some diehards hold the view that if Bhansali gives up his fast, their own importance will be reduced. Even so, both the categories of people believe, that the situation will greatly improve if you come here as a friend."

Love for us influenced him :

"We placed the whole situation at Wardha about Bhansali's fast before Dr. Khare and Barrister G. V. Deshmukh and we tried again to persuade Dr. Khare to go to Wardha. *At long last, very reluctantly, he agreed to go to Wardha on account of his love towards us.* Accordingly, Dr. Khare, Barrister Govindrao Deshmukh and Mrs. Anusayabai Kale and I went to Wardha yesterday the 8th January, i. e. Friday. We stayed in the house of Jamanlal Bajaj from 11 A. M. to 3 P. M. Dr. Khare very carefully examined the health of Prof. Bhansali and said that there is nothing seriously wrong yet. His pulse is 80-84 per minute and his mind is alert and happy. Many points were placed before Bhansali with a view to persuade him to give up his fast. He was told that Govindrao Deshmukh who was a member of the Central Assembly will be able to do something there. Till then, he was earnestly requested to give up his fast. Bhansali has agreed to give due consideration to this point of view. It was also brought to his notice that there is no particular importance in fasting only for securing an enquiry from the Government. On the contrary, it is more important to create strength and organisation in the Society to prevent such atrocities on women. We should therefore take some steps towards this end. Bhansali also promised to consider this aspect of the question. After this we left Wardha and before leaving *Dr. Khare lovingly assured Prof. Bhansali that he would be glad to come again to Wardha, if necessary.*

"In this letter I have reported to you fully all that happened at Wardha. I believe, if it is decided to reconsider

such cases of atrocities against women, in which there is a possibility of getting some proof, Bhansali may be prepared to give up his fast."

Shri M. S. Aney in reply to this letter to Shri E. S. Patwardhan, says, "Thank you for your letter of the 9th instant. You have done a great job in persuading Dr. Khare to examine Prof. Bhansali. I fervently hope, that although the efforts of all others have failed, Dr. Khare's efforts will succeed. I am also trying my best to enable Bhansali to abandon his fast. I hope, Bhansali will consider all the view points which you have placed before him to enable him to give up his fast. Please give my thanks also to Dr. Khare, Madkholkar, Datar and Mrs. Kale."

Munshi was silenced :

As mentioned in this correspondence, I returned to Nagpur on the evening of the 8th January 1943 from Wardha after examining Prof. Bhansali and having a talk with him. On 9th morning, I interviewed the Governor of C. P. and Berar and had a talk with him about Chimur and Bhansali's fast to gauge his mind and to find out how far he was prepared to go to bring about a compromise. This day evening, the trustee of Bhansali, i. e. Shri K. M. Munshi came to my house in the company of Acharya Walunjkar. At that time Govind-rao Deshmukh, E. S. Patwardhan and Mrs. Anusayabai Kale were already sitting at my place. When the talk began about how to bring about a compromise, Shri K. M. Munshi began to blame Shri Aney. I immediately checkmated him saying, "you have no business to blame Bapuji alone. There is another person in the Viceroy's Council namely, Shri Nalini Ranjan Sarkar who is more thick with Gandhi than Aney. Why did he not open his mouth? If you wanted to blame anybody, then, it must be accepted that Aney and Sarkar were both blameworthy. It was unjust to blame Aney alone." Munshi kept quiet after this.

I am nowhere in the picture :

Thus we discussed for two or three hours and prepared a draft for a compromise. Next day that is on the 10th

January 1943, I went to the Government House to show the draft to the Governor and get his approval. At this time, Shri K. M. Munshi was also standing in my veranda. He requested me to take him along with me to the Government House, and tell the Governor that a famous lawyer of Bombay was accompanying me who would be greatly useful in preparing the final draft of the compromise. I was surprised at this unexpected request from Munshi and refused to oblige him with a smile, on which Munshi said, "Dr. Khare you are everywhere in this picture and I am nowhere."

After my return home from the interview with the Governor, Shri K. M. Munshi and Aeharya Walunjkar came to my house and took that draft to show it to Prof. Bhansali. After return from Wardha, they again came to my house in the evening when a meeting of all the people concerned was held and a final draft was prepared. After that, I again saw the Governor with that final draft on the 11th January and obtained his approval. The outline of the final draft approved by the Governor would be evident from the correspondence that took place between me and Prof. Bhansali on the 12th January. I wrote to Bhansali as follows :—

"After seeing you and having a talk with you on the 8th of January I interviewed the Governor and had a very frank talk with him about Chimur affair. I have to request you to give up your insistence on a public enquiry into the alleged atrocities perpetrated on women in Chimur as after such a long lapse of time, it would be impossible to identify the accused. But at the same time, I can give you the following assurances :

- (1) The Government of C. P. and Berar will issue a statement that it had never an intention of making any mean accusations against the women of Chimur. Government always attaches great importance to the discipline followed by the military and police while on the duty of maintaining peace and order. Government also firmly believes that to entertain highest respect for womanhood and to protect their honour, is the first and the best constituent of that discipline.

- (2) Government will remove the ban on newspapers regarding publishing the news of Chimur and Bhansali.
- (3) Government will publish its statement at the time of the breaking of the fast by Prof. Bhansali.
- (4) Government understood that there are at present no restrictions on going to Chimur, but even if there are any, they will be immediately removed.

I can assure you that Hon'ble Mr. M. S. Aney will accompany you to Chimur. Government will not impose any restrictions upon your visit. I can also accompany you to Chimur if you so desire.

You have undergone heavy suffering and sacrifice and I hope that considering all the above factors, you will break your epic fast."

I received a reply from Bhansali to my above letter on the same day. Bhansali writes :—

"I am grateful for your letter and the efforts you have made. I am glad to learn that the Government is willing to issue a statement suggested by you, to remove the ban on news about Chimur and also remove all restrictions on those who want to go to Chimur. I am also happy that the Hon'ble Shri M. S. Aney is willing to accompany me to Chimur and contact the people there. I am a man devoted to religion and I believe that to insult women is not only an offence against Society, but is an offence against God. I got this opportunity to infuse these sentiments of mine into others. I am thankful for it. I am also grateful to God because he made me an instrument to awaken the public conscience on an important question like the honour of women.

I shall gladly visit Chimur along with you and Mr. Aney after I recover. Considering all the facts and the reasons placed by you before me, I hereby give up my demand for an enquiry into Chimur happenings and agree to break my fast. I hope, there will not be any restrictions after my fast is broken, upon my speeches and activities on the question of rendering any help to the Chimur people."

Thus Bhansali broke his fast after which Shri T. C. S. Jayratnum, I. C. S., Chief Secretary of the C. P. Government, held a Press Conference and announced that the Government had withdrawn the order issued under Section 41 (I) of the Defence of India Rules. This order had imposed ban upon the news about Chimur and Bhansali, etc. In this way, the deadlock between the All India Newspapers and the Government of India also was resolved. At this very Press Conference Shri M. D. Shahane, the Publicity Officer of the C. P. Government said, Government of C.P. welcomes all the efforts made to solve all the difficulties arising out of the Chimur affair. The Government never intended to make any mean accusations against womanhood in general. Government always attaches great importance to the discipline maintained by the police and the military while on duty to keep order. Government also earnestly believes that respect towards womanhood and protection of their honour is the first and the highest constituent of that discipline.

Governor's letter to me :

After the happy ending of the Chimur affair on the 13th of January 1943, the Governor of C. P. and Berar sent me the following letter:—

"I must thank you for undertaking the thankless task of solving the deadlock arising out of the Bhansali fast. I am leaving for Bombay and before doing so, I hastened to send you this letter of thanks. I cannot express in words my gratitude for managing this affair in a most skilful manner and with a balanced mind."

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) HENRY TWYNAM.

Thus, the Bhansali fast affair ended, but in the act of ending, it gave birth to the Capital Punishment Relief Society. **Establishment of Capital Punishment Relief Society.**

As a result of the holocaust in August 1942 in the Quit India Movement at Nawabpura in Nagpur, one Shanker Kunbi

was convicted of murder and sentenced to be hanged. His defence was conducted by a famous lawyer of Nagpur, Mr. M. R. Bobde. An appeal was filed against his conviction on behalf of Shanker Kunbi and the date for depositing Rs. 300 for paper book was fixed. As the money could not be found, the date of execution of Shanker Kunbi was fixed. The night before the date of execution, about 9-30 P.M., a junior lawyer defending Shanker Kunbi either Lobo or D'souza by name, came to me and gave me the bad news, and requested me to try and get the execution fixed for the next morning postponed somehow or other. I said, it was impossible to get such a judicial order changed at night. Better than this, had he come to me before the expiry of the date on which Rs. 300 was to be deposited, I would have immediately paid him the amount, because the sum of Rs. 300 was nothing as compared to even the possibility of saving a human life. After the lawyer left and although night was advanced, I phoned to Mr. Burgess, the Secretary to the Governor and requested him on my behalf to ask the Governor to intercede and *postpone* the date of execution. Burgess said that it was a pitiable case, but the order of execution being a judicial order, even the Governor could not do anything at the eleventh hour. But he advised me to try and phone Mr. Shah, I.C.S., the Judicial Secretary of the Provincial Government, on which I phoned to Mr. Shah also and conveyed to him the pitiable tale. He was also moved, but could not do anything, and Shanker Kunbi was hanged at day break as was fixed. This cruel incident had made me very uneasy, dejected and irritated. In this condition, Shri Walunjkar and Madkholkar saw me on the 24th of January 1943 and began to tell me something about Vishnu Gond of Betul, another accused sentenced to be hanged. In reply, I told them, the fresh account of Shanker Kunbi and asked them not to put a man like me always in an awkward position in such matters, but to issue a statement signed by prominent citizens openly requesting the Government to commute the sentences of all those who were sentenced to be hanged. At the same time, I asked them also to establish a sort of a society to fight for these accused even to the Privy Council. My friend Veer Harkare was also thinking on these lines. These friends then went to Barrister G. V.

Deshmukh and with his help prepared a draft of this public appeal. They showed it to me and after making slight changes, it was signed by many prominent citizens and published in the papers. After this, Veer Harkare, Advocate Rambhao Manohar, Advocate P. K. Tare, Shri E. S. Patwardhan, Shri A. N. Udhoji, Shri G. T. Madkholkar and some others held a meeting of some prominent invited citizens at my residence on the 7th February 1943, and formally established the Capital Punishment Relief Society, and I was earnestly requested to accept the presidency of that Society and I agreed. Then immediately I applied myself to the task of collecting funds for that Society and I must say, that the response of the public was very generous and spontaneous.

On the 15th April 1943, Mr. Burgess, the Secretary of the Governor of C. P., called me by phone to the bungalow of Justice Pollock which was vacant as he had gone away somewhere on account of the summer, and handed over to me a letter from Lord Linlithgow the Viceroy requesting me to accept a job on the Viceroy's Council. Burgess asked me to keep it very secret as the sanction from the King Emperor was yet to be received. He also asked me to pardon him for not coming to my house. He said that if he had gone to my house, it would have aroused the curiosity of the whole mohalla which was necessary to be avoided as the matter was secret. I accepted the Viceroy's offer then and there in writing and handed over the letter to Shri Burgess.

The next morning Burgess called me to his bungalow for tea. In the flow of the conversation, he asked me whether I was against the capital punishment. On my replying in the negative, he said if that was so, why had I taken the lead in establishing the Capital Punishment Relief Society. I at once retorted that it was Capital Punishment Relief Society and not capital punishment abolition society. From this, it would be realised that the Society was not formed for abolishing capital punishment. It was established only to render help to the unfortunate accused who were not able to defend themselves. On this Burgess said, that he understood my point of view, but urged on me to sever my connection with the Capital Punishment

Relief Society as I was now to be appointed on the Viceroy's Council. I said, "this appointment on the Viceroy's Council is only incidental and temporary. My duty of serving my fellow-men is perpetual and constant. I do not attach the same importance to the job on the Viceroy's Council as to this duty of mine. I am therefore not prepared to give up this daily duty of mine and I will feel nothing if my appointment on the Viceroy's Council is cancelled on account of my membership of the Capital Punishment Relief Society. I do not understand why you regard this activity of mine so strange. I do not think, I need tell you that to render all help to the accused does not mean sharing in their offences." Burgess said, "I understand the reason of your insistence, but I would advise you to kindly sever all connection with the Capital Punishment Relief Society 3 or 4 days before you assume charge of your office on the Viceroy's Council." I readily agreed to this request of Burgess and five or six days before the 7th of May 1943 the date on which I took charge of the membership on the Viceroy's Council, I called a meeting of the Capital Punishment Relief Society and formally resigned my membership and Presidentship thereof. I suggested the name of Mrs. Anusayabai Kale as President of that Society in my place which was agreed to. After I left the Society, Mrs. Kale, Veer Harkare and Shri Udhoji continued to carry on this humane work with great enthusiasm.

My friend Namasahab Kedar and Advocates Ghate and Manohar rendered yeoman's service to the Capital Punishment Relief Society in legal matters. They preferred an appeal in the High Court on behalf of the Chimur accused, against the capital punishment awarded to them in the lower Court. The High Court dismissed the appeal, but they succeeded two or three times in getting the date of execution postponed on some technical grounds. But this could not go on for ever. Therefore they applied for leave to prefer an appeal before the Privy Council in England. But that was refused. Therefore to put off the evil day, they submitted a mercy petition to the King Emperor on behalf of the Chimur accused. In this connection Mrs. Anusayabai Kale, President of the Capital

Punishment Relief Society, had visited Delhi to see the Private Secretary to the Viceroy. But before the mercy petition was decided, the Central Provinces Government had fixed the date of execution. I believe, Mrs. Anusayabai Kale also tried to get this date again postponed with results unknown. I tried to achieve the same object because although I had severed all connection with the Capital Punishment Relief Society my attachment to its cause was still there. The written proof for this, would be found in a letter which the officiating Viceroy, Sir John Colville wrote to me on the 12th of May 1945 mentioned before.

Lives saved at last :

In this connection I also phoned to Mr. Thorne, I.C.S., a Secretary in the Home Department of the Government of India. As soon as I told him that I wanted to talk something about the Chimur-Ashti accused, he at once said that he was not at all surprised, and twitted me by saying that I had been involved in that business from the very beginning. On this I said, "It is not proper to fix the date of the execution of these accused before any decision was taken on the mercy petition submitted to the King Emperor." He replied, "There is no harm. The mercy petition is merely a formal affair. It is inevitable that it will be rejected." I said, "Whatever it may be, to execute the capital sentence before the decision is actually taken and announced, means an insult to the King Emperor, and I am surprised that the British themselves are intent upon insulting their own King Emperor." It appears that this shot was effective, because the date of execution was postponed and later on in the month of August 1945 at the time of the celebration of the V-Day against Japan, the King Emperor himself pardoned them. This fact was announced by the then Government of India of which I was a member. Thus the noose round the neck of these accused was broken, and they began to be popularly known as the 7 immortals. On account of this, similar accused at Patna, Travancore and other places were also pardoned,

On reading the above account, the readers will realise that in the month of May 1945 the then officiating Viceroy, Sir

John Colville hesitated to act upto my suggestion of pardoning these accused at the time of the V-Day against Germany. *But it is clear that in the end that very suggestion of mine was brought into effect at the time of celebration of V-Day against Japan in August 1945, through the King Emperor.*

Rejuvenation of Tarun Bharat and the story of the Defence Academy, Khadakwasla, Poona :

On 2nd January 1944, i. e. on the 9th death anniversary of my departed friend, Narkesari M. V. Abhyankar, Barrister-at-Law, Tarun Bharat which had long ago ceased its publication as a weekly was restarted as a daily. Before giving the account of its rejuvenation, it would be quite relevant to give a short account of how and why Tarun Bharat was initially started.

In 1916, there were only two newspapers in Nagpur. One was the Marathi Weekly, *Maharashtra* and the other was the English Weekly, *Hitavada*. At that time the Indian National Congress was in its infancy, it had no influence on the public mind and the public affairs in Nagpur were managed by a group of people who were 16 in number and named as the National Group, or Rashtriya Mandal. At that time, there was only one Congress Committee for the whole of C. P. and Berar and Mr. Bhawani Shankar Nivogi was its secretary. All the 16 members of the National Group were members of the Congress also. The resolutions to be passed in the Indian National Congress were first discussed and decided upon, in a meeting of this National Group. This national group consisted of the following 16 members.

- (1) Nilkanthrao alias Dadasaheb Udhoji.
- (2) Dr. B. S. Moonje.
- (3) Narayanrao Alekar.
- (4) Narayanrao Vaidya.
- (5) Bhaskerrao Pandit.
- (6) N. B. alias Bapurao Bhawalkar.
- (7) Gopalrao Deo.

- (8) Vishvanathrao Kelkar.
- (9) Barrister M. V. Abhyankar.
- (10) Gopalrao Ogale, Editor, '*Maharashtra*'.
- (11) Barrister Govindrao Deshmukh.
- (12) Bhawari Shanker Niyogi.
- (13) Manoharpant Bobde, Advocate.
- (14) Dr. M. R. Cholkar.
- (15) Dr. L. V. Paranjpe, and
- (16) myself (Dr. N. F. Khare).

Out of the above only Nos. 11, 12, 13, 14, and 16 are alive, and the rest are all dead. Besides these, Dhundirajpant Thengdi also used to attend some times the meetings of this National Group. He is also now dead.

At that time, the political propaganda in Nagpur was only done by the Maharashtra weekly and naturally, it was more or less on behalf of the Congress. In 1925 the Congress in Nagpur and the National Group were divided on account of the establishment of the Responsive Co-operation Party. Many in the National Group joined this new party or the Hindoo Mahasabha or kept quiet. Out of the 16 members of the National Group, only three persons i. e. Dadasaheb Udhoji, Barrister Abhyankar, and myself remained in the Congress. As Gopalrao Ogale joined the Responsive Cooperation Party, his paper '*Maharashtra*' naturally began to carry on propaganda in favour of that party against the Congress. There was no organ in Nagpur to carry on the Congress propaganda. To meet this need of the Congress, we three, that is, Udhoji, Abhyankar and myself started a Marathi weekly paper called '*Tarun Bharat*' by pinching our pockets to a very great extent. The responsibility of being the editor of this paper was thrown upon me. I had the honour thus of being the first Editor and one of the founders of '*Tarun Bharat*.' We conducted this paper for about five years to carry on Congress propaganda at great sacrifice. But in 1930-31, when my friend Barrister Abhyankar and myself were both in jail in the Satyagraha campaign, the paper automatically ceased to be published. After this, two small weeklies

viz.. Nispruha of M. J. Kanetkar and Sanket of G. G. Gokhale were started to carry on Congress propaganda but really no necessity of any new paper was felt to carry on the Congress propaganda, because after the satyagraha campaign, the Congress gripped the public mind and began to be noticed by all papers.

Second World War began in 1939, causing dearth and scarcity of newsprint and also other materials necessary for a newspaper. The newspaper Industry fell on bad days and it became increasingly difficult financially and otherwise to carry on the business of newspapers. *Maharashtra* now, a bi-weekly was no exception. The editor, Mr. Gopalrao Ogale, was compelled to impose a cut on the salary of sub-editors which was naturally resented by them. One of them, viz., Gajanan Trimbak Madkholkar began to think of leaving the *Maharashtra* newspaper. Before the outbreak of war, E Raghavendra Rao, who was at one time the Home Member and Officiating Governor of this Province, had infused the idea of becoming the chief editor of a Marathi Daily in the mind of Madkholkar, which began to haunt him this time and he began to see the dreams of its realisation. Therefore, after I was appointed to the Viceroy's Executive Council, Madkholkar, E. S. Patwardhan and Madhaorao Datar came to me and broached the subject of starting a Marathi daily under the Chief Editorship of Madkholkar. I did not agree in the beginning because this was obviously a tall order. But this trio persistently visited me whenever I came to Nagpur on some business and earnestly requested me to start the daily, as according to them it was easy for me to do so on account of my high office. They also pointed out to me that the main difficulty of getting permission of the Central Government to start a paper in War time would be easily solved on account of my position of authority.

During the Khare Episode in 1938, Madkholkar was the sub-editor of *Maharashtra* and at that time he placed before the public through *Maharashtra* my side of the dispute with great sincerity of purpose and honesty and straightforwardness. Besides this, he also wrote a novel by name 'Mukhawate' or Masks, on

my episode. The hero of that novel Priyadarshan was none but myself. In this novel, Madkholkar had severely criticised Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy and politics and exposed to the public view Mahatma's Ahimsa in all its nakedness. On the frontispiece of this novel, masks of Nariman, Khare and Bose were depicted as being trampled upon, by the Mahatma. All these things created in my mind feelings of friendship and love for Madkholkar. I therefore thought of yielding to the insistent demand made by these friends and starting a Marathi daily under Madkholkar's editorship. For this purpose, I obtained some financial help from some wealthy friends. The first part of my Marathi Biography written by Shri J. R. Joshi was published in Delhi in the month of August 1943. While Shri J. R. Joshi visited Delhi for this purpose, he informed me about the straitened financial condition of the *Maharashtra* newspaper. I therefore finally decided to start a Marathi daily under the editorship of Madkholkar and thus to help him out of the difficulty.

When I visited Nagpur after this and met my friends, we finalised this decision of starting a newspaper. These friends were Shri Madkholkar, Eknathpant Patwardhan, Madhaorao Datar, Dr. Dalvi, Mrs. Anusayabai Kale, Rambhao Manohar, Bhayaji Udhoji, Veer Harkare, L. S. *alias* Baburao Deshmukh, Ganpatrao Buty and myself. It was decided by us all that this paper should be started in memory of my late lamented friend, Mr. M. V. Abhyankar, Barrister-at Law. These friends therefore assumed the name of Narkesari Memorial Trust. I handed over to this Trust a sum of about Rs. 15,000 which had been collected and a small printing press belonging to me. It was very risky to start such a daily paper under such difficult circumstances, with such meagre capital and resources. Yet, we decided to do so because we had full faith in the capacity and powerful pen of Madkholkar, and we entertained full hope of the success of the venture (our hope was fulfilled).

Rebirth of 'Tarun Bharat'.

When all these arrangements were completed, the question of securing permission from the Government of India to start the paper arose. On account of the war situation it was almost

impossible to secure permission for a new paper. It was not so difficult to restart a paper which had stopped publication before. The '*Tarun Bharat*' which was started under my editorship years ago, was such a paper. I therefore suggested with legitimate pride that this very name of '*Tarun Bharat*' should be given to this new paper to be started. This suggestion of mine was acceptable to all and I secured the permission to start this paper under the old name '*Tarun Bharat*' and also secured the quota of newsprint for it from the Commerce Department. Thus the old Marathi weekly '*Tarun Bharat*' was reborn as a daily. Its first issue was published on 2nd January 1944, that is, the death anniversary of my friend late Mr. M.V. Abhyankar, Barrister-at-Law, in the house of Shri Bhayyaji Udhoji, at my hands, and under the presidentship of Shri L. S. Deshmukh.

The policy of this Marathi daily *Tarun Bharat* was independent nationalist. It was not a party organ belonging to any political party. Although E. Raghavendra Rao, when he was in a position of high authority in the Central Provinces, would have made available, all materials and all help to Madkholkar to start a daily paper at that time, he would have put a condition that the paper should always support himself (i. e. E. Raghavendra Rao) and his policy. But Madkholkar who was always for an independent paper would never have accepted that condition. His dream therefore of being an editor of a daily paper had remained unfulfilled then. But as I never imposed any such condition on Madkholkar while starting '*Tarun Bharat*', his ambition was realised fully at this time. Madkholkar is always grateful to me for this and regards me as a father.

Being a member of the Viceroy's Council, I had to stay in Delhi. My connection with the management of this paper was therefore very distant. After resigning from the Viceroy's Council, I remained in Nagpur only for 8 or 10 months, and then I had to go to Alwar as Prime Minister of that State. Within two months of starting this paper, great financial difficulty arose but by the efforts of my friend, V. B. Karandikar, a donation of Rs. 10,000 was secured from a wealthy person which enabled us to tide over the difficulty. Soon after, as

expected by us, the power of the pen of Madkholkar made the paper stable, and it created a place for itself in the world of newspapers. But subsequently, quarrels and misunderstandings arose among us workers which led to the decision of selling this paper as a going concern. This paper suffered a great loss during the holocaust which occurred in Nagpur after Gandhi's Assassination. Its Editor, Madkholkar also suffered a great loss individually and he had described all these incidents in a book which he had written under the name 'Tale of a Refugee'. After the loss which occurred due to destruction and burning of *Tarun Bharat*, it became very necessary to stop its publication for three weeks, but Madkholkar restarted it with great courage and firmness. Even so, the financial loss suffered by it could not be recouped. Under these circumstances, any congress capitalist would have purchased this paper as a going concern even by paying top heavy price for it. But such an offer would never have been acceptable to us. After the assassination of Gandhi, when I returned to Nagpur, with restrictions imposed upon my movements by the Government, the question of selling this paper as a going concern was again discussed and search for a likely customer started.

In the year 1949, it was rumoured that the general elections in India were going to be held soon. At this time, some prominent members of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh began to think of fighting these elections and felt a great need for an organ for propaganda. It was well known that *Tarun Bharat* was to be sold. Naturally therefore the R. S. S. workers expressed their desire to purchase it. We all met together and decided that the R.S.S. workers should start a limited company with the name Narkesari, and this company should purchase the *Tarun Bharat* paper with all its property, outstandings and goodwill. While this was being discussed, two or three joint meetings of the R.S.S. workers and the *Tarun Bharat* management were held at my house in Dhantoli. In these meetings, the R.S.S. workers pressed me to become the Chairman of the company or at least a Director by purchasing shares to the value of Rs. 1,000. Initially, I declined to do so because I had a very bitter experience of becoming a Director of limited com-

panies and it was difficult also for me to find the sum of Rs. 1,000. But ultimately, on account of too much insistence by the prominent R.S.S. workers I agreed with great reluctance to purchase shares of Rs. 1,000 and become a Director. This happened either towards the end of July or beginning of August 1949.

My entry into Hindoo Mahasabha :

On the 16th of August 1949, I held a Press Conference at my house, and announced my joining the Hindoo Mahasabha giving out full and detailed reasons which prompted me to do so. In a few days after this, I was invited to Poona to preside over the 51st birth day of Shri G. V. Ketkar, the then Editor of Kesari. When I returned to Nagpur from Poona after attending this function, I got a shock because those very prominent workers of the R.S.S. who had so much pressed me to join the Narakesari Prakashan Ltd. now began to tell me that now they did not want my presence in that company. When I asked them the reasons for this redical change in their views, they said, "Doctorsaheb, you are such a big personality, that we do not think it proper to trouble you in this small affair." I asked them whether they considered me a baby to swallow this unconvincing reason put forth by them. I told them that when they pressed me to become a Director of the company, I was as small or as big as I am now. There had not been any change in my greatness or smallness in that fortnight. There must therefore be some other reason for their change of front. But I did not care for it. I had been against taking up this responsibility from the very beginning. Therefore whatever might have been their reasons I felt relieved from the trouble because it was not now necessary to find a sum of Rs. 1,000 and put myself in difficulty. After this, the Narkesari Prakashan Ltd., was established without me and the ownership of Tarun Bharat was transferred to this limited company and I heaved a sigh of relief for being freed from the misunderstandings and quarrels among the workers.

Cordial relations of R.S.S. with the Mahasabha :

I was never a member of the R.S.S. But I liked and respected that organisation. I have a liking for it even now.

This organisation was established in Nagpur by my friend Dr. K. B. Hedgewar in 1925. He was a member of the Hindoo Mahasabha till his death. During the general elections to the Provincial Assemblies in 1936, I was a Congress candidate from the Nagpur-Kamptee constituency, and I was opposed by my friend Dr. L. V. Paranjpe on behalf of the Hindoo Mahasabha. During this election, the members of the R.S.S. helped the Hindoo Mahasabha candidate and the Volunteers of this organisation carried on the Hindoo Mahasabha propaganda in favour of Dr. L. V. Paranjpe, vigorously with full uniforms and lathis I had seen this with my own eyes. I did not at all feel angry at this. On the contrary, I admired their discipline. While I was on the Viceroy's Council sometime during 1945-46, one of my colleagues in the Council, Sir Feroze Khan Noon of Lahore proposed in the Council that the R.S.S. should be banned. He said, "This is a military organisation of the Hindoos. It carries on drill and military parade with lathis. The Muslims therefore who are in a minority are afraid of this organisation. It should therefore be banned". I was surprised at this suggestion of Sir Feroze Khan Noon and I said, "If such military organisations perpetrated atrocities on people, they must certainly be banned. I have not yet heard of the R.S.S. having perpetrated such atrocities anywhere. Sir Feroze Khan Noon also has not given us any information about any such activities like this on its part; but I learn from newspapers that the Khaksar organisation of Muslims has recently broken the heads of some police officers on the streets of Lahore with their spades. There is an Anglo Indian Deputy Superintendent of Police among the injured. Therefore, I suggest that the Viceroy's Council should immediately impose a ban on the Khaksar organisation and if after this the R. S. S. also does similar things, we shall impose a ban on that organisation also." It need not be told that Sir Feroze Khan Noon after this, did not insist upon his suggestion. (I believe this fact must be known to Shri Golwalkar, the head of the R.S.S. because I think that after this, we had met in Delhi). While I was the Prime Minister in Alwar in May 1947, the Summer Camp of the R.S.S. was held there, and as a Prime Minister I rendered all help to the R.S.S. at that time. Shri Golwalkar

also had visited Alwar at that time and his public lecture was attended by me and all the members of my cabinet and he was honoured by a sumptuous feast at the house of one of my colleagues, viz. Kunwar Raghuwir Singh.

I believe that the R.S.S. must be entertaining friendly sentiments towards me, because when Shri Golwalkar arrived in Nagpur on his release from jail after the Gandhi assassination, the R.S.S. people purposely took me to the station to welcome him. A high platform was erected in the open ground outside the station to receive him. On account of my weak heart, I could not climb up that platform. Therefore much against my will, I was picked up from behind by two stalwarts and seated on the platform near Gūruji. A photograph of this incident had also been published at that time in newspapers.

It would be evident from the foregoing that the R. S. S. people had very friendly feelings towards me, and therefore they pressed me to become a Chairman or Director of the Narkesari Prakashan Ltd. Naturally I was very much surprised at their subsequent opposition to my joining the Company. It was difficult to think that they were able to discover some grave faults in me during such a short time, and during the period I had not indulged in any adverse criticism against the R. S. S. In this interval, the only new development was that I had joined the Hindoo Mahasabha. Therefore this must have been the only reason for their opposition to me. This caused a great surprise in my mind, because I had never imagined that the R. S. S. which was obviously established to organise and strengthen the Hindoo Society could ever be against the Hindoo Mahasabha which was also working for the same purpose. Moreover, the policy, flag and the ideology of both these institutions were identical, and both were propagating Hindoo nationalism with great earnestness. The hostility harboured against the Hindoo Mahasabha by the R. S. S. which had become obvious by this incident, was the 8th wonder of the world. Even so, this hostility is a hard fact. I realised this during my tours throughout the country after I became the president of the All India Hindoo Mahasabha. This also became

evident during the various elections, by-elections and municipal elections. I was thus convinced that the R.S.S. certainly harboured a feeling of concealed hostility towards the Hindoo Mahasabha.

There was no wonder therefore that the paper *Tarun Bharat* and its editor, Madkholkar, after it was transferred to the Narakesari Prakashan Ltd., owned by the R.S.S., adopted the same policy of hostility towards the Hindoo Mahasabha. Individually, Madkholkar and myself bear very cordial relations towards each other. But I began to suspect that the paper *Tarun Bharat* had adopted the policy of hostility towards me and I got the proof of this in January 1955.

Before I could adequately acquaint the readers with this proof, it is necessary to digress a little and refer to the past. The Government of Sudan had given a gift of Rs. 1 lakh pounds to the Government of India in consideration of the help rendered to that country by India during the war. The Government of India decided to utilise this sum in having a memorial for the Second World War, and established a Committee to decide the nature and the place of the memorial. This Committee consisted of seven members of the Viceroy's Council including myself and presided over by Sir Claude Auchinleck, the then Commander-in-Chief of India. This Committee decided that the memorial should take the form of a National Defence Academy to train up officers of land, naval and air forces. The Government of India accepted this decision of this Committee and the question of choosing a site for this academy arose. Many sites were suggested in the various parts of the country and the Viceroy, Lord Wavell himself went on a tour to choose the site for this academy. One of the sites suggested was Khadakwasla near Poona, at the foot of Sinhagad Fort. I purposely saw the Viceroy before he started on this site selection tour, and impressed upon him the fact of Khadakwasla being the best site for this purpose from all points of view. I also gave the Viceroy a short account and the inspiring history of Sinhagad and the exploits of Tanaji Malusare. On hearing this account given by me, the Viceroy said,

"Oh, that place where a man is alleged to have climbed a fort in the dark with the help of a lizard." I said, "Yes, that place, which is inspiring not to us Marathas only, but to the whole of India".

Punjabis and Marathas :

On his return from this site selection tour, Viceroy, Lord Wavell, during the course of an interview told me that Khadakwasla was a proper site for this academy from all points of view like geographical situation, terrain and climate. This report of the Viceroy was placed before the Committee which approved it unanimously. But some members of the Government of India affected by parochial considerations, did not like this decision of the Committee which was strongly favoured by the Commander-in-Chief and the Viceroy. The dissenting members had no courage to say anything to the big personalities like the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief. But they criticised me in an informal talk, because I was a Maharashtrian and Khadakwasla near Poona was also in Maharashtra. It is well known that the Punjabi Sikh and Punjabi Musalmans are not very friendly to each other. But on this point, my colleague Sir Feroze Khan Noon a Punjabi Muslim, and another colleague Sir Jogendra Singh, a Punjabi Sikh, made a common cause. They said, Punjab should have been selected for this academy as it was the sword arm of India. But I silenced them by citing a recent incident in the Great War. Punjabi and Sikh regiments were sent by the British to capture Asmara, the capital of Eritrea in Africa, 8,000 feet above the sea level, from the Italian hands. But these regiments came back without performing the task. After this, the British sent the Maratha regiments to perform this task. These Maratha regiments showed exceptional skill in mountain warfare, defeated the Italians and planted the British flag on Asmara. After giving this account, I asked my colleagues, "Which is the sword arm of India." Subsequently, I told this account to the Viceroy also.

Those who destroyed the Moghul Empire are non-martial :

The acceptance by the Government of India of this site of Khadakwasla for this academy irritated one of my colleagues,

the Commerce member, Sir Azizul Huq, who was a Bengali Musalman. During an informal talk, he attacked me in the presence of the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Claude Auchinleck. He said, "Dr. Khare had been successful in his manoeuvres to select the site for this academy. But really speaking this academy ought to have been established somewhere in Bengal. Because Bengal had been all along kept far distant from matters military. Azizul Huq lost himself so much that he began to attack the community to which I belonged. He said that the Maratha Brahmins were not at all martial. They were only quarrel-some. (It might be recalled here, how I had won against Azizul Huq and the Viceroy in the matter of appointment of the High Commissioner in Australia, and how during this quarrel, the Secretary of State had supported me). On this Sir Claude Auchinleck said, "This question has lost all its importance now, because we have now abolished all distinctions between martial and non-martial." I said, "It is quite proper to do so, but I have my own doubts yet. Recently in Nagpur 3 or 4 educated Maratha Brahmins wanted to join the Army as common sepoys, but the Recruiting Officer refused to enlist them on the ground that they did not belong to a martial community. On this refusal one or two of them came to me and told me this story of the refusal. I was very much surprised by this refusal because the Government of India was crying hoarse for recruits and yet more recruits. To seek redress of this legitimate grievance, I wrote to the then Governor of C. P. and Berar, Sir Henry Twynam and requested him to intercede in this matter if he had any power to alter the policy of the Government of India. I made it plain to the Governor that if there were any ulterior reasons for refusing admission to the Maratha Brahmins, I have no desire to go into them. But to say that the Maratha Brahmin is not martial is not correct. This letter to the Governor had the desired effect and these Maratha Brahmins who were initially refused admission as common sepoys were enlisted. This is the reason why I said that I had my own doubts."

I continued, "the Marathas fought simultaneously against the declining Moghul Empire and the rising British Empire,

They destroyed the Moghul Empire, but were defeated by the British. On most of the fighting occasions, the leadership of the campaign was with the Maratha Brahmins. For instance, Bajirao the First, Sadashiv Rao Bhao Peshwe and others. Sadashiv Rao Bhao actually hammered the Moghul Throne at Delhi. The Marathas fought three wars with the British. The leadership during all the Wars, was with the Maratha Brahmins. For example, Haripant Tatya Phadke, and also Babu Gokhale, who was the Commander-in-Chief of the Maratha Army during the third Maratha War and died in action in 1818. This war destroyed the Maratha Empire and the British authority was established over India. In 1857 also, during the so-called Mutiny, the leadership was with the Maratha Brahmins. For example, Nanasaheb Peshwe, Tatya Tope and last but not the least important, the Rani of Jhansi, who was a woman. In spite of all these facts, my friend Sir Azizul Huq says that the Maratha Brahmin is not martial. He is a very learned man, but I strongly recommend that he should again learn the History of India from the very beginning. The British are suspicious about Maratha Brahmins on account of their past glorious history. That is really the reason why the Maratha Brahmins are kept away from the army and the British statesmen call them sedition mongers. *Sir Claude Auchinleck smiled at my speech and just to pull my legs, said, "Dr. Khare, I hope the Maratha Brahmin is not seditious now," I at once gave a repartee, "The Maratha Brahmin knows how to adjust himself."*

Neglect of the Bombay Government.

Overcoming such veiled opposition, the Government of India finally decided in the month of May 1945 to establish the National Defence Academy at Khadakwasla near Poona. It was also further decided to impart training in all branches of Land, Naval and Air Forces at this institution and to close all other subsidiary institutions as soon as this Academy was fully established. As usual, this decision was also announced by the Government of India. The services of the existing Viceroy's Council of which I was a member were dispensed with on the 3rd of July 1946, and the Viceroy's Council with

Nehru as its Vice-President was ushered into being on the 2nd of September 1946. After this, nothing was heard about this Defence Academy but it was published in papers that the Bombay Government was not very anxious to have this academy in its territory, and consequently, was not very willing to acquire the necessary land near Khadakwasla for that purpose. Reading this news in papers, the Chief Minister of the Punjab, Khizr Hyat Khan (the country was not divided yet) announced in papers that if the Bombay Government was not anxious to have that academy in its territory, the Government of India should alter its decision, and establish it anywhere in the Punjab. In that event he would offer any amount of land anywhere for the Defence Academy in the Punjab, absolutely free of any cost. At this time, I had resumed my medical practice in Nagpur and I became very uneasy after reading the news, because I could not do anything to prevent this mishap. **I thought that all my efforts made against odds to enhance the glory and importance of Poona were going to be wasted on account of the nonviolent foolishness of the Bombay Government.** But fortunately, this mishap did not take place and Pandit Nehru laid the foundation stone of this academy near Khadakwasla on the Dasera day of 1949. I felt very happy after this and I blessed the Government of India in my own mind. About this time, my friend and biographer Mr. J. R. Joshi, Sub-editor of Maharashtra, Nagpur, published an article in the *Kesari* of Poona dated the 11th November 1949, in which he acquainted the public with the part I had played in the establishment of that academy at Khadakwasla near Poona.

Strange article in Kesari :

After completion of the huge buildings of this Academy, it was inaugurated by Morarji Desai, Chief Minister of Bombay in January 1955. The *Kesari* of Poona in its issue of 11th January 1955 published a full account of this inauguration ceremony sent by its special representative, from Khadakwasla. In this article of the *Kesari*, the whole credit for deciding to establish this academy at Poona was given to Shri N.V. Gadgil of Poona. On reading this account in the *Kesari* of the 11th January 1955, my friend Shri J. R. Joshi became

very much upset and showed me the wrong information about N. V. Gadgil published therein. In the beginning, I did not take it very seriously and told him that there was nothing surprising in that, as the special representative of *Kesari* and Shri N. V. Gadgil both belonged to Poona. In a joke, I also quoted a Sanskrit couplet illustrating this parochial partiality. Obviously, my friend Mr. J. R. Joshi could not be satisfied with this humour. He said, "This is not a matter to be lightly dealt with. I have written your biography based on the information supplied by you. You definitely told me that you had a hand in taking this decision for the establishment of the academy at Khadakwasla and I wrote accordingly in your biography. But the article in the *Kesari* gives all this credit to Shri. N. V. Gadgil. My biography therefore appears to be false and I cannot tolerate that." I said, "It is a simple matter, you write another article in the *Kesari* and get this misinformation corrected and the matter will end." Accordingly, Mr. J. R. Joshi wrote an article correcting the wrong information about N. V. Gadgil on the 13th of January 1955 and sent it to *Kesari* for publication. Wonder of Wonders : *Kesari* instead of publishing that article sent it back to Mr. J. R. Joshi, for lack of space in the paper on the 17th January 1955.

Mr. Joshi sent this article to *Kesari* at my instance, but two other friends of mine who had read my biography had sent letters to the *Kesari* without my knowledge with the same object. These letters also were not published by *Kesari*, and they told me this with great surprise. One of them is Mr. Purushottam Krishna alias Tatyasaheb Karandikar a famous cloth merchant and the other is Mr. Wasudeo Laxman Prabhune, a senior advocate. When I heard this from these two friends, I became much perturbed. I thought that since a responsible (and highly placed) paper like the *Kesari* had refused to publish these letters, these friends of mine might think that I had furnished false information to my biographer to secure false praise on account of feelings of vanity.

Was it a conspiracy ?

After this I requested Mr. Joshi to get the article dated the 13th January 1955, and refused by *Kesari*, published in *Tarun*

Bharat and *Maharashtra* of Nagpur. Accordingly Mr. Joshi requested the editors of both these papers to do so. It was most significant that the editor of *Tarun Bharat* Madkholkar, a friend of Joshi and his sometime colleague in the Maharashtra, refused this request of Mr. Joshi. Similarly, Shri Purushottam Diwakar Dhawale, the editor of *Maharashtra* where Joshi himself was one of the sub-editors for the previous 20 years, refused this request of Mr. Joshi. When Joshi gave me this information of their refusal, I was afraid that there was perhaps a conspiracy of some papers to bring about my fall by moral assassination. Madkholkar went a step further; not only did he refuse to publish this letter of Joshi after being refused by *Kesari*, but the very next day he published a news alleged to have been received from New Delhi, in which he gave the credit of deciding to establish this academy at Khadakwasla to Mr. N. V. Gadgil. On account of this, I was not only shocked, but I almost lost all confidence in human nature, because Madkholkar had been informed by me personally about the part played by me in the establishment of this Defence Academy, several years ago. Besides this, before actually publishing my biography in December 1949, my friend Mr. Joshi had showed it to Madkholkar as a senior colleague of his, and for 3 or 4 days, it was jointly read by myself Joshi and Madkholkar in my house and as a literary expert, Madkholkar had made many suggestions to improve the language.

In view of the refusal of *Kesari*, *Maharashtra* and *Tarun Bharat* to publish the article of J. R. Joshi dated 13th January 1955 and to give the correct information about the establishment of the Defence Academy at Khadakwasla, I asked Mr. Joshi to get his article published in some other papers so that the truth should be known to the public. It was fortunate that the English dailies of Nagpur, viz., the *Hitavada* and the *Nagpur Times* and the Marathi dailies the *Bharat* and the *Kal* of Poona and the Marathi weekly the *Hindoo* of Bombay, readily published that article of Joshi. During his speech while inaugurating this Academy, Morarjibhai Desai, the Chief Minister of Bombay had complained against the Government of India for changing

the original policy of that academy. I wrote an article supporting this complaint of Morarji against the Government of India and sent it for publication to the Kesari of Poona which this time showed great courtesy and published it on 23rd January 1955. My article is as follows :

“While inaugurating this academy at Khadakwasla, the Chief Minister of Bombay, Mr. Morarji Desai had complained that although the Bombay Government gave land worth Rs, 40 lakhs to that academy free of cost, the Government of India ignored the Bombay Government completely with regard to the policy of that Academy. Without making any reference to the Government of Bombay the Government of India had decided that the first three years course of military education should be taught at Khadakwasla and the final fourth year course should be taught at Dehradun. Morarji Bhai had emphasised in his speech that, that decision of the Government of India was improper and had requested the Government of India to reconsider it and to make arrangements to teach the whole course at Khadakwasla.”

“I give my full support to this complaint and the request made by Morarji Bhai. In my opinion also this action of the Government of India to change the original decision is improper, harmful, and unnecessary and wasteful. Before the attainment of independence, I was a member of the Auchinleck Committee which took all the decisions in connection with this Academy. It was decided then that as soon as the Khadakwasla academy begins to work, the secondary institution at Dehradun should be immediately closed, because Dehradun was only a feeder institution to Sandhurst. Attempts were made to create difficulties and obstructions on provincial and parochial grounds at the time of the Auchinleck Committee also. But that Committee fortunately brushed them aside. It is very unfortunate that in the post independence Government of India, such parochial sentiments should raise their head. It is well known that the province of U. P. dominates the Government of India and I emphatically say here that the institution at Dehradun is allowed to continue even after the establishment of the institution at

Khadakwasla, only to please some U. P. Minister. Dehradun is a district in U. P. It is reprehensible that India's revenues should be wasted to please any Minister. Dr. Katju who has become the Defence Minister is earnestly requested to look into the matter and arrive at a proper decision."

By publishing this article, the Editor of *Kesari* also helped in removing the public misunderstanding although unintentionally. I express my gratitude here to him for this small mercy.

After this, I asked Mr. Joshi to send a cutting of *Hitavada* containing his article dated 13th January 1955 to Mr. N. V. Gadgil, with a request that he should disclose if he had taken any part in deciding the site for the Khadakwasla Academy. I thought that since this special representative of *Kesari* had publicised N. V. Gadgil's name in the *Kesari*, he would come forward to disclose all facts and clear the misunderstanding. But Gadgil kept silent. He did not even care to send a reply to Mr. Joshi. It might have been convenient for Gadgil to remain silent, but it was most inconvenient to me. Therefore, to clear the misunderstanding created by *Kesari*, I wrote to Dr. Balkrishna Keskar, the Information Minister of the Government of India and requested him to send me the official information about Khadakwasla. Dr. Keskar very promptly replied and gave me all the authentic information about the establishment of Khadakwasla. When I showed this letter of Dr. Keskar to Mr. Joshi he felt very happy, and said, "Doctor Saheb, truth has now come out. I will not now fear anybody. This authoritative statement of the Government of India is a direct reply, to all those who attempted to insinuate that, what I wrote in your biography was false. *Tarun Bharat* not only refused to publish my article, but next day, it wrote an article supporting the incorrect statement of *Kesari*. I will now write another article based on the statement of Dr. Balkrishna Keskar, the Information Minister, and ask *Tarun Bharat* to publish it and remove the injustice done to me."

After this, in the month of February, I went to Delhi to attend the session of the Lok Sabha. But I was told that *Tarun Bharat* published this article written by Joshi on the 24th February 1955, which was as follows :

**Authoritative clarification of the misunderstanding
about Khadakwasla :**

Latterly, some Marathi newspapers in Maharashtra, while publishing the account of the inauguration of the Defence Academy at Khadakwasla had given the credit of deciding to establish that academy at Khadakwasla to Mr. N. V. Gadgil. This was incorrect. I therefore asked Dr. Khare to get the true information about it from the Government of India. I have seen that letter received by Dr. Khare from the Information Minister of the Government of India. I would quote here the contents from that letter referring to the contended matter. It is as follows :

“The Government of India appointed a Committee in the month of May 1945 and entrusted to it, the task of establishing a Defence Academy to train up officers for Land, Naval and Air Forces. The very first item in the findings recorded by this Committee is as follows :—

“The Committee decides to establish the Defence Academy at Khadakwasla near Poona to train officers for the R. I. N., R. A. F. and the Army.”

“Dr. Khare resigned his seat on the Viceroy's Council on the 3rd of July 1946. He was therefore a member of the Viceroy's Council in the month of May 1945. Shri N. V. Gadgil was no where near the Government of India at that time. It is therefore obvious that he could not have done anything in taking the decision to establish the Academy at Khadakwasla.”

Jagannath Ramchandra Joshi,
Nagpur.

I express my thanks to *Tarun Bharat* and its Editor, Madkholkar for publishing this final letter of Mr. Joshi and thus helping to clear all misunderstanding but this cannot be said of *Maharashtra*.

Abolition of discrimination between black and white :

When I took charge of my office in the Viceroy's Council, various people from various countries had sought shelter in India as refugees on account of the War. These refugees consisted of people from Burma, Malaya, Turkey, Greece, Poland, and Malta. Some were white and some were black. The black or coloured refugees consisted mainly of the Indian residents from Malaya and Burma, and the white refugees consisted mainly of Europeans from Malta, Greece and Poland. The problem of looking after these refugees both Asiatics and Europeans was only human, but in this matter also the cursed tendency of racial discrimination was exhibited. All European refugees were under the charge of Sir Reginald Maxwell, the Home Member and all Asiatic refugees were given in the charge of Shri M. S. Aney, the member for Indians overseas.

Black road and white road :

The evils of this policy of discrimination between the black and the white became very apparent at the time of the Japanese occupation of Burma, when people began to flee from Burma. In this calamity which was equally suffered by all, the Government of India ought to have behaved impartially without making any discrimination between Asiatics and Europeans, but this did not happen. The Government of India did not render any help by way of providing food or conveyance to the Indians who fled from Burma and took refuge in India, but it rendered all help to the European citizens and merchants who fled from Burma and sought shelter in India. These Europeans got a right royal reception. Separate roads were marked out for their convenience, and this discrimination based on colour had reached such a pitch, that even roads were named as black road and white road. If there was a wealthy Indian merchant owning a car and employing a European manager, his car was given to the European manager and the Indian was asked to trudge along. On account of this devilish discrimination, hundreds of Indians fell victims to privation, misery and even wild beasts, while coming to India from Burma.

When Mr. M. S. Aney was a member of the Viceroy's Council he was heckled for this discrimination in the Central Assembly and the Government of India had to appoint a Committee to go into this question. The report of this Committee came into my hands, because Aney had resigned on account of Gandhi's fast. But even before receiving this report, I had moved in this matter of discrimination, as soon as I took charge of the department, because, it was impossible for me temperamentally to tolerate this discrimination. I suggested to the Viceroy that the work of looking after these refugees whether Europeans or Asiatics should be given in the charge of one member who ever he might be. If this was done, it would result in economy and uniformity of work. I therefore requested the Viceroy that either the charge of refugees from Malaya and Burma should be handed over to the Home Member or the charge of Europeans from Poland, Greece, Malta etc.. should be handed over to my department. The Viceroy saw the reasonableness of my suggestion, and handed over the charge of European refugees to my department :

Black man in charge of white refugees:

The centres of white refugees were at Kolhapur, Madras, Coimbatore, Ootacamund etc. There was a camp of about 4,000 Polish refugees at Kolhapur. I toured these areas deliberately to show to the white refugees that a black man was now in charge of their welfare. The camp commandants of these refugee camps were generally European retired military officers. The work of one of these Commandants, probably at Coimbatore was not satisfactory, and many complaints had been received against him from the white refugees themselves. While on tour, I enquired into these complaints, and the charge of neglect and carelessness was proved against him as a result of the enquiry. I dismissed him on the spot and appointed his immediate subordinate who was a black cobra polish Indian, in his place. This action of mine was opposed by the Secretary of my Department, Mr. Bozman, I. C. S. But I over-ruled him and thus broke the vicious practice based upon colour prejudice. Mr. Bozman was a diligent,

obedient and efficient officer and he was sympathetic towards the Indians in South Africa, but sometimes, his advice to go slow was not to my liking. One day therefore I remarked on a file, "You cannot always appreciate the Indian view point, because you are congenitally incapable of doing so." After this, Mr. Bozman was soon transferred to U.S.A. from my Department for War propaganda, and his place was filled in by Mr. R. N. Banerjee, I. C. S. who was the secretary to the Governor of C. P. and Berar. It was not possible usually for a Member of the Viceroy's Council to secure an I. C. S. Secretary of his choice. There was a separate Committee to make these appointments. But somehow or other, I manoeuvred to get Mr. Banerjee a man of my choice as my Secretary and he was always very helpful to me.

During my tour of Madras to inspect the white refugee camps there, I had an occasion to deliver a public lecture in English on the question of Indians in South Africa and Burma. Sir V. T. Krishnamachari ex-Diwan of Jaipur and the present Vice Chairman of the Planning Commission presided over this meeting at Mylapore. Sir Srinivas Shastri, ex-High Commissioner in South Africa ailing from heart trouble and bent down with age, attended this meeting taking support of a friend's shoulder. While going home after hearing my lecture, he specially called me, shook hands with me and with great emotion said, "Dr. I purposely came only to hear your lecture. I had never met you before and I was harbouring an unfriendly feeling towards you. But it was removed by hearing your lecture today. I am so happy to meet you personally."

Two Maharashtrian Institutions in Delhi :

I stayed in Delhi as a member of the Viceroy's Council for 3 years and 2 months. During this period, I was the President of the Maharashtra Club, New Delhi, and the Maharashtra Snehasamwardhak Samaj, Old Delhi. The Silver Jubilee of the Maharashtra Snehasamwardhak Samaj was celebrated with great éclat and enthusiasm in the spring of 1944. I myself went to some friends for collecting subscription for this function which caused a great surprise. Some of them thought that I was

raising undue and official influence for this purpose. But I promptly removed this misunderstanding. I told them that I was a democrat and I had no right to take any work from anybody unless I also put my shoulder to the work. Even if they refused to give any subscription, I would not feel for it. This clarification removed all misunderstandings. I secured the services of His Highness Shri Jiwajirao Shinde Maharaja of Gwalior to preside over this function, and the Maharaja expressed his deep gratitude for honouring him publicly.

Brihan (All) Maharashtra Conference :

This Brihan Maharashtra Conference was held at Khandwa in the month of December 1944. I was elected to preside over this. In the course of my presidential address, I had given expression to an interesting idea. I said that the British should quit India (I was then a member of the Viceroy's Council), and they should hand over the Indian territory to the prominent princes according to the tradition of history. These princes should act only as constitutional governors, the only difference being that this office was hereditary. In some measure, this idea of mine was realised soon after and several provinces like Rajasthan, Madhya Bharat, Pepsu, Mysore, Sourashtra and Hyderabad were formed under the ruling princes styled as Rajpramukhs and with powers only of a constitutional Governor. Out of these princely States, one still endures under the name of Mysore headed by a Rajpramukh.

During this presidential address at Khandwa I gave expression to one important idea of mine. I suggested that Maharashtra should purchase a site in new Delhi and build there a building under the name of Maharashtra Kirti Mandir. Arrangements should be made in this building for Boarding and Lodging in Maharashtrian style of visitors to Delhi. There should also be attached to this institution a theatre, a play ground, a painting gallery, a library principally of books on history, and an exhibition of specialities of Maharashtra culture. There should also be erected near this building statues of historical Maharashtra personages, and there should also be a big hall for

public lectures. Some princes had also promised big donations to me for this purpose. I had also in view a suitable site for this building in New Delhi and I had called upon the officers who were connected with the disposal of this site. But I had to soon resign my office and quit Delhi and my dream remained unrealised. But thanks to Mr. N. V. Gadgil, who became a Minister in the Nehru Government in August 1947, and made successful efforts to build a building under the name and style of Brahan Maharashtra Bhawan in Pahadganj, with arrangements for boarding and lodging in Maharashtrian style for Visitors to Delhi.

Unveiling of the bust of Lokamanya at Ratnagiri :

The people at Ratnagiri decided to erect a memorial of Lokamanya Tilak in the house in which he was born. They formed a Committee for this purpose which decided to erect a bust in the house in which Lokamanya was born, so that people of Ratnagiri might see his image everyday. This Committee invited me to Ratnagiri to unveil the bust. I readily accepted the invitation because I regarded it as a great honour to myself. Although I had never the good fortune of coming in direct contact or association with the Lokamanya, yet I regarded him as a Guru since the 1905 session of the Congress held at Banaras. I had attended this session at Banaras in December 1905 as a volunteer and I saw Tilak there for the first time in my life. After this, I attended Tilak's lecture in 1907 while in Government service at Khamgaon. This incident gave a right about-turn to my life and from a Government servant I became a public man. Even after resigning Government service, I had no occasion to associate with Tilak in public life except that I presented a purse to him at Sitabuldi in 1918 on behalf of the people. Although I came in intimate contact with Gandhi, in public life he could never take the place of Tilak in my mind.

There was a great contrast between the political situation at Khamgaon in 1907 and at Ratnagiri in 1944. Obviously, India had progressed. The District Magistrate Buldana castigated me for attending Tilak's lecture at Khamgaon as a

Government servant and I was soon transferred from there as a punishment. But the I. C. S. Collector of Ratnagiri attended my lecture in praise of Tilak delivered while unveiling his bust. Naturally, this amused me and I could not restrain myself and I burst out in my speech, "See how times have changed in the past 37 years. The District Magistrate of Buldana in 1907 teased me and transferred me for attending Tilak's lecture at Khamgaon as a Government servant, and today at Ratnagiri when I am singing the praise of the late Lokamanya Tilak in my speech, the I. C. S. Collector of Ratnagiri is attending, I trust with great respect and devotion, perhaps because I am an Executive Councillor." There was no wonder that when I uttered this sentence, the whole place resounded with clapping.

Give up Defeatist Mentality :

At this time, I presided over the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Chitpawan Brahmin Students Aid Society held at Ratnagiri. In my presidential speech, I said, "I feel very happy to visit this birth place of Lokamanya Tilak. The traditional importance of this place has been enhanced by the birth of Lokamanya. The Italian traveller Morcopollo who visited India in the 12th century, has recorded his appreciation of the cleverness of Chitpawan Brahmins. The Chitpawan Brahmins have attained high eminence in the history of India from 1716. The four successive generations of great men among the Peshwas viz., Balaji Vishwanath, Bajireo the First, Nanasaheb and Elder Madhorao are incomparable in the history of any country in the world. The Chitpawans have also produced Chimaji Appa who drove away the Portugesse from the fort of Bassein, Raghoba Dada who planted the Maratha flag beyond the Attock river, Sadashiv Rao Bhau who although defeated at Panipat, made the victory of the Pathans only a pyrrhic victory, and Nana Fadnavis the great minister of the Peshwas of whom the British were afraid during the glorious Maratha history. In the present times also, the Chitpawans have produced eminent politicians like Ranade, Tilak and Gokhale and Sawarkar etc. Under these circumstances, I do not understand why Chitpawans today

exhibit a defeatist mentality. Our success will be again assured if we modernise ourselves."

Jaiprakash Narayan :

When I took charge of my office in the Viceroy's Council, Congress leaders of socialist persuasion had gone underground. Prominent among them were Jaiprakash Narayan, Ram Manohar Lohia, Achyut Patwardhan and Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali. Aruna Asaf Ali was underground in Calcutta preaching independence on the sly to the military personnel. Jaiprakash was arrested by the British while crossing over to Nepal and imprisoned in the Lahore Fort. It was rumoured at that time that he was being terribly persecuted.

Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali's confidence in me :

Under these circumstances, one of my nephews, Baburao Sohoni, working in the Khadi Department of the Congress had been to Calcutta for some business. He accidentally met Aruna Asaf Ali in a hotel. Aruna Asaf Ali gave him a letter written and signed by her to be secretly delivered to me at Delhi. In that letter Aruna Asaf Ali had bitterly criticised the Congress High Command for doing injustice to me during the Khare episode and had requested me to try and lessen the persecution of Jaiprakash Narayan. She had also mentioned in that letter about her activities relating to undermining the loyalty of the troops. This was a measure of her confidence in me. She had signed in this letter only three letters—A.A.A. It was dangerous to keep such a letter with me at that time. I therefore destroyed it immediately on receipt and made some efforts to lessen the persecution of Jaiprakash Narayan.

Sarat Chandra Bose :

Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerji had also sent me such a letter about Sarat Chandra Bose, who was in detention. Accordingly I made efforts in his case also. The letter sent to me by Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerji is as follows :

77, Ashutosh Mookherjee
Road, Calcutta.

Dated 18th October 1944.

Dear Dr. Khare,

"I am writing today about a difficult matter in the hope that you will be able to do something. Day before yesterday, Sisir Bose, the third son of Shrijut Sarat Chandra Bose, was suddenly arrested while he was on his way to the Medical College. He is a senior student of the college and is due to appear at the final examination in April next. His work in the College kept him entirely busy from morning till night and there had been occasions when he had to pass his nights in the College Hospital. He was the only male adult member in Mr. Bose's family who was looking after the family. Mr. Bose's eldest son is employed outside Bengal and can seldom come to Calcutta. I enquired of Sir Nazumuddin here and he told me that the arrest had been made under orders of the Government of India. I also understand that very likely he will be removed somewhere outside Bengal. I do not know if you can possibly help us in the matter. His case certainly deserves to be re-examined. If however his release is not possible, may I suggest that he may be detained at the same place where his father is staying, so that one may have the company of the other. This is not an impossible request, but it all depends on how the Home Member will look upon it. I shall feel immensely grateful if you will kindly do something before final orders are passed. The other member to whom I am writing is Sir. A. K. Roy, who I understand is not in Delhi at the present moment.

With kind regards,"

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) Syama Prasad Mookerji

Maharani of Kolhapur :

Once, while I was on tour at Poona, a middle aged widowed Maharani of Kolhapur, invited me for tea at her bungalow. When I went there, I found that the Maharani was under surveillance. But the Maharani very skilfully conveyed to me that she was not allowed to go to Kolhapur. I was surprised at this and after going to Delhi, I approached the Viceroy and secured for her permission to visit Kolhapur.

CHAPTER X

H'NDOO TOLERANCE AND MUSLIM FINATICISM

The Government of India stopped the Haj pilgrimage of Indian Musalmans at the time of the Second World War as there was danger from enemy submarines and torpedoes in the Arabian sea. It was the responsibility of my department to make arrangements for this Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca. Realising that this was the religious duty of Muslim brethren, I appealed to the Secretary of State in 1944 to secure his permission for this pilgrimage and I impressed upon him that it was improper to keep the Musalmans away from the pilgrimage for a long time because it was a religious duty enjoined upon them and requested him to spare a naval ship to accompany the pilgrim ship for its protection. The Secretary of State accepted my suggestion and the Haj pilgrimage was arranged in 1944. The Musalmans generally had therefore a very good opinion about me.

Opposition by Muslim Leaguers :

On account of this tolerance and respect for their religion shown by me, the Musalmans all over India right from Peshawar to Tuticorin arranged a grand party and presented me with an address in the Anglo-Arabic College, Delhi. The silver casket in which this address was presented was embossed by some scenes from Mecca-Medina, but the Muslim Leaguers tried to oppose this grand function by picketing at the door, but this attempt on their part was unsuccessful and the function was a grand success attended by some European and Muslim colleagues of mine. In my reply to the address, I severely criticised the scheme of Pakistan.

Satyartha Prakash :

After describing the tolerance of a Hindoo, I now proceed to describe Muslim fanaticism.

Satyartha Prakash is a religious scripture of the Arya Samajists. It is regarded as such from the times of Swami Dayanand Saraswati. But the Sind Government imposed a ban on the 14th Chapter of

Satyartha Prakash about November 1944. It thus became an offence to keep this Chapter with one or to spread it. On account of this the Arya Samajists rightly complained that the Sind Government had encroached upon their religious liberty. Naturally the Arya Samajists made efforts to get this ban removed. They even threatened the Sind Government with Satyagraha. Some prominent leaders of the Arya Samaj called on me at Delhi and requested me to help them in this matter.

Government will not yield without a strong agitation :

I told these leaders that it was unnecessary to persuade me to render help. I was also a Hindoo and I regarded any attack on any sect of the Hindoos as an attack on myself. But I do not think that the Government will yield merely by making requests. Nothing should be expected until an agitation was started which would put the Government in difficulty. It would be of no use to complain to the Viceroy against the Sind Government. *The Viceroy would refuse to interfere because under the Provincial Autonomy Act of 1935, law and order was entirely the responsibility of a Provincial Government.* But I assured them, that whatever it might be, I would speak to the Viceroy in this matter in a straightforward manner.

Satyartha Prakash and Quoran :

Soon after this, in the course of an interview I broached this subject with the Viceroy and requested him to put pressure on the Sind Government, and remove this injustice done to the Arya Samajists who were a very small minority in Sind. I told the Viceroy that, that action of the Sind Government was taken only for crushing the Arya Samajists. Satyartha Prakash was not a new book as it was published about 75 years ago. It was read all over India and many Hindoos regarded it as a religious scripture. How was it possible that in Sind alone it would cause breach of peace? I pointed out to the Viceroy that it was his duty to protect the minority in Sind and its rights, and requested him to give a directive to the Sind Government to remove the ban on Satyartha Prakash. If this directive was disobeyed by the Sind Government, I would urge upon him to ban the passages in *Quoran* which were objectionable to the Hindoos. For example,

the faithful are enjoined in the Quoran to swoop down upon the houses of idolators and destroy them after festivals like *Id* and *Moharrum* and fasts like *Ramzan* are over. It was certain that that directive in the *Quoran* led to communal riots at the time of these Mohamedan festivals. Every scripture of every religion contains something or other objectionable for people of other faiths. *Bible* also describes us Hindoos and Muslims as Heathens or infidels. It is therefore necessary that people of every religion should learn to be tolerant to others and there should be no ban on the scriptures of any religion. The Musalmans do not accept this. It is therefore necessary to make them realise this to maintain peace and order.

This long sermon of mine was not relished by the Viceroy on account of his obvious partiality towards the Musalmans. He at once said with emphasis, "Dr. Khare, this suggestion of yours is sure to cause communal riots all over the country." I retorted, "My suggestion is the only way to stop communal riots in the country for all times." It became obvious from that conversation with the Viceroy that the ban on Satyarth Prakash would not be removed. Still I did not give up my effort. I thought of bringing that matter before the Executive Council and with that end in view, I wrote to the Home Member, Sir Francis Mudie, I. C. S., the following letter :

2, KING EDWARD ROAD
NEW DELHI,
15th November 1944.

My dear Sir Francis,

The Sind Government has imposed ban on the 14th Chapter of Satyarth Prakash, a book which is regarded as a scripture by millions of Hindoos. I have not read the book myself, but I believe it is an exposition of the Vedas and the 14th Chapter, I am told, is devoted to a comparative study of various religions including Hindooism, Christianity, Islam, Sikhism etc. etc. As it is a comparative study, it is bound to contain criticism which may be objected to by oversensitive and fanatic minds. It is understood that the book is over 75 years old and I think it is too late in the day to say that it leads to disturbance of communal peace.

All religious scriptures contain something or other which may not be relished by followers of other faiths. Bible contains derogatory references to Heathens and Quoran also contains such references to infidels and idolators. Palmer's English translation of Holy Quoran in its 9th Chapter contains the following sentence on page 73 : " When the sacred months (that is Ramzan) are passed away, kill the idolators wherever you may find them. "

This one sentence has had and is having disastrous effects on communal peace in India. The communal riots which follow in the wake of every Muslim festival like Id, and which result in killing of idolators (Hindoos) can be traced to this one sentence. I do not want to say anything derogatory about Quoran or any other scripture. My motto is mutual goodwill and tolerance. I therefore think that the Government of India should consider the recent ban imposed by the Sind Government on Satyarthha Prakash and issue a directive to the Sind Government in the interest of communal harmony and peace. I think, this can be done in accordance with the new amendment to the Government of India Act, 1935, which gives power to the Central Government, to issue such directives as was done to the Bengal Government in the matter of food. If this is not done, I think, it is fair to ban the sentences referred to in the Quoran in pursuance of the policy of fairness and neutrality to all religions which no doubt is the policy of the British Government. If this is not done, I think, it will be a direct incitement to the Hindoos to be fanatics and intolerant. I have sent a copy of this letter to the Hon'ble the Law Member for his information.

Yours sincerely,

HONOURABLE SIR FRANCIS MUDIE,

(Sd) N. B. KHARE

K. C. I. E., C. S. I., HOME MEMBER,

NEW DELHI

Sir Francis Mudie's letter to me :

NEW DELHI,

16th-17th November 1944.

Dear Dr. Khare,

Please refer to your confidential letter dated the 15th November regarding Satyarthha Prakash in which you suggest that the

Government of India should issue directions to the Sind Government to remove their ban. As explained in the House, I think, such action would only make matters worse. For the present, the dispute is really confined to Sind, though there is some trouble in the Punjab. If the Government of India were to take the action as proposed, the dispute at once becomes an all India one.

2. There is another reason why I consider action proposed inappropriate and that is, that the Government of India might direct a certain Provincial Government that certain action should be taken in order to keep the peace which was obviously disturbed in the province, but it would be a most dangerous thing for the Government of India to direct a Provincial Government not to take action which they consider necessary to maintain the peace.

3. I am afraid, I do not agree with you that communal rioting is due to a certain text which you quote from the Quoran. It is due to a variety of causes, the principal one being competition for power and prestige.

4. I am sending a copy of this letter to the Honourable the Law Member.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd/-) Sir Francis Mudie.

HONOURABLE DR. N. B. KHARE, M. D.

My rejoinder to Mudie :

2, KING EDWARD ROAD,

NEW DELHI

18th November, 1944

Dear Sir Francis,

Thank you for your reply to my confidential letter dated the 15th. I quite agree with you that we should not do anything which would make matters worse. But I am afraid, since the action taken by the Sind Government is definitely in pursuance of a resolution passed by the All India Muslim League, it is possible that the agitation may be an all India one.

2. I quite agree that communal rioting is due to a variety of causes, the principle being competition for power and prestige. If this is so, I really do not understand why Satyarthha Prakash should be exclusively the cause of communal bitterness and a likely breach of peace in Sind.

HONOURABLE SIR FRANCIS MUDIE,
K. C. I. E., C. S. I., O. B. E.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd) N. B. KARR

Congress helps the Muslim League :

I had sent a copy of the letter sent by me to Home Member Sir Francis Mudie, to Sir A. K. Roy, the Law Member. But unfortunately, he did not take any notice and no other member supported me. Hence I had to keep quiet. When the Hindoo Mahasabha leader Bhai Paramanand moved an adjournment motion in the House to protest against this ban on Satyarthha Prakash and when voting took place on that motion, I remained neutral, giving previous intimation to Sir Sultan Ahmed, the then leader of the House. The Muslim League Members of the Assembly and all the Government members voted against the adjournment motion moved by Bhai Parmanand. But it was amazing that some Congress members also joined them. Needless to say that Bhai Parmanand's motion was defeated. One of my colleagues Sir Feroze Khan Noon did not like my remaining neutral and complained to the Viceroy that I did not support the Government on that motion. When Viceroy asked me to give explanation of my conduct, I told him that I remained neutral after taking the previous permission of the leader of the House. I also told the Viceroy that on account of the talk between us on the subject, he was fully aware of my views. The ban on Satyarthha Prakash was a religious question. I could not therefore support the Government by killing my own conscience. The Viceroy was satisfied with that explanation and the complaint of Sir Feroze Khan Noon failed.

CHAPTER XI

CRINGING, DEMORALISED AND FALLEN CONGRESSMEN

An utter Falsehood :

All small and big Congressmen are vain and untrue enough to carry on propaganda that freedom was won by non-violent non-co-operation promulgated by Gandhi, without shedding a drop of blood. They do so because that is the only means to maintain the prestige of the Congress party. What to say of other Congressmen even Mahatma Gandhi had stated in 1947, that the British left the country on account of the Satyagraha of the Congress. This is utterly false. Burma and Ceylon have also got their freedom. But nobody had practised any non-violent non-co-operation in those two countries. Why did the British then quit those countries? Although Mahatma Gandhi himself had denied the authorship of the 1942 Quit India Movement in his reply to the Viceroy, Congressmen now brazen-facedly claimed the authorship of that movement, because it was convenient to do so. Out of these two contradictory statements, the one made by the Mahatma denying the authorship of the movement, and the other made by Congressmen claiming the authorship of the movement, one must be false. Both of them cannot be true. Whatever it may be, the movement failed as the British suppressed it in no time. If the movement had succeeded, the Congress leaders would have been installed in seats of authority directly on their release from jail. But this did not happen. On the contrary, the Congress leaders became dejected, frustrated and disappointed on account of their long incarceration in jail. Some of them (Mr. Sri Prakash, the present Governor of Bombay, being one of them) even did not hesitate to lower themselves to the extent of requesting me (once censured and humbled by them) for their release. A facsimile photograph of a letter received by me regarding the release of the Congress leaders, from Sir John Colville, the officiating Viceroy, has been published in my Marathi biography written by Shri J. R. Joshi in 1950.

The attitude of supplication and surrender displayed by some of the Congress leaders need not surprise any one because, Gandhi also has exhibited the same attitude all along. The account of Gandhi's farcical fast in February 1943 when he was being fed with sweet lime juice as and when necessary has already appeared in a previous chapter in this book. It has also been disclosed in a previous chapter in this book, how in the month of May 1944, Gandhi had been secretly released from the jail by the Viceroy without taking into confidence his Executive Council, as a result of the alleged assurance given by Gandhi, to bring the Congress to the constitutional path and keep it there. After his release, Gandhi wrote a letter to M. R. Jayakar requesting him to intercede with the Government as he did in 1931 after the Salt Satyagraha. In this letter to Jayakar, Gandhi admitted that although he was released, he was seeing darkness everywhere and was feeling like being in a blind alley. This correspondence with Jayakar does not depict Gandhi as a Commander-in-Chief of Independence but paints him as a supplicating beggar suing for small concessions.

When Gandhi and the top congressmen were so demoralised, there is no wonder if all and sundry congressmen showed even a worse attitude. I quote here a remarkable instance. It is well-known that Veer Wamanrao Joshi of Amravati and his follower Sambhajirao Gokhale joined the conspiracy to depose me in 1938. Sambhajirao Gokhale joined the Shukla cabinet as a minister after I was deposed. Some people bitterly criticised Sambhajirao Gokhale at that time for his joining the Shukla cabinet. Subsequently, when I was appointed to the Viceroy's Council, the self-same Sambhajirao Gokhale did not hesitate to lower himself and seek favours from me in the matter of getting quota of newsprint for the paper named '*Swatantra Hindusthan*' conducted by Veer Wamanrao Joshi. The awkwardness which Sambhajirao felt in corresponding with me is also seen in the letter which is quoted below.

Sambhajirao's letter to me :

**MAL TEKDI ROAD,
AMRAOTI,
21-10-1945.**

My dear Dr. Khare,

You will be surprised to receive this letter from me. The circumstances drive me to write it.

Wamanrao Dada had applied for the resumption of his weekly '*Swatantra Hindusthan*'. Mr. Biyani's '*Matrubhumi*' is published from Akola. But you can imagine, that it does not serve all the needs of Berar. Our application was rejected twice. Now we have submitted a fresh application. We have ascertained that the Provincial Government has recommended it. We have also been assured by the Simla people that they would be helpful. We learn that one Mr. Kaul, a Deputy Secretary of the Supply Department, who is in charge of newsprint in Delhi, often comes to you. Would you kindly use your word with him and make our task easier? Now that Sir Akbar is out of the Supply Department, you should be able to get the thing done for us without much inconvenience. Your assistance in this matter may produce profound consequences in the political life of our province.

Our application would be considered in three or four days. I hope that inspite of everything, you will help and oblige us.

With kindest reagrds.

Yours sincerely
Sambhaji Vinayak Gokhale

My reply to Sambhajirao Gokhale :

2, KING EDWARD ROAD,
NEW DELHI

24th October 1945.

My dear Mr. Gokhale,

I am not at all surprised to receive your letter dated 21st October because so many congressmen have sought and got their release through me. Some of the very highly placed congressmen have also not failed to get advantage from me whenever it was possible. Whatever may be our political differences and inspite of whatever may have happened before, I look upon every Indian as a son of Hindusthan and therefore a brother. I assure you that I shall do all that is possible in the matter mentioned by you in your letter. I do not guarantee any results but I will leave no stone unturned and if I fail, you may attribute it safely to other

causes like communalism, if you like, which is the curse of our beloved country.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

(Sd) N. B. KHARE

P. S.:—I learn from papers that Wamanrao Joshi suffered from an accident. I hope, he is well on the way to recovery.

N. B. K.

Sambhajirao's reply to my Letter

Mal Tekdi Road,
Amravati,
16-11-1945

My dear Doctor,

I thank you for every remark in your letter which I received about a month ago. Shriyut Wamanrao Dada was greatly cheered by your kind enquiry after his health. He miraculously escaped with a scratch from the tragic accident.

I have arranged and ascertained that an application according to your instructions has been despatched to Delhi. A rough copy of the same is enclosed herewith. It has been strongly recommended by the District Magistrate Amravati as well as by the Chief Secretary. It shall have reached Delhi by the 19th current.

We are more worried about the delay than decision. The urgency multiplies geometrically every day. I have deputed Mr. Gadre personally for the same reason. He has resigned his job of a Lecturer in the Morris College to undertake the responsibility of Swatantra Hindustan. I hope you will send him back with positive results in a couple of days. I shall ever remember your obligations.

With good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

(Sd/-) S. V. Gokhale.

This correspondence will show how congressmen also are affected by Hindoo-Muslim communalism and recognise it as a fact. It also shows how Sambhajirao Gokhale considering our past inimical relations tried to tempt me by pointing out that the help rendered by me would have very good effect upon the politics of the province. But what are these insignificant temptations to a man who has spurned the overtures of Gandhi himself. I did Veer Wamanrao's work only with brotherly feeling and with the same feelings I enquired about his health also. But Wamanrao Joshi failed to reciprocate this brotherly feeling when occasion arose. When I returned to Nagpur from Delhi after a very serious heart attack in 1955, Wamanrao Joshi did not even spend nine pies for a card for a formal enquiry about my health. Such a tendency can be aptly described as abject selfishness.

Many prominent congressmen in this province have sought their release from jail after the Quit India movement of 1942 through my intercession. Mr. E. S. Patwardhan is my friend. The friends or relations of congress prisoners used to see Patwardhan personally or used to write to him to put pressure upon me to secure the release of their friends or relations from the jail. Sometimes, during my stay in Nagpur, Patwardhan used to hand over to me a list of prisoners to be released or sometimes he used to send such a list to me to Delhi through a letter. I am quoting below one such letter received from E. S. Patwardhan'.

Nagpur, 12—10—1943.

Doctor Saheb,

You must have received my letter sent before. Haribhau Mohani was released the same day and reached his house at about 8 P. M. on Thursday night. No decision has yet been taken about Anant Sheorey and some persons from Bhandara.

I met Haribhau Mohani one day. *It appears all people in jail are dejected depressed and frustrated.* Jankirao alias Gundu Babu of Sitabuldi is pressing me too much for the release of Bholasingh. Not only this, he assures that he will join our party after release. Similarly, Lanjewar along with Veer Harkare had

been to Bhayaji Udhoji and had also suggested some names. He has requested through Dr. Dalvi for the release of Pannalal. I have informed Dr. Dalvi that he should give you a guarantee of good behaviour.

Yours

(Sd/-) Eknath Patwardhan.

This letter from Eknath Patwardhan also discloses how dejected and disappointed and depressed were the Congressmen in jail, and now they walk with chests thrown forward and boast of having won independence. Some people who were not acquainted with Patwardhan used to take advantage of my friendship with other people. This will be evident from a letter which Sir M. B. Dadabhoy, my friend and patient and the president of the Council of State sent me, requesting me to secure the release from jail of Suganchand Tapadia a wealthy Marwadi from Berar. This letter is quoted below.

12 Queensway,
New Delhi,
9th November 1943.

My dear Khare Sahab,

With reference to the conversation I had with you last evening regarding Suganchand, I have instructed Mr. H. N. Lakhani to see your goodself and he will inform you that Suganchand's brother will give full assurance about his brother as required by Government. I shall thank you now to do the needful as kindly promised by you.

Yours Sincerely

(Sd/-) M. B. Dadabhoy

Some people used to personally see me and make a request for the release of their friends or relations, some people used to see me with a friend who was my friend also, and through him make a request for the release of their friends or relations. One such is

Dr. Baliram Dube of Mayo Hospital, Nagpur. He saw me at Nagpur along with my friend Khushalchand Khajanchi of Chanda and requested me to secure the release of his brother Kunjilal Dube (the present Speaker of the Madhya Pradesh Legislative Assembly.) While making this request, he was prepared to stand guarantee for his brother. In the end I wrote to Mr. T. C. S. Jayaratnam, I.C. S., a letter requesting him to release these people and they were released. In this way, those who sought their release by giving a guarantee of good behaviour are today strutting along as ardent patriots. Kunjilal Dube and his brother, Dr. Baliram Dube are well known to me. Moreover, Baliram Dube belongs to the same profession as mine. But he did not show even the formal courtesy of making an enquiry over the phone, about my health when I returned to Nagpur from Delhi, suffering from a heart attack in 1955. This is what is called abject selfishness. I am quoting below the letter which I wrote to Mr. Jayaratnam, the Chief Secretary of the C. P. Government.

NO. 1, BHAGWANDAS ROAD,
NEW DELHI

3rd December 1943

My dear Jayaratnam,

I am thankful for the release of the three detainees from Tumsar. While I was in Nagpur, your release of Pannalal Dewadia during Diwali holidays was well received in the city and in the Congress circles. I think, as a result of this, some sections of congressmen in Nagpur will definitely keep themselves aloof. One Bholasingh of Itwari Nagpur is also in prison. He is a great friend of Pannalal and if he is also released it will be a good stroke of policy.

2. When I was in Nagpur, during Diwali, Dr. Baliram Dube of Mayo Hospital, Nagpur called on me several times. You know, his brother, Mr. Kunjilal Dube of Jubbulpore is a security prisoner and Dr. Dube is anxious for his release. He has orally given me a guarantee of the good behaviour of his brother and I know myself that Kunjilal Dube was a Hindoo Sabhaite and he was dragged into the Congress by Mr. D. P. Mishra and he had never any heart in the movement.

3. While in Delhi during the session of the Council of State, Sir Manekji Dadabhoy called on me and requested me to intercede if I could, for the release of Mr. Suganchand Tapadia of Akola. Before leaving this place, he also sent me a letter reminding me of his request. Suganchand, as you know, is a rich man and his brother is willing to give guarantee for his good behaviour. He is willing to be bound down by any sum as security. This is for information.

4. There is yet another person who is a prisoner. His name is Shivaraj Chudiwala of Wardha. While at Nagpur, his brother saw me. He appeared to be ill and was very anxious to see his brother and said to me that if he is released, he will see to it that he keeps away from any mischievous activity. I am enclosing a copy of an application sent to you by a relation of yet another prisoner of Harda for what it is worth.

5. I know, I am troubling you with these things, Pray, do not think this as an undue interference. This letter is only a suggestion and request to be considered when you doubtless review these cases. But I will not hide the fact, that I will be glad if they are released.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd/-) N. B. KHARE.

Everyone knows now that Mrs. Anusayabai Kale poses as a very strong congress-woman. When I stood for the Lok Sabha on the Hindoo Mahasabha ticket in 1952 February, she opposed me on behalf of the Congress and defeated me. When I stood again for the Lok Sabha in a by-election from the Gwalior constituency in April 1952 she toured my constituency right from Karera to Morar and carried on virulent propaganda against me. But she was unsuccessful. Even Mrs. Anusayabai Kale did not hesitate to take advantage of my position in the Viceroy's Council. The war was going on at that time and it was difficult to get raw films for cinema. Her nephew was in the cinema trade. So Mrs. Kale requested me to help him in securing raw films, which I did.

Fascimile photographs of some of the correspondence quoted in this chapter have been publicised in my Marathi biography written by Mr. J. R. Joshi and published in 1950.

I will now describe in some detail a glaring instance of the cringing attitude of Congressmen. The election of the Speaker of the Central Assembly took place in the beginning of 1946. For this election, G. V. Mavalankar was standing on behalf of the Congress. He was opposed by a multi-millionaire of Bombay, Sir Cowasji Jahangir, who was supported by the Government of India and the Muslim League. Sir Edward Benthall was the Leader of the Central Assembly at that time. It was he who entered into a pact with the Muslim League to support Sir Cowasji Jahangir and then placed the matter before the Viceroy's Council for its approval. I suggested to the Council that the Government of India should not involve itself into that question. They should allow political parties to fight that election. But my advice was not relished by the Viceroy's Council. It decided that all nominated and official members and also members of the Government party must vote for Sir Cowasji Jahangir. After this decision was taken, the list of all the members of the Central Assembly was scanned by the Viceroy's Council and it was found out, by calculating the votes, that Sir Cowasji Jahangir was sure to be elected by two votes. The Congress also in its turn scanned the list and came to the same conclusion. Even Sardar Patel canvassed for Mavalankar but he also found that Mavalankar was going to be defeated.

Under these circumstance, two Congress party members of the Central Assembly viz., Sarat Chandra Bose and P. B. Gole came to my house at mid-night previous to the date of election. I was surprised by their arrival at mid-night and without giving me any notice. I joked with them and asked them whether they intended to commit a decoity. They said that they had troubled me at that odd hour, because the business for which they had come was very important. After this, they described to me the whole situation as it existed then about the chances of Mavalankar's election and said, that it was certain that Mavalankar was going to be defeated by two or three votes. They said that even

Sardar Patel's efforts were fruitless. They requested me therefore to help Congress in that election and save its prestige. I told them that I was not concerned with the prestige of the Congress which regarded me as an enemy, and the decision in that matter had been taken by the Government of India of which I was a member and thus bound to follow it. How could I go against that decision and betray the Government as its member. Besides, I had no vote in that election, because I was not a member of the Central Legislative Assembly, but of the Council of State. After saying this, I smiled a bit. Then Sarat Chandra Bose said that they were quite aware of my love for the Government and that they knew what I was. He said that if I took into my head to make efforts in that matter, I was sure to succeed in changing two or three votes. Saying this, Sarat Chandra Bose earnestly requested me to help the Congress. I said that I did not want to indulge in the vain boast of my love to the Congress. I was aware that there was a conspiracy between the Government of India and the Muslim League. I was an enemy of the Muslim League because I regarded that organisation as treacherous towards the country. It was therefore my earnest desire that the Muslim League should not succeed, and I promised them that I would try and defeat the Muslim League candidate and said that if those efforts of mine resulted in helping the Congress I could not help it.

I do not want to curry favour with Sardar Patel :

The next morning about 8 A. M. I went to three or four places and did my work of converting some votes in favour of Mavalankar. When I returned from my mission, I saw Durgadas of the *Hindustan Times* standing in my veranda and I asked him the purpose of his visit. He said that he had come so early on an important mission. Before allowing him to proceed further, I said, "I have guessed what you have come for. You have come for seeking my help in Mavalankar's election. I am returning just now from that very mission, and I assure that Mavalankar is sure to be elected by two or three votes." Durgadas appeared to be very glad on hearing this and said, "Really! You have done a very good

thing. Shall I convey this news to Sardar Patel?" From this question of Durgadas I understood that he must have come to me at the instance of Sardar Patel, to seek my help in Mavalankar's election. But I had no desire to curry favour with Sardar Patel and I atonce retorted, "It is entirely a question of your choice. You may convey this news to Sardar Patel or you may not do so. I am not at all concerned with it. But one thing is certain that at 1 P. M. today, you will certainly hear of Mavalankar's success."

On this day, I purposely remained at home and did not go anywhere near the election. But I had made arrangements that as soon as the result of the election was out, I should be informed of it on the phone. When the ballot papers were counted it was found that Mavalankar had won by two votes.

At the time of this election one member of the Viceroy's Council, viz., Sir Ardeshir Dalal, had openly remained neutral and two votes which were certainly to be given to Sir Cowasji Jahangir were given to Mavalankar and the Government circles received a great shock by this unexpected result. Sir Edward Benthall could not at all believe that Sir Cowasji Jahangir was defeated. He therefore got the ballot papers counted thrice and then it was announced that Mavalankar had won.

The echo of this election was raised in papers even after eight years i. e. in the year 1954. For some reason or other, Shri M. N. Kaul, the Secretary of the House of the People who was also the Secretary of the Central Assembly at the time of that election made a reference to that election in the *Hindustan Times* of Delhi. I read that reference in Nagpur, and sent a detailed account of what transpired at the time of that election to Mr. Durgadas of *Hindustan Times* for publication in that paper. I also sent a copy of that account to Mr. M. N. Kaul, Secretary of the Lok Sabha for his information. I sent both these letters on the 12th of January 1954 and both of them thanked me and replied to my letters. I am purposely giving both these letters below :—

Durgadas's letter to me :

HINDUSTAN TIMES,
NEW DELHI
13th January 1954.

Dear Dr. Khare,

Many thanks for your letter dated the 12th January. I read the account of Mavalankar's election sent by you with great interest and curiosity. I am publishing it in the issue of *Hindustan Times* tomorrow. Of course, I am omitting from it the personal reference to me and some jokes of yours.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd) DURGADAS

M. N. Kaul's letter to me :

SECRETARY TO PARLIAMENT,
18, PARLIAMENT HOUSE,
NEW DELHI.
January, 13th 1954

D. O. No. P. S. .S. 4/54

Dear Dr. Khare,

I am very thankful to you for your letter dated the 12th January. I have read with great interest the account of Mavalankar's election as a Speaker which you sent me along with your letter. Your reference to that election has refreshed my memory of the old happenings and I am very glad on account of it. What transpired in Central Assembly at the time of that election is still fresh in my memory.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd) M. N. KAUL

Mr. Mavalankar himself wrote to me about this. While in Delhi, I had presented to him the second part of my Marathi biography written by Mr. J. R. Joshi. While thanking me for it, Mavalankar had written in his letter dated the 28th August 1954 as follows :

"..... I scanned some pages of this book yesterday. I am aware of many events described in this book, and 'some' events indirectly concern me also. Therefore while reading this book, I feel that I was reading something about myself. I never knew that your biography has been published. I would be grateful if you let me know where the first part of your biography would be available."

Thanking you.

Yours sincerely,
G. V. MAVALANKAR.

Congress leaders tried their level best to oust me from public life. Yet I have been useful to them in many ways. In spite of this fact, they have tried to finish me which would be evident from a subsequent chapter. I can only say in Shakespeare's language, 'Look at this picture and that'.

This chapter will show how demoralised and fallen some congressmen are. Some congressmen have also no regard for truth. They simply glibly go on praising Gandhism, whatever that may mean, and parrotlike go on repeating that they have won independence by non-violent means as directed by Gandhi. But this is not true. In saner moments, some Congress leaders and congress newspapers have admitted the failure of the political career of Gandhi and the failure of his principles of Hindoo-Muslim unity, non-violence and truth.

This was realised at the time of the holocaust which occurred before and after 15th August 1947. In support of it, I will quote some extracts from a book, '*Sawarkar and his Times*' written by Dhananjaya Keer, with thanks to the author.

".....At the time of these holocausts people realised that Gandhism was in an illusion. Gandhiji himself realised too late that what the nation followed was not non-violence but passive resistance. He expressed this at a meeting in Delhi."

".....Nehru said that the nation had to wade through ocean of blood and tears." (yet congressmen have still the

temerity to say that they won swaraj without shedding a drop of blood). "Such was the crisis and such were the times that people showed profound disbelief in and dislike of Gandhism which seemed till yesterday, the ruling belief of the majority. Blood, tears, sighs and sorrow proved that Gandhism was a dreamland. The situation was utterly volcanic and it disclosed that the whole range of consequences was the outcome of those beliefs, opinions and actions."

....."K. M. Munshi, who claimed to have followed the Mahatma while reviewing the situation in the *Freedom Special* of 'Social Welfare', observed, 'Last 35 years we have been brought up on a slogan: naturalness and inevitableness of Hindoo-Muslim unity. That this was a wishful thinking has been proved in Noakhali, Bihar, Rawalpindi, in hundreds of villages by tens of thousands of men, women and children fleeing for safety. The Muslim—a hard realist—knew and exploited the hollowness of the slogan; the Hindoo cherishes it still. Hindoos love words and ideals'. What a melancholy epitaph on Gandhism by a Gandhist! How fitting yet flagrant, how frank yet ferocious, how realistic though belated!"

....."The terrific shock also evoked a spontaneous remark from Babu Purushottamdas Tandon. Tandon declared while speaking at a meeting in Bareilly, that Gandhiji's doctrine of absolute non-violence had proved to be useless and was greatly responsible for the partition of India."

....."Even *Bharat Jyoti*, a well known English weekly and a strong spokesman of the Congress in Bombay, bewailed in its editorial dated the 26th October 1947, under caption, 'Barter Not Truth': "Today, Gandhiji is a living witness to the failure of his political mission. His failure is the measure of his departure from truth, in his implementation of truth." The editorial concludes, "Gandhiji resisted the partition of India but like Yudhishtir by a play of words secured the nation's ratification of partition; he like Yudhishtir is witnessing hell's torments. Power of truth is great, lie's punishment is greater. So, Barter not, Truth."

CHAPTER XII

GANDHI TEMPTS ME TO REJOIN THE CONGRESS

I was deposed from the Prime Ministership of C. P. and Berar in July 1938 and later on I was expelled from the Congress in October 1938. What I saw of the Congress High Command during this *Khare Episode*, made me intensely bitter and hostile towards them, and I carried on vigorous and virulent propaganda against Gandhi, Gandhism and Congress High Command in my speeches and writings. Sometimes I used to write registered letters to Gandhi with acknowledgement due and used to bitterly criticise the inconsistency between Gandhiji's words and actions which naturally made Gandhi very uneasy. Gandhi tried to stop this propaganda of mine through some friends, principal among them being Jamanlal Bajaj, Nanasaheb Kedar and Veer Harkare.

One day, Jamanlal Bajaj came to my house and criticised me for carrying on such bitter propaganda. He said "I can understand your bitter criticism against the Congress Working Committee. But why do you involve Gandhiji in it? It would be better if you stopped this propaganda against Gandhi in your own interest." I said, "I am quite able to discern what is good and what is bad for me. *I attach maximum blame to Gandhi in the Khare Episode.* Therefore I shall always make him the main target of my criticism." A nice opportunity offered itself in January 1940 to write a critical letter to Gandhi, regarding his article under the title '*Charkha*' published in his paper '*Harijan*'. In this article Gandhi tried to refute the charge of dictatorship levelled against him, in his attitude towards and action against Nariman, Khare and Bose. My attention was drawn by a congress friend towards this article reproduced in the *Times of India* dated the 15th January 1940. As a sample of criticism against Gandhi, I quote here my open letter sent to him under the caption '*You are no less*'.

NAGPUR

19th January 1940.

Dear Mahatmaji,

A kind friend of the congress persuasion has drawn my attention to your article headed "*Charkha*" in the *Harijan* of recent

date reproduced in the *Times of India* dated the 15th instant. While doing so he remarked that Mahatmaji's conscience appears to prick him occasionally. While I never believed in his remark, it aroused my curiosity and I read the article with amused interest from beginning to end. I would not have encroached upon your valuable time specially when I know that you are busy with national questions of supreme importance, like Dominion Status for India, and ostracising of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. But my unbounded love for you has impelled me to do so, and that is my only apology for disturbing you.

Mahatmaji, your article touches a wide range of subjects, e. g. Dictator, Charkha, Non-violence, Truth, Love (of your conception), Conversion, Driving out Englishmen from India, to mention only a few. You protest that you are not a dictator, but unkind friends give you that nick-name. A dictator like Hitler does one or the other of the three things, with regard to persons who are either inconvenient or hostile, or whom he fails to convert, viz., expulsion from the party, expulsion from the country or expulsion from the world. You have done the first mentioned thing to your heart's content. You cannot do any of the other two things, because you have not got the power to do so. Nevertheless, you are no less a dictator than say, Hitler, or at best, the difference is only of a degree. When you failed to gain Subhash Babu as a son for all time, you fell from grace and drove him out of the Congress. When your word was no longer law for Nariman and Khare, they also got a similar fate. If this is not cent per cent dictatorship, I want to know what it is? Mahatmaji, you nick-name friends who think this way as unkind friends, but that does not alter facts. You preach non-violence or *Ahimsa* in thought, word, and deed for solving all human problems, but may I remind you that soon after the termination of my episode, you wrote in your *Harijan* dated 6th August 1938 or thereabouts, words to the effect that if you had followed Hitlerian methods, "Dr. Khare would have lost his head."—an eloquent example of non-vilence in thought. You yourself have admitted on the 17th May 1939, that your Rajkot fast was tainted with *Himsa*. Mahatmaji, when this has happened in your case what about lesser mortals! I do not blame you Mahatmaji, the impossi-

bility of attaining the high ideals in practice has compelled you to follow Hitlerian methods and give a hasty and indecent burial to inconvenient persons ; but truth demands that you should own it up. Anyway, Mahatmaji, I am beholden to you for thus occasionally publicly remembering me after my burial.

You have said that you want to convert Englishmen into servants of India and that you are not interested in driving them out of India. Englishmen in India beware ! If they refuse to be converted they will meet with a fate similar to that of a Bose, Nariman or Khare, with this difference that since they do not belong to Mahatmaji's party, viz., the Congress, they will have to be driven out of the country with the help of the Charkha. They will have to flee before the Charkha as ghosts flee before the knot in the sacred thread of a 'twice born' ! In conclusion, I am glad to learn that all your actions are prompted by love, and that love of your conception has got different varieties. You have bestowed the flint variety of your love upon me, and have showered the rose petal variety of your love on my erstwhile colleague Mr. D. P. Mishra. In this matter also, Mahatmaji, your sense of discernment and discrimination is unimpeachable.

With loving regards.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd) N. B. KHARE

Mahatma Gandhi sent me a reply to this letter which is as follows :

24th January 1940

Dear Dr. Khare,

I was very glad to see your handwriting again. We may differ in our political opinions, but you are still the keeper of my body.

Yours,
(Sd) M. K. GANDHI.

This letter shows Gandhi's confidence in my medical skill. I am not a man to be influenced or carried away by such insignificant things. I therefore sent him another letter hitting him on tender spots. It is as follows :

1st February 1940

Dear Mahatmaji,

I am thankful for your post-card of 24th January 1940 in reply to my open letter sent to you. I also feel happy for getting this opportunity of gazing upon your hand-writing after that fateful night at Sewagram when you gave me the historical draft in your hand-writing. I am grateful to you for regarding me as a keeper of your body and happy to note that you appreciate my medical skill. But I am not satisfied with this little thing. I am a selfish man and I have without your permission arrogated to myself the right and responsibility to administer a corrective to your soul whenever I deem it necessary.

Yours,

(Sd) N. B. KHARE.

It need not be told that Gandhi did not reply to this letter of mine. But he continued his efforts to maintain his contact with me.

My friend, Advocate Nanasaheb Kedar, although practicing at Nagpur, originally belonged to Wardha and he often used to see Gandhi on his business visits to Wardha. During such a visit which took place after this correspondence, Gandhiji said to Kedar, "Mr. Kedar, why is Dr. Khare displeased with me? I am not conscious of having done any wrong to him. He is a very good man, very brave and a man of character. He is capable also. But I suspect that he is suffering from some mental malady. You bring him to me and I will speak to him and try to cure him."

Sometime after this, Kedar came to me and said "Doctor, Mahatmaji praises you very much. He is also eager to see you. You therefore come with me to see him." I replied, "Now I

have nothing to do with Mahatmaji and I have no desire to see him at all. If ever I have some business with him, I will see him any time for such a business. If he has got some business with me and he is eager to see me for it, then it is proper that he must call upon me. He knows my address. He can come to me any time. I will behave with him with humility and gentleness. When you happen to see him again, please give him this message from me." On this Kedar said, "Doctor, you are very obstinate. When Mahatmaji is so eager to see you and requests you to see him, why should you be so obdurate?" I said, "Kedar, you think anything you like about me. I have no objection. But my visit to Gandhi under these circumstances will lead to a propaganda in Congress circles, that I visited Gandhi and humbled myself before him for re-admission into the Congress. I have no desire that such a misunderstanding should be created about me."

Many such Kedar-Gandhi and Kedar-Khare interviews took place during this interval. During the first half of the year 1942, Kedar came to me direct from Wardha after seeing Gandhi at Sewagram because my bungalow is on the Wardha-Nagpur road. He said, "If you do not come with us to see Gandhi, we shall forcibly put you in a car and take you to Sewagram. Then what will you do?" I replied, "Certainly, you can take me there by force. But you cannot compel my tongue to speak and my eyes to see. Then what will be the use of carrying me to Gandhiji by force? I think, you give up this idea."

Subsequently, in 1943, I was appointed a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council and during this period, upto the middle of 1945, all the important political events like Bhulabhai-Liaquat agreement, Viceroy's visit to and return from England with the Wavell's Formula, and the Simla Conference in July 1945, took place. After this, general elections to the Provincial Assemblies came in sight. Many congressmen who had either left the Congress, or were expelled from the Congress, during my episode, and who regarded themselves, or were regarded by others, as my followers, met in Nagpur in the beginning of December 1945, to discuss the question of general elections to the Provincial Assemblies, under the presi-

dentship of Karmaveer Bapuji Pathak. They decided in this meeting to rejoin the Congress before the elections. But somebody in the meeting raised the question that they would not derive any benefit from rejoining the Congress unless and until, Dr. Khare who was regarded as their leader rejoined it. Unless that happened, it was useless for them to rejoin the Congress. It was therefore decided in that meeting that an interview between Gandhi and Khare should be brought about, with a view to arrive at a compromise. In pursuance of this decision, Advocate Kedar and Bhayaji Udhoji went to Sewagram to see Gandhiji. As soon as Gandhiji saw them there, he put the same familiar question about me to Kedar and said, "Kedar, now you bring Dr. Khare to see me. I am going to Calcutta in December and will stay there in the Sodepur Ashram. Let Dr. Khare come and see me at Sodepur and you also accompany him." On this Kedar said, to Gandhiji, "Mahatmaji, I will request Dr. Khare in a letter to go to Sodepur and see you." Immediately, the Mahatma said, "Kedar, you do not know Dr. Khare. He is very obstinate. If you will not be present at the interview, it will be useless. Therefore, you also must go to Calcutta." Kedar said, "Mahatmaji, I am very busy in court cases and it will be impossible for me to go to Calcutta this time." Mahatma said, "That will not do. You must go to Calcutta and you write to Dr. Khare that you are yourself going to Calcutta and Dr. Khare must go there." After this visit to Mahatma, Kedar returned to Nagpur and sent Udhoji, Veer Harkare and Vishnupant Karandikar to Delhi with a letter which was as follows :

NAGPUR,

Dated 4th December 1945.

My Dear Doctor Saheb,

I had a talk with Mahatmaji. You are, I suppose already posted with details.

Your presence at Calcutta is necessary. Mahatmaji has insisted on my going to Calcutta and I have agreed.

In view of tremendous issues at stake, I think, the visit to Calcutta is well worthwhile.

In fact, I was unwilling, as I had so much work. But as there was unequivocal and insistent demand by Mahatmaji, I had to agree. I suggested to him Shri Sarat Bose would be better person but he wanted me and I had no alternative but to agree. I shall start from Khandwa on the 9th by Calcutta Mail direct to Howrah by E. I. R.

More when we meet.

Yours very sincerely,

T. J. KEDAR.

I was greatly surprised by the unexpected arrival of Messrs. Karandikar, Harkare and Udhoji at Delhi. But my surprise vanished on reading Kedar's letter and hearing a detailed account from them. I left Delhi on the 9th December 1945 for Calcutta along with these three friends. We all stayed at the Howrah station in my saloon. Kedar reached Calcutta on the 10th of December 1945, and asked me to go to Sodepur along with him to see the Mahatma. I declined to do so without a personal letter from the Mahatma addressed to me. Kedar said, "Doctor, your obstinacy is amazing. I have expressly mentioned in my letter to you what the Mahatma's desire is. Is it not enough?" I replied, "It is true that your letter specifically mentions Mahatma's desire in the matter. But I must say, you do not fully recognise what the Mahatma is. It is quite possible, that Gandhiji may say in future that Kedar must have misunderstood me and his letter to Dr. Khare is the outcome of misunderstanding what I said." On account of my objection, Kedar and Udhoji immediately went to the Mahatma and brought a letter addressed to me from him, which is as follows:

Sodepur, 11-12-1945.

Brother Khare,

I think that you are anxious to meet me. If so, please come tomorrow at 8 P. M.

Yours,

M. K. Gandhi

On reading this letter, I said, "Look at this Kedar ! Gandhiji says in this letter that I am anxious to meet him. Is it true Kedar ? I think, after receipt of this letter from Gandhi, instead of going to Sodepur, I should go to Delhi straightaway." On seeing my attitude, Kedar, Harkare and Udhoji tried to persuade me to go to Gandhi. They said, " Along with this letter of Gandhi you have got with you the letter written to you by Kedar,. On account of this, there will not be much ground for misunderstanding." Any way, on account of the insistence of these friends, I agreed to go to Sodepur.

On 12th December 1945, the date fixed by Gandhi for the interview, Kedar, Udhoji, and myself started in a motor car to go to Sodepur Ashram. While all of us were travelling in the car, Kedar said, "Doctor, you and Gandhi have not met for the last seven years. I am therefore anxious to know how you will begin the conversation with him. I suggest that you should begin your talk, by telling him that you have visited him to offer your condolences for the death of Kasturba." I replied. "Kedar, I can never do this, I do not think that the death of that old woman may have caused much sorrow to this old man. How can I therefore falsely display any grief before a man who himself perhaps does not feel it. Moreover, to say so will obviously lend support to his contention that I am anxious to see him." Kedar said "Doctor, then how will you break this ice of seven years." I said, "Why do you make much of it. I cannot exhibit grief to order, like some Gujarathis who are hired on some payment to do so. Mahatma and myself are both men, and our talk will begin just in the way in which two men begin to talk after meeting each other."

On account of too much traffic on the way, we were 15 minutes late to reach Sodepur. When we entered Gandhiji's room, he was busy with some workers of the Wanasthali Vidyalaya near Jaipur. On seeing me in the room, Mahatma said, "You are a little late. I am now busy with these people." I replied , "No doubt I am a little late. You finish your work with them and till you do it, we will sit outside." With a smile, Gandhiji said, "When a great man like you has come, how can I make you sit outside. It does not look well. You can therefore come in and have a talk. I shall finish my business with these people later on." I replied,

"Gandhiji, how can I say no to you. I am quite happy to sit outside. You please finish your work with these people. I will not at all feel it." On this Gandhiji said, "What you say is right. But to make you sit outside does not become me." So saying, Gandhiji asked the Wanasthali workers to go and sit outside.

After this, Kedar, Udhoji and myself sat down on the carpet and Gandhiji asked me, "Well brother Khare, how do you come?" I promptly replied, "Mahatmaji I received your letter and these friends also insisted too much. Therefore I came. Is it improper that I have come? Mahatmaji, you always seek interviews with these foreign Viceroys and Governors, you write letters for them, sometimes you interview them daily and before the conclusion of one interview, you invite yourself for another interview the next day and during these interviews, you carry on long conversations with these high foreign dignitaries. (A few days before this interview Mahatma Gandhi had had successive interviews with Mr. Cassey, the then Governor of Bengal). When you seek such interviews with foreign dignitaries, where is the harm if once in a way, I come for an interview with the swadeshi Viceroy." I uttered this sentence in a joke, but it appears that Mahatma Gandhi was some time harbouring the idea of becoming the Viceroy of India. This will be evident from an old interview of the Mahatma published in the *Times of India* dated the 14th November 1954. I am therefore quoting here the relevant part of that interview because it is of historical importance.

That interview :

"When the Second World War was going on, one American Journalist saw the Mahatma and tried to secure his sympathy for the Allied Nations. Mahatma Gandhi was well aware of his policy of not embarrassing the Allied Nations while in difficulty. So he said, 'Whatever is happening in India is not happening with the consent of the Indian people. On account of the racial discrimination between the black and white, thousands of Indians while coming to India as refugees, lost their lives for lack of food and water. Not only that, there were different roads for the black and white refugees. Every arrangement was made for food and

shelter for the white refugees. but no such arrangement was made for the black refugees. And this racial discrimination continued even after arrival in India". (Obviously, this reference of the Mahatma is to the refugees coming from Burma to India. I removed this racial discrimination as soon as I took charge of my office on the Viceroy's Council. This has been described in a previous chapter entitled 'Miscellaneous Activities).

"In 1946, Louis Fisher tried to awaken the international conscience of the Mahatma and he said to the Mahatma, 'It is bad that in India people are being incited against the whites. I do not like the notice-board at the Taj Mahal Hotel in Bombay saying African Europeans are not allowed.'" On this, Mahatma Gandhi said to Louis Fisher, "The whites are ruling India today. Therefore if the notice-board in Taj Mahal Hotel mentioned by you is a fact, it is a feather in the cap of that hotel." Louis Fisher said, "Any nationalist will say so!"

"On this Gandhiji burst out, "If so, I am a nationalist. What right have the whites of a country where Indians are maltreated, to come to India? *When I will become the Viceroy of India*, I will invite the Europeans to my hut and say to them, "You are persecuting my people in South Africa, but I will not follow you. I will treat you liberally. You people are very cruel. You lynch the blacks and if one white man is killed, you destroy a whole village and its population."

Three inferences can be drawn from the foregoing interview of Gandhi :

- (1) Gandhi's own admission that, at the time of the Quit India Movement his policy was of non-embarrassment to Britain.
- (2) While the War was on, Louis Fisher's admission that I enforced the Indian Reciprocity Act against South Africa.
- (3) Mahatma Gandhi entertained the idea of being the Viceroy of India.

From this, it will be evident that the Mahatma's ideal of independence was circumscribed or limited, because the Viceroyalty of India means subordination to the British Emperor. This will show how appropriate was my joke with Gandhi, in calling him a *Swadeshi Viceroy* at the time of the interview.

After this necessary digression, I now turn to the subject of my present interview with Gandhi. As soon as I uttered the words '*Swadeshi Viceroy*', Mahatma Gandhi, who was reclining on a pillow at once sat erect and said, "You have begun the talk with a joke." I said, "Mahatmaji, you know that I am very fond of joking. Therefore my connection with humour and joking cannot be broken." On this Mahatmaji said, "Yes, what you say is correct. I frequently seek interviews with these foreign dignitaries, talk with them for hours and sometimes flatter them also." I replied, "Look here Mahatmaji, I have never charged you with flattery of the English. What have I got to say when you yourself admit it? But I must tell you, this alleged flattery of yours is looked upon by the British with contempt. I became aware of this yesterday in Calcutta and if you permit, I want to describe the incident to you." On this Mahatma said, "You can say whatever you want to say. Today thousand faults of yours will be excused." I said, "Mahatmaji, I came to see you at Calcutta, and for it I had to find out some excuse of a Government business. I therefore decided at the last moment to accept the invitation of an AT-HOME by the Chamber of Commerce. I attended the function day before yesterday. At the time of lunch many people were introduced to each other in the drawing room and many guests began to take wine or fruit juice before lunch. I also took some tomato juice. Mahatmaji, but I did not take any wine." Mahatmaji at once cut me short and said, "Why do you tell me this. I know, you will never take liquor."

After this, I said to Gandhiji, "When I was taking fruit juice two Europeans were sitting near me and talking amongst themselves. As they were talking about you, I listened to their talk very carefully. One of them said to the other, look here, William, that Cassey was telling me yesterday that, that

old man seeks too many interviews, and takes long over them and invites himself for another interview for the next day. It is awful. What does he want to gain by these persistent interviews. Does he want to impress on his followers that he is very thick with the high-ups? ' Mahatmaji it is obvious that these words refer to you, as it was you alone who had taken these persistent interviews with Cassey a few days before. From these words, you will realise that what you call flattery, is described with great contempt by these Europeans. I therefore thought it proper to apprise you of this, *Mahatmaji if anyone insults you like this, it is natural that I should feel pained in my heart on account of it.*"

Mahatmaji : " Why should you be pained ? You yourself abuse me. "

Myself : " Mahatmaji, it cannot be called abuse. It is only a criticism on your statements or actions. You are an Indian, I am an Indian. You love your country and try to serve it according to your own lights. You will readily concede that I also love my country and try to serve it according to my lights. "

Mahatmaji : " This is correct. "

Myself : " Under these circumstances, if I regard your actions and statements harmful to the country, is it not my duty to tell the public how harmful they are ? So this is not abuse. This is a legitimate criticism to which I am entitled. "

Mahatmaji : " No doubt, you have a right to criticise me, but your writings are very bitter and piercing. "

Myself : " I admit that my writings are bitter and piercing. If you call this criticism as abuse, you may do so. There is no harm in it. It is my right to criticise you. But Mahatmaji, this does not mean that I will tolerate abuses given to you by Britishers, who are enemies of both of us. You will realise that it is sure to cause me pain. "

Mahatmaji : " This statement of yours is correct and I grant that your heart is pained ! But your action also has caused me very great pain. "

Myself : "Mahatmaji, I cannot think what action of mine has caused you pain. Please make it clear."

Mahatmaji : "Such a great thing and you cannot think of it! You have joined the Viceroy's Council. I regard it as your fall. Therefore, my heart is pained."

Myself : "How has my acceptance of office on the Viceroy's Council resulted in my fall?"

Mahatmaji : "You accepted this job on the Viceroy's Council although you are a Congressman. Therefore, it is your fall."

Myself : "I am no longer a member of the Congress. You have expelled me from that organisation. I am therefore not bound to follow any discipline enjoined by the Congress. I have full authority to do a thing which I consider right. Therefore, my joining the Viceroy's Council has not resulted in my fall."

Mahatmaji : "Yes, yes, I know that you are not in the Congress now. But when you were a member of the Congress you were a first rank congressman. You have sacrificed much for the Congress and served it very well. It was therefore your duty to follow the Congress discipline in the whole of your life, although you might not be in the Congress. You have not followed it. Therefore, it is your fall."

Myself : "Mahatmaji, you have brought the argument to such a point, and have made such grave accusations against me, that it has become necessary to ask you three or four straight questions before I can reply you. Am I permitted to ask them?"

Mahatmaji : "I have already told you that hundred faults of yours will be excused today. You can ask anything you like without hesitation."

Myself : "Well Mahatmaji, will you please tell me whether you attended the Simla Conference held in July last?"

Mahatmaji : "I did not join the Conference, but I was present in Simla at the time of the Conference."

Myself : "Mahatmaji, is it correct as reported in the press, that you were present in Simla at the time of the Conference as a

self-appointed general adviser to all and sundry and also to the Viceroy ? ”

Mahatmaji : “ Yes, this is correct. ”

Myself : “ Then is it also correct that you had approved all the statements made in the Simla Conference by the members of the Working Committee, and also publicised in the press. Is it also correct that you had approved all the conditions laid down by Viceroy before the members of the Working Committee could become Viceroy’s Councillors ? ”

Mahatmaji : “ Yes, this is correct. ”

Myself : “ Is it not a fact, Mahatmaji, that in November 1939 soon after the outbreak of the War, you withdrew all the Congress ministries from the provinces as functioning of those ministries would have resulted in helping in war efforts and thus countenancing violence ? ”

Mahatmaji : “ Yes, this is correct. ”

Myself : “ Please state Mahatmaji, whether in July 1945, the Viceroy had imposed the condition on the members of the Working Committee that they would have to fully co-operate in war efforts against Japan so that Japan might be annihilated, if they had to join the Viceroy’s Council. Is it true that this condition was also agreed to with your consent ? ”

Mahatmaji : “ Yes, it is true. ”

Myself : “ Mahatmaji, now please state where is truth, where is non—violence, and where is consistency, in your approval of the suggestion of rendering all help in war efforts. Mahatmaji whose fall is this? surely not mine ”

Mahatmaji : “ You ask further questions. Go on I shall reply to all of them at once ”.

Myself : “ The members of the Congress Working Committee accepted Viceroy Lord Wavell as the political leader of India. If so, where do you fit in? Mahatmaji, I am a member of the Viceroy’s Council. I regard the Viceroy as the head of the Government of India. I would never regard him as the political leader of India. Moreover, Mahatmaji, you started the,

Quit India movement in August 1942. Is it not infragig that you have bent your knees for the crumbs of office before the self-same Viceroy whom you had asked to quit. Mahatmaji, whose fall is it? Surely, not mine! The Simla Conference was not held after attainment of freedom. It was held to facilitate the Congress Working Committee to join the Viceroy's Council under the Government of India Act 1919 under which we are also functioning. Mahatmaji, whose fall is it? surely not mine."

Mahatmaji: "I will satisfy all these querries of yours. You are also working in the same Executive Council. You are doing good work there. You fight for your country there. You sometimes fight even with the Viceroy for your country. I am well aware of all these things. But you must admit that there is no public backing behind you."

Myself: "Yes, Mahatmaji, I myself declare in public speeches that I represent nobody, but myself. But what of it? This is no answer to my questions."

Mahatmaji: "I want to impress on you that there is great difference between you and the members of the Congress Working Committee. Had the Simla Conference succeeded and had they become Viceroy's Councillors, they would have gone there as representatives of 40 crores of the people of India. What a great difference between you and them!"

Myself: "I understand this Mahatmaji. But this again is no reply to my questions. And the Working Committee members do not represent 40 crores of people."

Mahatmaji: "How do you say so?"

Myself: "I will just explain. You are aware that along with other conditions, you had accepted the condition of Hindoo Muslim parity in the Executive Council. Parity obviously means half. So whatever may be the population of Musalmans, under parity it must be regarded that they represented half of India. And don't you agree Mahatmaji that this parity is against democracy and very detrimental to India? Mahatmaji was not this

acceptance of parity a great injustice to the Hindoos, because the Working Committee members attended the Simla Conference not as representatives of the Congress, but of caste Hindoos? There were also separate representatives of Harijans, Christians and Sikhs in the Simla Conference. So the representative capacity of the Working Committee members is reduced still further. Obviously, they cannot represent half of the population, i. e. 20 crores, but perhaps 10 or 12 crores. But this again is no reply to my question. "

Mahatmaji: 'What do you say? I cannot understand.'

Myself: "I will illustrate by an example. You must first decide whether a certain action taken by anybody under given circumstances, is by itself good or bad. The question of representative capacity will arise after, not before. If it is good to work as members of the Executive Council of the Viceroy under the present Government of India Act, then I have not committed any bad deed; and if it is improper to work as Viceroy's Councillors under the present Government of India Act, then the Working Committee members could not have done a good thing by joining the Viceroy's Council."

Mahatmaji: 'You are not a lawyer by profession, but you checkmate one by arguing like a lawyer. God knows what you would have done if you had been a lawyer. But I must say that you have failed to satisfy me.'

Myself: 'Mahatmaji, I must also say that you have failed to satisfy me.'

Mahatmaji: 'Let us leave this thing here and start another topic.'

Myself: 'Yes, go on'.

Mahatmaji: 'You are a member of the Viceroy's Council. You are a brave man. You also do good work there. But all this is of no use because there is no political backing behind you; therefore it is your duty to resign the membership of the Viceroy's Council and rejoin the Congress. *Your place is secure in the Congress. You simply come and take it.*'

Myself: 'Mahatmaji, I understand what you say. But I can never join the Congress again.'

Mahatmaji: 'Why, what is the difficulty?'

Myself: 'Mahatmaji, you have passed a resolution against me declaring me incompetent. As long as that resolution stands in the Congress records, how can I rejoin the Congress? It will be against my sense of self-respect. Therefore, I will never do so.'

Mahatmaji: 'Dr. Khare, how long are you going to remember this? Forget it. Such things are to be forgotten.'

Myself: 'Mahatmaji, many things happen in a man's life which are fit to be forgotten and a man forgets them. For instance, I will forget the number of cigarettes smoked by me yesterday. I will also forget how many acquaintances I met on the road. *But I will never forget who insulted me and who did injustice to me. I will remember this for the whole of my life.* Not only that, but if there is reincarnation of the soul and if we both meet again in the other world, I will make you feel my anger there also.'

Mahatmaji: "Oh, what are you talking? Where are you leading us in this matter? Congress is your institution. You have raised its status in your province by your sacrifice and service. Don't you know that an institution is not capable of doing any injustice to an individual. It is an individual alone which does injustice to another individual."

Myself: 'Mahatmaji, is British Empire an institution or an individual?'

Mahatmaji: 'It is an institution'.

Myself: 'Then, Mahatmaji, why do you cry out every day that the British Empire is committing this oppression and that injustice?'

Mahatmaji: 'Oh, you are an obstructionist. Make your heart broad and generous. It is your duty to rejoin the institution (Congress) which you have nursed in your province.'

Myself: 'Mahatmaji, I am surprised, that without cancelling your resolution which declared me unfit even to be a camp follower

of the Congress, you are inviting me to rejoin the Congress. This does not become your dignity, and I will also never consider your suggestion unless and until you rescind that insulting resolution and then request me to join the Congress. This is the condition precedent to enable me to consider your request'.

Mahatmaji: "You first join the congress. Then for your satisfaction, I will speak something, write something and will also consult the Working Committee."

Myself: "Mahatmaji, neither am I a baby nor do I like this bargaining spirit. Just things must be done first without any bargaining conditions."

At this time, Frontier Gandhi, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, who was perhaps hearing our conversation in an adjoining room, came in the room where we were sitting and talking. Perhaps, he could not restrain himself when he heard Gandhiji persuading me to rejoin the Congress. He therefore suddenly came and said to Mahatmaji, "Mahatmaji, when this *Khare Episode* was going on in Wardha, I had told you not to do any injustice to a man like Dr. Khare who enjoyed high status in his province. But you did not listen to me then. Therefore it has come upon you now to request him to rejoin the Congress." On this Mahatma Gandhi said, "I remember what you said at that time, I simply wanted to keep him down for a few days, but he is not accustomed to listen to anybody's advice. He went up higher and higher towards the sky (raising his hand higher and higher in the air) and sat in the Viceroy's Council. (By seeing his expression and his acting, I thought that Gandhi did not like my appointment to the Viceroy's Council and anyhow is contriving to pull me down from there.) After this interruption in our conversation, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan also joined Kedar and Udhoji as a witness to the conversation between us which began again; and Mahatmaji said, "What, you have no faith in me also?"

Myself: "No, Mahatmaji, I have absolutely no faith in you. Because, I remember how you behaved with me seven years ago. Remembering that, how can I say that I have got any faith in you? I am not such a hypocrite."

Mahatmaji : " We have talked enough. It is getting late also. So you consider all these things and see me again at Sewagram in the month of February next." (Before the general elections in 1946).

Myself : " Well Mahatmaji, good-bye."

After this interview which lasted for about 2 hours, I put on my cap and chappals left the room and lighted a cigarette. I had hardly gone 3 or 4 steps and I thought that it would be useful to speak with Gandhi on the question of South Africa. I therefore turned back and had a talk with Gandhi on South Africa which had been given in full detail in the eighth chapter.

It would be evident from this long interview that Gandhiji wanted me to rejoin the Congress and take up my old place, i. e. Prime-Ministership of C. P. and Berar from which I was deposed seven years ago. This was how Gandhi tempted me to rejoin the Congress. I was not alone in thinking this way. Similar echoes were raised in many prominent newspapers also at the time. My interview with Gandhiji took place at Sodepur, Calcutta on the 12th of December 1945, but four days before this interview, i. e. on the 8th December 1945, the *Hindustan Standard* of Calcutta wrote thus :

" It may be a thunder-bolt from Dr. Khare, Member, Common wealth Relations Government of India, when he may shortly declare that he is going to rejoin the Congress. It is gathered that Gandhiji wants him back into the Congress fold to take up the Premiership of the Central Provinces. "

" It will be recalled that the ban imposed on Dr. Khare by Congress docs exist no more, and now he can become in the usual course of things a four anna member of the Congress. But the initiative, it is understood came from the other side and it can now be confidently said that he will accept the offer and rejoin the Congress. "

It will also be interesting to quote here what the *National Call* of Delhi, dated the 10th December 1945 says, in this connection :

“ From well-informed quarters, our special representative learns that some leading Congress Workers in the Central Provinces who have always been loyal to Dr. Khare, held discussion with Mahatma Gandhi at Sewagram. This related to the question of Dr. Khare being asked to rejoin the Congress fold. Mahatma Gandhi it is understood, thinks that time has come when a dynamic personality like Dr. Khare should rejoin the organisation and lend his weight to the national organisation. ”

“ Mistake realised ”

“ It is said that almost all top leaders of the Congress have felt that it was unfortunate that the organisation lost the valuable services of an upright, sincere, self-less, and fearless fighter like Dr. Khare owing to misunderstanding created by party politics in the Central Provinces and an error of judgment on the part of some shining lights of the Congress High Command. ”..... ..

Appreciation for Khare

“ There has been great appreciation of the work of Dr. Khare as a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council in Congress quarters, who know what happens behind the scenes and consider that Dr. Khare's speeches in the Assembly on the Treasury Benches were the out-pourings of a heart wounded and suffering from what he felt as injustice at the hands of the big guns of the Congress when he was expelled from the Congress. ”

“ If the Calcutta talks prove fruitful, it is not unlikely that Dr. Khare would be set up a Congress candidate and once again offered the premiership of the Central Provinces. Developments in this regard are awaited with keen interest in New Delhi. ”

The Amrit Bazar Patrika and the *Leader* also published accounts on similar lines.

The Hindu of Madras in its issue of 21st December 1945 Dak edition, wrote as follows :—

New Delhi, December 19.

"The recent meeting at Calcutta which Dr. Khare, Commonwealth Relations Member had with Mahatma Gandhi after an interval of seven years has aroused interest here."

"Dr. Khare interviewed by A. P. I. correspondent declined to disclose details. But he confirmed the report that Mahatma Gandhi conveyed his desire that Dr. Khare should forget the past and rejoin the Congress. Dr. Khare will take time to decide what reply to give to this approach."

"A. P. I. message from Nagpur says, 'It was a very cordial and affectionate interview between Gandhiji and Dr. Khare, according to persons in close touch with the latter. The meeting was brought about through the intervention of Dr. T. J. Kedar who met Gandhiji at Sewagram sometime ago and said, 'Mahatmaji the patient is now ready to undergo psychic treatment under you and will meet you at Calcutta.'"

"Gandhiji insisted that Dr. Kedar should be present when Dr. Khare called on him."

"Dr. Khare met Gandhiji on invitation at Sodepur. Dr. Kedar, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and Shri Udhoji were also present."

The foregoing account and the quotations of newspapers would show how eager Gandhiji was for my interview and how persistent the efforts which he made through Dr. Kedar for it. But Mahatmaji wanted to make it appear to the world that it was I who was eager for his interview. Therefore, he expressed it in his letter which he wrote to me on the 11th December 1945. From the account of the interview it would also be clear how in many ways Mahatmaji persuaded me to rejoin the Congress and how I ruthlessly attacked him on his face. This fact was derogatory to the prestige of the Mahatma. Therefore he wanted to make it appear to the world that I begged before him and requested him to admit me in the Congress again. So he sent me a letter dated 23rd December 1945, enclosing with it a cutting from the *Hindu* of Madras dated 21st December 1945. Gandhiji's letter was as follows:

Sodepur Dated 23rd December
1945.

Dear Khare,

Thank you for your letter. (Along with this letter, I had enclosed for the perusal of Gandhiji the full scheme of the Government of India, for helping the unfortunate Indians in Malaya). I have read the whole of it. Let us see what happens. I am enclosing herewith a newspaper cutting. In my view, the news therein is quite wrong and untrue.

Yours
M. K. Gandhi.

Gandhiji also sent a similar letter to Mr. Kedar on the same date which was as follows :

Sodepure, 23rd December 1945.

Dear Kedar,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of a newspaper cutting for your perusal. I have sent the original to Dr. Khare. I am surprised at this news published in that paper. It is entirely wrong I wonder who has got this published. This has spoiled the whole thing. If Dr. Khare thinks that what was published in the newspaper is correct, there is no hope of any rapprochement. Please think over and reply. My address till the 20th January 1946 will be Sodepur. I will be on tour either in Bengal or Assam, but letters on Sodepur address will reach me positively.

After I wrote this letter I have got your letter also. Nobody has informed me that you took heavy fees in the Chimur-Ashti cases. I know it full well myself that you have not taken a single farthing as fees in these cases.

Blessings from Bapu

After I received Gandhiji's letter dated 23rd December 1945, at Delhi, I had gone to Nagpur for some business. At Nagpur Kedar also came to see me and showed me the letter dated the

23rd December 1945, received by him from Gandhi. Kedar said, he was amazed on account of receiving that letter because he said he was present through-out the interview and was fully aware of what happened in that interview. Yet, how did Mahatma Gandhi dare to write such a letter to him. It was most unfortunate for the country that a person of the status of the Mahatma should trample truth under his feet like that. I was determined not to involve myself any more in that question. You two were elephants politically. If I involved myself in that question, I would be crushed between you both. Saying this Kedar asked me to send reply to Gandhi's letter. After this I returned to Delhi and sent a reply to Gandhi as follows .

NEW DELHI

12-1-1946.

Mahatmaji,

I am in due receipt of your letter dated the 23rd December 1945. As I was on tour I could not reply you earlier, for which I beg to be excused.

I am awfully grateful for your reply which shows that you have read the whole of the Government statement on Malaya which was enclosed with my letter. I am specially grateful to you for sparing so much of your valuable time. As mentioned in the Government statement on Malaya, Pandit Kunzru and Kodand-rao have already left for Malaya. The Government medical mission consisting of eight doctors, dressers, compounders, medicines and equipment, is also soon going to be despatched to Malaya. Besides this, the Government of India will give full legal help at its own cost to the Indian accused in Malaya.

I have read the press cutting sent by you. I myself never wanted to give any news to the press about our interview at Calcutta. I left Calcutta on the 13th December 1945 and read on the 14th December while in the train the news of our interview held on the 12th. This news was broadcast by the United Press, although while at Calcutta, I never opened my lips to any press correspondent. When I reached Delhi the news of our interview had already appeared in the press, and the press Corres-

pondents began to press me for the correct and authentic news. I restrained myself for two days, but it became impossible to restrain myself any more and I told the A. P. I. that 'during my interview at Calcutta Mahatma Gandhi advised me to forget the past and rejoin the Congress. I am responsible only for this much and for nothing else and this is absolutely true. There is nothing wrong or untrue in this.

Yours,
(Sd.) N. B. Khare

(For sake of fun, I had signed in the Urdu alphabet).

Gandhi sent his reply to this letter from Sodepur on 16th of January 1946 to which again I replied on the 22nd January 1946. Both these letters are published in the fifth chapter of this book on Malaya (*Vide* page No. 7) They are not therefore being repeated here.

Gandhiji characterised the account of our interview published in the press as incorrect, untrue and perverted. But I emphatically informed in my reply to him that nothing that was published was incorrect, perverted or untrue. About this assertion of mine, Gandhiji has said in his letter in short as follows :—

“ I have understood what you wrote about the Congress. I do not want to write anything further about it.”

This was really a strategic retreat of Gandhi from this controversy and need not cause any surprise. Because Gandhiji from 1938 knew me and my obstinate and relentless nature. Besides, the interview was not only between two of us. Other three gentlemen, viz., Kedar, Bhayaji Udhoji and Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan were present at the interview. Therefore Gandhiji must have thought that if he involved himself in a controversy in that matter, he would get it into the neck. His retreat therefore was very wise as he was spared of this exposure during his life time.

From my very close contact with Gandhi during my episode in 1938, I realised that Gandhi was not a democrat but a dictator

believing in the personality cult. This caused great difference of opinion between him and me. This difference became wider and wider, as I observed Gandhiji's activities after his secret release from the Agakhan Palace jail in May 1944. His 18 days interview with Jinnah and after its failure, his support to the Bhulabhai-Liaquat Formula and the parity between the Congress and Muslim League exposed Gandhiji's policy of bending before the Muslim League which was an enemy of the country. I firmly held that in doing these things, Gandhi also betrayed the Congress and the country. I would never have accepted even Indra's throne in Heaven if it was to be obtained by humbling myself before such a man. What to say of the Prime Ministership of C. P. and Berar !

My friend and biographer Mr. J. R. Joshi was at that time not aware of all these developments which created revulsion in my mind against Gandhi. He therefore when he came to know from papers about this Gandhi-Khare interview, wrote to me with great good-will a letter dated the 21st December 1945, requesting me to rejoin the Congress. This letter of Joshi had received great publicity at that time throughout India. I will therefore close this chapter on Gandhi's temptation to me by quoting here the substance of Joshi's letter to me and the substance of my reply sent to him.

In his letter dated the 21st December 1945, my friend and biographer Mr. J. R. Joshi referred to the conversation which I had with him before going to take charge of my office in the Viceroy's Council. In this conversation, I had told him that my place was certainly in the Congress to fight for the country's independence. But since Gandhi had expelled me from the Congress, I regarded myself as a free agent to do anything not harmful to the country. Referring to this conversation Joshi requested me in his letter to rejoin the Congress because Gandhi himself invited me to do so, which was really a sign of repentance on the part of Gandhi. I sent a short reply to this letter of Joshi on the 15th January 1946, in which I thanked Mr. Joshi for his benevolent wishes but explained to him all the reasons why I did not propose to rejoin the Congress. I said, the Congress was hankering after the Viceroy's Council jobs. Apparently, they had forgotten the pledge of winning independence for which they went

to jail. Since the Congress itself was trying to get into my shoes, the question of my joining it did not arise. If at all at any time in the future, the Congress again started some fight for independence I would consider the question of rejoining it.

After this biography of mine was published about April 1950, it was reviewed in the press by many important papers. The pre-eminent newspaper, *Kesari* of Poona, while reviewing it expressed some doubt about the veracity of the Gandhi-Khare interview and the Bose-Khare interview published in that book. Mr. Kedar who had brought about this Gandhi-Khare interview and who was present throughout this interview, replied to this criticism of *Kesari* in a letter which was published by *Kesari*. His letter is as follows :

NAGPUR,
31st August 1950.

To,
The Editor ' *Kesari* ' ,

Dear Sir,

I read your long review published in the *Kesari* of 15th August 1950 on the biography of Dr. Khare, Second Part, written by J. R. Joshi. In that review, you have said that some critics expressed their doubts about the veracity of the Gandhi-Khare and Khare-Bose interviews published in that book.

This Gandhi-Khare interview is published in this book in the fourth chapter of the Second Part of Dr. Khare's biography. This interview was brought about entirely through my efforts. The idea of this interview occurred to both of us, i. e. Mahatmaji and myself, and when I interviewed him in Sewagram, it was decided between us during this interview in Sewagram that this interview was to be finally fixed after taking Dr. Khare's consent. Before this idea of Khare-Gandhi interview occurred to me, there was never any talk between Dr. Khare and myself about it. I used to go to Sewagram many a time and see the Mahatma. In one of these interviews, it was the Mahatma who expressed his desire to see Dr. Khare and to clear out certain misunderstandings.

Accordingly, I informed Dr. Khare about it, and this interview was finally fixed at Sodepur near Calcutta. I was quite unwilling to go to Sodepur because I had lot of case work then and I could not spare any time. But the Mahatma insisted on my being present at the interview. Therefore, I had to give up a very important case at Khandwa and go to Calcutta. I also requested Dr. Khare to go to Sodepur from Delhi. Accordingly, Dr. Khare went to Calcutta. Nobody should doubt the veracity of any correspondence which had been published in this book about this interview, because I was personally present at this interview throughout. Besides me, Mr. Udhoji and Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan were also present. Lot of discussion took place between Gandhi and Khare in the course of this long interview, and it appeared that the misunderstandings were removed. Gandhi did not impose any condition on Dr. Khare during the interview. It was almost agreed that both should forget the past and Dr. Khare should rejoin the Congress and take up his old position again. I remember Mahatma Gandhi said, that 'Your position was safe in the Congress'. But after some days, Mahatma laid a new condition altogether that Dr. Khare should tender a written apology. But nothing was said about it in the Sodepur interview. Therefore, that interview proved futile.

About other correspondence and other interviews published in the biography of Dr. Khare, I had no personal knowledge, but some information about these events had reached my ears on those occasions from which I could say that there was no mis-statement of facts about any correspondence or interview published in that book. Many things disclosed in the book would be painful to many people, but the biographer could not help it, *because biography meant history*. No biographer should be blindly devoted to his hero. Similarly, no critic should feel anything if unpleasant disclosures were made in the biography about some historical persons.

(Sd). T. J. KEDAR.

CHAPTER XIII

BACK TO THE PROFESSION

During the months of April and May 1946, the British Cabinet Mission was having interviews with leaders of Political Parties about the political future of India. I inaugurated the Spring Lecture Series in Poona on the 1st May of 1946, and during my speech I had described those interviews as churning of words. There is a story in the Hindu Mythology of the churning of the ocean by the Devas and the Asuras, and of the coming out of the fourteen jewels from the ocean as a result of that churning. Some of these jewels are Laxmi, Goddess of Wealth ; Kaustubha, a jewel, Nectar, Halahal or Deadly poison, Wine, Moon, and Dhanwantari or the Celestial Physician. In my speech, I compared this churning of words with the Cabinet Mission, to the churning of the ocean described in the Hindu Mythology and said, out of the jewels which would come out from this churning, some people would get the Goddess Laxmi, some people would get the jewel Kaustubha, the Hindoos would get the deadly poison, or Halahal, and myself would get the celestial physician which meant I would go back to my profession.

Accordingly, the Muslim League got Laxmi, because they got two big territories from Bharat which was really wealth. The Congress got Kaustubha, that is the power of ruling over the rest of India, the Hindoos got the deadly poison, because the great Calcutta killing as a result of the Direct Action resolution of the Muslim League was started in Calcutta on the 16th of August 1946, and it spread practically all over the country. Similarly, on the 3rd of July 1946, my resignation from the Viceroy's Council which I was compelled to give, was accepted and I began my medical practice again in Nagpur.

There is a reason for what I have said in the previous paragraph about being compelled to resign. When Lord Linlithgow appointed me on the Viceroy's Council, I was informed in writing that the period of my appointment would be normally five years, but I would have to relinquish my office, if any time before the expiry of five years, rapprochement between the Congress and the

Muslim League took place and they agreed to form a composite Viceroy's Council. While this churning of words mentioned before was going on sometime in May 1946, probably about the second week of that month, Viceroy Lord Wavell demanded resignations from all his Councillors, on the ground that rapprochement between the Congress and the Muslim League was about to take place. Accordingly all of us gave our resignations. But on the 23rd of June 1946, i. e. the day on which I left Delhi for Nagpur, the atmosphere about the rapprochement between the Congress and the Muslim League was not at all hopeful. I therefore wrote to the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, the following letter before entraining for Nagpur.

New Delhi, 23rd June 1946.

Dear Lord Wavell,

I am leaving Delhi for Nagpur today. Before leaving, I would have very much liked to pay my respects in person, bid good bye and express my gratitude for all your help and guidance. But I thought it unwise to disturb you while you were engaged in very delicate and protracted negotiations which might tire out the patience of any ordinary human being.

I gladly resigned my office in view of the reconstruction of the Executive Council as a result of a political settlement with the major political parties, because it was one of the terms offered and accepted by me when I was appointed. I was informed by Lord Linlithgow that the normal term of this office was five years. But I would be asked to demit office if a political settlement with the major political parties took place, any time before the expiry of the period of five years. In spite of adverse press reports this morning, I still hope and pray that the major political parties will accept the interim arrangement and go into the Executive Council. But if unfortunately that does not happen, I must respectfully submit that my resignation should be deemed to have been withdrawn.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,

Sd. N. B. Khare.

This letter of mine was received by the Viceroy by peon delivery on the same day. Still after reaching Nagpur on the 24th June, I received an urgent wire from the Viceroy dated the 26th June 1946, which is as follows:

Immediate Telegram No. 127 New Delhi, 26th June 1946

Honourable Dr. N. B. Khare,

Member Commonwealth Relations Department, Nagpur.

A statement has been put out indicating that a purely official executive Council will be set up as a caretaker Government to hold office for a short time until fresh negotiations with the principal parties are started. This Council will take office on July 4th. The time has therefore come for me regretfully to accept your resignation which I do with effect from the afternoon of Wednesday the 3rd July or such earlier date as you may wish. I am most grateful indeed to you for all the admirable work you have done on the Executive Council and for your assistance and support.

With all good wishes.

VICEROY

From the above correspondence, it would appear that my resignation which I had already withdrawn on the 23rd of June 1946, was accepted by the Viceroy on the 26th and after sending me this wire the Viceroy sends me a letter which is quoted below.

No. 592/59

Viceroy's House, New Delhi,
28th-29th June 1946.

Dear Dr. Khare,

Thank you for your letter of the 23rd June.

2. You will already have received my telegram accepting your resignation and I am sure, that you will appreciate that I could not now include you in the Executive Council which will be entirely official.

Yours sincerely,

Wavell

In the above letter, the Viceroy completely missed my point when he wrote to me that I could not now be appointed, or he misunderstood me. My intention in carrying out all this correspondence was not at all to seek or keep a job. *I only wanted to bring home to the British Government their lack of honesty and that object has been realised.*

The resignations of the old non-official members of the Viceroy's Council were accepted with effect from the 3rd July 1946 and the new Viceroy's Council consisting entirely of 8 or 9 I.C.S. officials was formed on the 4th of July 1946. The object of this move was obvious. The I.C.S. officials being Government servants and not wedded to any particular political views, would not create any difficulties in the way of achieving a compromise between the Congress and the Muslim League. In spite of this meticulous care taken by the Viceroy, his desire to effect a compromise between the Congress and the Muslim League was not fulfilled. After waiting for two months, the Viceroy allowed the Congress to form a Viceroy's Council consisting of some members of the Working Committee and some others agreeable to the Congress on the 2nd September 1946. But in this also Hindu Muslim parity was observed, the difference being that instead of the League Muslims, non-League Muslims were appointed, one of them being Sir Shafat Ahmed Khan. The Viceroy appointed Pandit Nehru as the Vice President of this new Council. Before his appointment as mentioned in a previous chapter, Nehru had been elected to the office of the President of the Congress. Sarat Chandra Bose who had rejoined the Congress was also appointed one of the members of this Council.

Although the Muslim League had started slaughter of the Hindoos in Calcutta on the 16th August 1946 in pursuance of its Direct Action Resolution, the Viceroy was still attracted towards the Muslim League and he began to persuade the Muslim League to join his Council. It was most unfortunate that even while the carnage of the Hindoos was going on, the Congress should also have joined the Viceroy in wooing the Muslim League.

On account of this double barrelled persuasion by the Viceroy and the Congress, the Muslim League at last decided to join the

Viceroy's Council. This happened on the 25th of October 1946. In order to include the Muslim League leaders like Liaquat Ali Khan and Raja Gaznafar Ali Khan in the Viceroy's Council, members like Sir Shafat Ahmed Khan and Sarat Chandra Bose were asked to quit. *Poor Sarat Chandra Bose, what a humiliation! He was taken in the Viceroy's Council in September and turned out in October!!* The treatment meted out to Sarat Chandra Bose reminded me of an occasion in the past when there was a very free talk between us. I am giving the particulars here because they are very relevant.

After a *rapprochement* between Sarat Chandra Bose and Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel, Sarat Chandra Bose had joined the Congress again. This might have happened sometime in December 1945. At that time the photo of Sarat Chandra Bose and Sardar Patel embracing each other had been published in the press. After this Sarat Chandra Bose and myself happened to meet each other, when Sarat Chandra Bose asked me to forget the past and to rejoin the Congress. He said, "Sardar Patel and myself have had a free and frank talk and all the mental cobwebs between us have been removed. Sardar Patel is a very good and a very capable man. You also therefore effect a *rapprochement* with him and rejoin the Congress to fight the Government." I was not a man to be carried away by such a talk. So I said to Sarat Bose, "You might have forgotten how Sardar Patel, giving a go-by to the Congress Creed of boycott of Courts, challenged the last will and testament of Vitthalbhai Patel in the Bombay High Court, according to which Vitthalbhai had bequeathed a sum of about Rs. one lakh to Subhash Chandra Bose. Sardar Patel succeeded and Subhash Bose could not get that money. I have not forgotten this incident. What a fall for a trifling sum! Besides this, I can never forget the bitter experience I have got of Sardar Patel during my episode. I have seen the photo of you both embracing each other. This reminded me of a great historical embrace in the past, that is, between Afzul Khan and Shivaji. It is only to be seen who is to become Afzul Khan and who is to become Shivaji among you two."

Sarat Chandra Bose did not like my suggested insinuation from the embrace between Sardar Patel and him. He said, "Dec-

tor, you are very obstinate." I replied, "Whatever you may say, I know Gandhi and the Congress High Command thoroughly well and my estimate about them generally proves correct. In support of this statement I would recall our conversation on the phone at Calcutta before the Tripuri Congress Session. At that time, I had been to Calcutta for some business and the day on which Mahatma Gandhi started his fast unto death to bring about a change of heart in the Prince of Rajkot, I phoned to you from my lodgings and expressed a desire to meet Subhash Chandra Bose. You informed me at that time on the phone that Subhash Bose was down with fever with an ice-bag on his head. He was not fully in his senses and doctors have countermanded any interviews with him. Being helpless, I requested you on the phone to convey this message to Subhash Chandra Bose when he regained his senses. It was as follows :—

" When Subhash Chandra Bose regained his senses, he should issue a statement to the press as follows :

' I am ill. Therefore I had requested Seth Govind Das, the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Tripuri Congress Session, to postpone the session for a few days till I got well, but he refused and I had resolved to attend the Tripuri Session in any state of health without caring for any consequences because I am only an insignificant creature. But it is different with Mahatma Gandhi. He is one and the only tribune of the people of India and his life is in jeopardy on account of his fast unto death. People of India therefore are not in a mental condition to give their consideration to any important topic from all aspects. Therefore I as a President-Elect of Tripuri Congress declare that I postpone that Session *Sine die* till the Mahatma breaks his fast.'

' When you asked me about the reason for advising Subhash to issue such a statement I told you that Mahatma Gandhi's fast unto death undertaken when the Tripuri Session was imminent, is only to eclipse Tripuri and draw all the attention of all the people to Rajkot. Mahatma expects that by this manoeuvre Subhash Bose will be ignored by the people and will be buried. If Subhash Bose issues a statement as advised by

me, it will result in burying the Mahatma in the same ditch which he is digging for Subhash.'

"Then you asked me the reasons and proofs for my thinking this way, I replied, 'You are a barrister. You will therefore ask for proofs for all things. But everything in the world cannot be proved by supplying adequate proofs. We have to infer and imagine many things. For example, we regard one individual as a son of another individual and we behave with him and treat him as such. But we have no proof of this fact. Gandhiji's fast is just like this'. When I said this, you became very angry and said, 'I do not accept what you say and I will never convey this message of yours to Subhash.' So saying you forcibly put the receiver of the phone down on the stand. After all, what happened in the end? My estimate came out true and Subhash Chandra Bose was soon expelled from the Congress after the Tripuri Session."

In short, I could not accept the advice of Sarat Chandra Bose because of my many further experiences in the past and I did not join the Congress. The future of course proved Sarat Chandra Bose to be the Afzal Khan of my comparison because he was soon turned out from the Viceroy's Council. (It may be disclosed here that as soon as I returned to Nagpur from Calcutta, I wrote to Gandhi a strong letter making grave accusations against him. Mahatma did not send me any reply. But he published a statement in the *Free Press Journal* dated the 18th May 1939 in which he admitted that his Rajkot fast was improper and that there was an element of coercion and *himsa* in it and that he also harboured ill feelings against certain political workers.)

In the great Calcutta killing which began on 16th of August 1946, many Bihari Hindoos were also killed. This had a reaction naturally in Bihar and the Bihari Hindoos took their revenge on the Bihari Musalmans during the communal riots in Bihar. This made Pandit Nehru, the Vice President of the Viceroy's Council very uneasy and he went to Bihar and threatened to bomb the Hindoos there. The Bihar slaughter of Musalmans had its reaction on East Bengal Muslims and they decimated the Hindoos in Noakhali. But Pandit Nehru had no courage to go to Noakhali and threaten to bomb the Musalmans there. The Muslim League joined

the Viceroy's Council under these conditions and they were not required even to take back their direct action resolution, and the Muslim Leaguers took full advantage of their position of authority in the Viceroy's Council. This will be proved by the example of Raja Gaznafar Ali Khan, a member of the Viceroy's Council in charge of the Department of Health and a colleague of Pandit Nehru. His epithet 'Raja' suggests his high Rajput descent. While this Raja Gaznafar Ali Khan was a member of the Viceroy's Council, he did a most improper thing. In the month of November 1946, when communal riots were going on in many parts of the country, he issued a statement through the Associated Press of India exhorting all the Hindoos to accept Islam peacefully, failing which he reminded the Hindoos of the historical atrocities perpetrated by Chengiz Khan, Halaku Khan and others.

When I read the statement of Raja Gaznafar Ali Khan in the papers, I was amazed by the impropriety and the impudence of it. I thought that, that statement would receive a forth-right reply from his colleagues like Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel and I waited for such a reply but I was disappointed because no reply was published in the papers by these august colleagues of Raja Gaznafar Ali Khan. *Their impotence irritated me.*

I had already started my medical practice and I thought of giving a political injection to cure the religious jaundice of Raja Gaznafar Ali Khan and I drafted a statement in reply to his statement. It was as follows :

"Raja Gaznafar Ali Khan, Member in charge of the Department of Health, Government of India, has recently issued a statement to the press and exhorted all the Hindcos to accept Islam peacefully, failing which he has reminded the Hindoos of the historical atrocities perpetrated by Chengiz Khan and Halaku Khan (not in India). In issuing this statement Raja Gaznafar Ali Khan has abused his high authority which is most improper. None of his Hindoo colleagues in the Viceroy's Council has taken any notice of this impudent and improper statement of Raja Gaznafar Ali Khan and given any reply to it.

It is therefore, that I am issuing this reply to that statement of the Raja. May the occasion of peacefully changing one's religion never arise in India. But unfortunately, if such an occasion arises, Gaznafar Ali Khan should remember that it would be easier for the 75 per cent Hindoos in India to convert peacefully the 25 percent Musalmans than for the 25 percent Musalmans of India to convert the 75 percent Hindoos. Gaznafar Ali Khan also should remember that the Hindoos have produced General Harisingh Nalwa, the General of Ranjit Singh's army who conquered Kabul and Raghobadada Peshwe, who planted the Hindoo flag beyond Attock."

I went to the office of the Associated Press of India, Nagpur and myself presented a copy of this statement to Mr. Hastak, and requested him to publicise it. Hastak cursorily glanced at it and point-blanc refused to publicise it. I told him that since the Associated Press of India had published the statement of Gaznafar Ali Khan it was his duty to publish my reply to it. On this Hastak curtly told me that he had no desire to argue and that his refusal was final. So saying, he threw the copy of the statement towards me. I never expected such a behaviour from Hastak, because his father was a great friend of mine and our relations had been very good. *I therefore concluded that Hastak had been so impudent towards me only on account of the fear of the Congress Government.*

I reported this incident to Sir Ushanath Sen, the Chief of the Associated Press in Delhi and asked him whether the Associated Press of India was a news agency or a views agency and said that if it was a views agency, I had nothing more to say, but if it was a news agency, it was his duty to publish my reply to the statement of Gaznafar Ali Khan which had been broadcast by the A.P.I. I made it clear that I did not beg for any favour but I demanded justice. Ushanath Sen immediately sent me a reply to this letter and informed that my statement in reply to Gaznafar Ali Khan's statement would certainly be published. After receipt of this reply from Ushanath Sen, I waited for 3 or 4 days, but did not see any move from the A. P. I. in this matter. Therefore, I made the same complaint in writing to Mr. John Turner of Bombay who was the chief of the Reuter Agency and consequently also

of the A. P. I. because A. P. I. at that time was practically a branch of the Reuter. *This letter to John Turner had the desired effect and my statement in reply to Gaznafar Ali Khan was published through the Nagpur Branch of the Associated Press of India. I have given this account in detail here to show to the Hindoos that weakness and impotence was harmful and should be given up. If the Hindoos do not give up this impotence of theirs, there is no future for the country.*

I have mentioned before that when the Hindoos were being decimated at Noakhali, Nehru did not go there. But Gandhi announced his intention to go to Noakhali. But the action was delayed for a long time. At long last, Gandhiji went to Noakhali. But when! After the Hindoos were almost completely wiped off and sepulchral silence was spread over Noakhali, and that too after taking the daughter of Suhrawardi, the Chief Minister of Bengal as a companion, to ensure automatic police protection. Gandhi regarded Suhrawardi as his son and used to call him Shahid Suhrawardi. In the regime of this selfsame Suhrawardi, the terrible rice famine of Bengal had occurred killing lakhs of souls; and the carnage of Calcutta and Noakhali also took place in his regime. I was disgusted with this conduct of Gandhi and decided to give him some medicine also, in the form of an article and sent it to him. The name of this article was 'Incarnation of Aurangzeb.' It was published in November 1946 in some Hindi, Marathi and English newspapers. It was read in the house of Dr. M.R. Jayakar in Bombay from the Marathi Weekly *Vividhvriddha*, and was highly talked of there. This was disclosed to me in January 1947 when I was going to Poona on some business, and accidentally met in the train Mr. C. C. Desai, I. C. S., sometime High Commissioner of India in Pakistan. He told me this as he was a neighbour of Dr. Jayakar in Bombay. I am purposely giving this article here as it is of some importance.

Incarnation of Aurangzeb :

"All people do not believe in the doctrine of re-incarnation of the soul. But those who believe in it, believe also that the soul gets a new birth according to its actions, or the soul takes a rebirth to fulfil the unfulfilled desires and wants in the previous life. Some

people also believe that these unfulfilled desires in the previous life, compel the soul to take rebirth in circumstances congenial to get these unfulfilled desires fulfilled. A comparison of the life and work of Aurangzeb as described in history, with the life and activities of Gandhiji, happening before our very eyes will be both illuminating and instructive, to those who have faith in this doctrine of re-incarnation.

It is a historical truth that Aurangzeb was the greatest hater and enemy of the Hindoos. He did not let go any single opportunity of attacking and destroying Hindoo interests. While ruling over his subjects, he was always partial to the Muslims and unjust and unfair to the Hindoos. As this oppression carried on by Aurangzeb became unbearable, the Maratha Hindoos began to fight against his empire. As a result, they established an independent Hindoo Kingdom in the Deccan. After the death of Shivaji, Aurangzeb tried his level best to destroy this independent Maratha kingdom in the Deccan, root and branch. For this purpose, he led a campaign in the Deccan where he spent the last 20 years of his life. But Aurangzeb could not succeed against the unity, intelligence, courage, perseverance, valour and guerilla war-fare practiced by the Marathas. He died as a defeated, unsuccessful and chagrined soul in the Deccan leaving unfulfilled his desire to destroy the Hindoos. Aurangzeb was the head of the then biggest empire in the world, and commanded all prestige and power and yet he failed to achieve success, and his soul left his body, with these desires unfulfilled.

The soul of Aurangzeb after leaving his mortal coil, must have ruminated over the reasons of his glaring failure and must have arrived at the conclusion that he failed because he was a Muslim, on account of which all the Maratha Hindoos united in the struggle against him, and showed incomparable valour and he was defeated. He must have thought therefore that to achieve success, it would be necessary to take rebirth as a Hindoo, so that his exterior would be a good cover to conceal his inveterate inner hatred of the Hindoos.

It is not very difficult to imagine that this Hindoo body adopted by the soul of Aurangzeb may have been the body of

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi ; because during the last 25 years in taking every step from Khilafat to parity and Pakistan, Gandhi has caused tremendous harm to the Hindoo interests and his advice of absolute non-violence has been terribly destructive of the Hindoos alone. Of all the Hindoos, Aurangzeb hated the Marathas most. Gandhi also intensely dislikes the Marathas, and *he has called Shivaji a misguided patriot*. Everyone in the Congress circles also knows this. In this matter, there is great similarity between Gandhi and Aurangzeb.

Aurangzeb was cruel, so is Gandhi. That is why he is now going to East Bengal perhaps only to extinguish any feeble flame of resistance which might have been kindled in the minds of the remaining Hindoos.

Aurangzeb ruled in the name of Islam. Gandhi also rules over the Congress in the name of truth and non-violence. Aurangzeb's living was simple and religious. Gandhi also lives the same way. Aurangzeb used to prepare caps and sell them for his livelihood. Gandhi plies the Charkha. Aurangzeb ruthlessly destroyed his brothers and sons who stood between him and the throne, and Gandhi also non-violently destroyed Nariman, Khare and Bose who challenged his authority. Aurangzeb ordered prisoner Sambhaji to accept Islam. On refusal, he was cut into pieces. Gandhi also asked Khare to sign his death-warrant and on his refusal, non-violently buried him and declared that Khare was not even fit to remain as a camp-follower in the Congress.

I think, this much comparison would be enough to show that Gandhi is an incarnation of Aurangzeb. It would be worthwhile quoting here what some British historians have said about Aurangzeb.

“Selfish, cruel, exceedingly well versed in the art of dissembling; he allowed no generous impulse to thwart his ambition, no mercy to temper his will, no compunction to interfere with the execution of his plans. He was ascetic by nature and hypocrite by policy. Under the humble garb of a Faquir, he concealed his pride and cruelty of an ambitious and pitiless tyrant and while a hermitage was the professed object

of his desire, a throne was the real aim of his life." (From *Vividh-vritta*).

I leave it to the reader to judge how far this quotation applies to Gandhi.

While my programme of medical practice plus intermittent political injections was going on, the year 1947 began and a tenant residing in my blocks in my compound, one day just casually told me that I was not destined to continue my medical practice for long, and that it was again in my destiny to enjoy a political office of high authority. The name of this tenant is Krishnamurty. He is a Tamil Brahmin graduate practising the profession of astrology for a living. He had once before also made a prediction about me. In the year 1942, I was suffering from anaemia and heart trouble and bed-ridden. At that time, my life was despaired of and my relatives in distant places had seen me and gone back. My eldest son, Major Vidyadhar Khare, I. M. S., was at that time in war service in Cyprus, and could not get any leave. I was therefore much disheartened. In such circumstances this Krishnamurty had predicted in writing that I would not only recover, but would be appointed to high political office in the Government of India between the months of April and June 1943. Hearing this prediction of Krishnamurty, naturally as a sceptic I ridiculed him. But by some uncanny chance his prediction proved correct and I was invited by the Viceroy to accept the job in his Council in the month of April 1943 and I took charge of that office in the first week of May 1943.

In spite of this previous experience, when Krishnamurty made this new prediction early in 1947, I ridiculed him. I said, now when the Congress was ruling in the country, there was not even a ghost of a chance of my being appointed anywhere in a high office. I asked him why he indulged in that prediction, knowing full well my hostile relations with the Congress. He replied that he did not understand politics. He had only predicted what came in his vision. After this incident, I received a letter from the Private Secretary to Maharaja of Alwar in the third or fourth week of January 1947. In that letter, I was informed that the Maharaja of Alwar desired to appoint me as the Prime Minister and if I was

prepared to consider the proposal, I should inform him by wire, so that an officer could be sent to me at Nagpur to discuss and decide the terms of the appointment. There was never any contact between myself and the Maharaja of Alwar before this. We had not even seen each other by sight, and the old reputation of the Alwar State was not very good. Therefore, just for the sake of fun I replied by wire to the Private Secretary of the Maharaja of Alwar that I was prepared to consider the proposal. Three or four days after this, Pandit Harihar Swarup Sharma (brother of Pandit Maulichandra Sharma, ex-president of the Jana Sangh) arrived at Nagpur. We both met and agreed on terms of the appointment. He went away after telling me that I would very soon receive the formal order from the Maharaja, appointing me as Prime Minister of the Alwar State. This must have happened about the first week of February 1947.

Naturally, after this, I waited for the order of the Maharaja. But week after week passed and there was no order. Krishnamurthy, being my tenant came to me occasionally for a chat. On one such occasion, I began to pull his leg by telling him that his prediction was bound to be falsified. He replied, "somebody is trying to oppose your appointment at Alwar and that is causing delay. But ultimately this opponent of yours would fail in his efforts and your appointment there would be surely made." Even a fortnight after this no information was received from Alwar, but it appeared that Krishnamurthy pursued me and told me sometime in the first week of April 1947, that I could not remain in Nagpur after the 17th April 1947, and that I would have to leave Nagpur after that date. Within three or four days of that conversation, I received a wire from the Maharaja of Alwar asking me to take charge as Prime Minister on the 18th April and surprisingly enough, I left Nagpur by plane for Delhi enroute to Alwar, on the morning of the 18th April 1947 and reached Alwar the same evening and took charge of the office of Prime Minister of Alwar on the forenoon of the 19th April 1947.

Krishnamurthy's statement that somebody was opposing my appointment in Alwar was corroborated in the month of June, when I visited Delhi on some business. A journalist named Kulkarni was at that time staying in the Hindoo Sabha Bhawan,

Delhi. He was very friendly towards me, as he was the private tutor of my children when I was staying in Delhi as a member of the Viceroy's Council. This Kulkarni told me that Sardar Patel was against my appointment at Alwar, and he was making efforts that I should not be appointed. He got this news at Gwalior. In the middle of April 1947 a session of the All India States Peoples' Conference was held at Gwalior under the presidentship Pandit Nehru. This Mr. Kulkarni attended that session and naturally met top-ranking Maharashtriya Congressmen. They were talking amongst themselves. One of them was a Bhoodani and the other was a member of the Constituent Assembly. They said it was thickly rumoured that Dr. Khare was going to be appointed as the Diwan of Alwar but it would never happen as our Sardar Patel was a member of the Government of India. Unfortunately for them the news of my having taken over charge of the Diwanship of Alwar State was publicised the next day, when these very persons exclaimed, "Oh, this fellow, Dr. Khare, has after all joined the Alwar State as Prime Minister ! It appears our Sardar's efforts did not succeed. Now this fellow will join the Constituent Assembly on behalf of the Alwar State and sit there with bloated chest. His luck seems to be wonderful. He rises even if he is buried fathoms deep."

The information given to me by Kulkarni surprisingly proved the correctness of Krishnamurty's prediction even in this matter. I have given this account of astrological prediction which proved correct in some detail. No one should infer from this, that I am a believer in Astrology. I hold that it is a folly to chalk out one's programme in life on the advice of an Astrologer. Many a time, predictions are falsified. Even this very astrologer Krishnamurty had told me that I would be defeated in the Gwalior by-election. But his prediction proved incorrect and I was successful in that by-election. Therefore the philosophy which says that man's efforts are the maker of his destiny, is correct. My foregoing experiences about astrology were uninvited in the sense that I had not consulted the astrologer. I have one more startling experience of a prediction proved true, and I shall describe it further on at the appropriate occasion.

CHAPTER XIV

PRIME MINISTER OF ALWAR STATE

I took charge of the office of the Prime Minister of the Alwar State in Rajputana on the 19th of April 1947. I accepted this job in a mental condition of great hesitancy and I did not feel at all happy about it. At that time terrible communal riots were going on in the Gurgaon district of the Punjab which is contiguous to the Alwar State, where also the riots broke out occasionally. Firing had to be resorted to in the Alwar State to quell such riots towards the end of March 1947, and about the second or third April in a meeting of the Chamber of Princes held in Bombay, the Maharaja of Alwar had given expression to his opinion that the Indian Princes should not join the Indian Union. When I read the report of this speech in the newspapers, my mind began to vacillate because in accepting this appointment at Alwar, my ambition was to join the Constituent Assembly of India as a member from the Alwar State to which one seat was allotted. But the reported speech of the Maharaja of Alwar made the realisation of my ambition difficult if not impossible. Moreover, the atmosphere in Alwar was also surcharged with communal bitterness with occasional riots and I asked myself if I should go to Alwar and deliberately involve myself in those difficulties. But after all the temptation of being a member of the Constituent Assembly proved strong and I decided to accept this appointment, but I resolved in my mind that I would continue in Alwar only if I could join the Constituent Assembly otherwise I would resign and go back to Nagpur. Another object of my going to Alwar was that I wanted to try and confer responsible Government on the people of Alwar.

When I joined Alwar, Major General Abdul Rahman (The present Deputy High Commissioner of Pakistan at Jullundar) a Muslim Jagirdar of the state was officiating there as the Prime Minister. He was in charge of the Army Department also. This would show to what extent the Muslims had an upper hand in Alwar. I did not like this. But fortunately the day on which I took charge of the office of the Prime Minister, the Maharaja of Alwar relieved Major General Abdul Rahman of the charge of the Army Department and took it under his own charge, because

obviously it was improper in the days of communal riots to have a Muslim as the head of the Army Department.

When I reconnoitered the situation in Alwar, I inferred that it was very difficult for Alwar to join the Indian Union because Major General Abdul Rahman who was an old and trusted Minister of the Alwar State, had great influence on the Maharaja and also this Major General Abdul Rahman and Raja Gaznafar Ali Khan, a Muslim League member of the Government of India, were great friends. This Raja Gaznafar Ali Khan also enjoyed the office of the Revenue Minister of Alwar state in the past. Some time before I took charge at Alwar, this Raja Gaznafar Ali Khan had visited the Alwar State as a member of the Government of India and enjoyed the hospitality of the Maharaja and returned to Delhi. At this very time, the Feuhrer of the Muslim League, Mohammed Ali Jinnah had cunningly declared that the Muslim League would not interfere with the Indian States which would remain completely independent without any let or hindrance from the Muslim League.

Taking advantage of all these things the Muslim League was carrying on persistent propaganda in the Rajasthan States, that they should join Pakistan and not the Indian Union. Besides this, the Nawab of Bhopal who was the President of the Chamber of Princes was also secretly carrying on propaganda in favour of the Muslim League in the Chamber of Princes. In fact, the Chamber of Princes was really a great forum of Muslim League politics in the regime of the Nawab of Bhopal. Many Hindoo princes were also helping the Nawab of Bhopal in this propaganda and the Maharaja of Alwar was very prominent in this group. This fact became evident from the speech which he made in Bombay mentioned before. The result was that on the one side the Muslim League propaganda was being carried on in the Alwar State, and on the other side the Rajput Sardars, Noblemen and Jagirdars were carrying on propaganda in the Alwar State that it should neither join Pakistan nor Bharat, but should remain independent; particularly people with special interests strongly desired that whatever happened, Alwar should never join the Indian Union, because they were afraid that all their special interests will be sabotaged by the Congress supremacy in the Indian Union,

On account of these things, I had practically to give up all hope of Alwar State ever joining the Indian Union.

Under these circumstances, on the 3rd June 1947, the British announced the establishment of Pakistan and the division of the Punjab and Bengal. This created some hope in my mind, of Alwar State joining the Indian Union and I gave up the idea of resigning the Prime Ministership of Alwar because by this latest announcement of the British Government, East Punjab was to be made a territory of the Indian union. Had the whole of the Punjab gone to Pakistan, Alwar State would have surely aligned itself with it. But since, Punjab was divided into east and west, and the Gurgaon district which is contiguous to the State remained in East Punjab, the question of Alwar State joining with Pakistan receded into the background and the possibility of Alwar State joining the Indian Union increased. I therefore decided to make concerted efforts to join the Alwar State with the Indian Union. I said to the Maharaja, "On account of the partition of the Punjab, the question of Alwar State joining Pakistan does not arise and a small State like Alwar cannot remain independent because it can be stifled from all sides." But this did not create much impression upon Maharaja's mind. Pandit Nehru in his speech at Gwalior on the 16th and 17th April 1947 had made some derogatory and bitter references to the Indian princes. The Maharaja alluded to these references, and said, "Why should we co-operate with those who are bent upon destroying us here and now. We have great fear from these Congress leaders. On the contrary, the leaders of the Muslim League have declared that the Indian Princes can remain completely independent and the League will not interfere in their administration." Further on, rather jocularly, the Maharaja said, "this is entirely a political question having no concern with religion. We are staunch Hindoos. How will our *Hindootwa* be damaged by our joining Pakistan?" Moreover, we Rajputs have given our daughters in marriage to the Moghuls." With some passion I replied, "Maharajasaheb, please excuse my straight talk. Although the Rajputs had given their daughters in marriage to the Moghuls, it was not a matter to be proud of, but it was a matter of shame. What does the thousand years' history of Musalmans point out?

That they used silvery tongue but in the end caused complete destruction !”

On this, the Maharaja said, “All that you say is true, but it is evident from Pandit Nehru’s speech in Gwalior that the Congress leaders are bent upon destroying us here and now. What have you got to say to this?” I replied, “Maharajasaheb, I am a more bitter opponent of the Congress policy than yourself, and also hold the view strongly that by consenting to the partition of the country the Congress has committed treachery and treason against the country. Still I equally strongly hold that under the circumstances obtaining in the country, the three-fourths part of India which now belongs to the majority community should not be further partitioned. It is now quite necessary to integrate and strengthen it. In my opinion, therefore, all the Hindoo Princes should now immediately join the Indian Union and make it strong as Pakistan is an enemy of the Indian Union”. After this lecture of mine, the Maharaja said, “We shall consider this question later on, but before doing that, you go to Delhi, see Sardar Patel and discuss with him the treaties entered into by the Alwar State and persuade him to keep these treaties intact.”

According to the Treaty of the Alwar State with the East India Company, the Alwar State was recognised as an equal. Of all the States in India Alwar was the first to make such a treaty of equality with the East India Company. It also promised to help the Company in its war-fare. As a result, the East India Company and Alwar State jointly defeated the Scindia of Gwalior. In those times of strife and trouble, the Alwar state had conferred a big Jagir on a Muslim potentate for the assistance rendered by him in warfare, and made him its vassal. This Vassal State of Alwar was no other than the State of Loharu near Delhi ruled by a Nawab. It was agreed by a treaty between these two States that, if ever the Loharu State denied the overlordship of Alwar, the Alwar State had the right to annex that State. Latterly, Loharu State had ceased to regard Alwar as an overlord. Therefore the Maharaja asked me to study all these treaties, make photocopies of them and give them to Sardar Patel and request him either to compel the Loharu State to accept the overlordship of

Alwar State, or allow the Alwar State to annex the Loharu State as a consequence of breach of treaty.

After this, I took all these historical papers with me and saw Sardar Patel at Delhi on the 28th of June 1947. I handed over the photo copies and papers to Sardar Patel and explained to him the whole situation between Alwar and Loharu States and conveyed to him the request of the Maharaja of Alwar. On hearing me Sardar Patel laughed a little and said, "I will enquire into the whole matter and give a proper decision. You can tell this to the Maharaja"; and added in a low voice, "Dr. Khare, if a Muslim estate rightfully goes to a Hindoo, am I going to feel sorry about it?"

After this conversation on business, Sardar Patel asked me how I was appointed at Alwar. I told him straightaway, 'Sardar Saheb, when I myself don't know it, how can I tell you? You know what sort of a man I am. You know that I will never flatter anybody. I therefore think that my reputation alone must have secured for me the appointment at Alwar. Before this, the Maharaja of Alwar and myself had never seen or met each other. I got a letter from him first. Then followed a man. Terms were agreed upon and I went to Alwar. Just as the job in the Viceroy's Council was offered to me without any efforts on my part, and without any genu-flexion anywhere, similarly, this appointment at Alwar also sought after me. Just as I accepted the job on the Viceroy's Council only with the intention of serving my country to the best of my ability, similarly, I accepted the job in Alwar with the same intention. *Sardar Saheb, in my view, you should never have accepted the partition of the country.* But that has now happened and cannot be helped. I now desire that the three fourths of the country which is now in our hands should be administered with justice, and strengthened and integrated against the attack of any possible enemy. *I therefore think that all the Indian Princes should join the Indian Union.* Accordingly, I began to make efforts in this behalf. The situation in the Alwar State was very much against any alignment with the Indian Union, yet I think I was almost on the point of succeeding. But Nehru's recent speech made at Gwalior came in my way. On account of that speech, Maharaja of Alwar has become very suspicious.

Therefore the Maharaja has sent me to seek explanation and clarification about Nehru's speech and to interest you in the historical treaties entered into by the Alwar State."

On this Sardar Patel said, "Doctor, you know Nehru very well. Tell the Maharaja not to be anxious at all about Nehru's speech. It has been decided that in the beginning of this session of the Constituent Assembly, Pandit Nehru will make another pronouncement and rectify his mistake. I am sure, this statement of Pandit Nehru will be quite satisfactory to the Princes and I have already told you my reaction about the Loharu State. Therefore, you should continue your efforts to join the Alwar State with the Indian Union. Don't be disappointed." (I cannot say whether what Sardar Patel said about the Loharu State was sincere or a mere bluff. He might have thought that when all the States were to be abolished in the end, where was the harm in offering a wordy consolation to the Maharaja of Alwar.)

I replied, "I will continue my efforts. Because I have decided that if the Alwar State does not decide to join the Indian Union by the 1st of July 1947, I will resign and go back to Nagpur." Hearing this determination of mine, Sardar Patel said, "What? Have you really decided to resign?" I immediately replied, "Yes, my decision is unalterable." After this Sardar Patel said, "Doctor, I will render you all necessary help in this matter. Even if you are in need of any help in any other matter, you can certainly come to me any time and I promise that I will do my best." I said, "Sardar Sahab, you are speaking with me. Do not say formal things. I will certainly test you if occasion demands."

After this interview with Sardar Patel, I returned to Alwar and gave a full account to the Maharaja of my interview with Sardar Patel; and I tried to persuade him to join the Indian Union. After this, a meeting of the Alwar Ministry was held on the 1st of July 1947 (Maharaja never attended the meetings of his Cabinet, but he was particularly requested to attend this meeting).

In this meeting, all the points discussed in my interview with Sardar Patel were considered by the Cabinet and it was

decided that Alwar State should join the Indian Union and the Government of India was informed both by a letter and a telegram on the 1st of July 1947 of the Alwar State having joined the Indian Constituent Assembly.

I have already mentioned before that the Muslim League was carrying on strenuous propaganda in the Alwar State in favour of joining Pakistan. Therefore this announcement by the Alwar State irritated the Muslims and Meos (A community of Muslims) of Alwar State. They intensified their propaganda in favour of Pakistan by holding meetings and processions and demonstrations. This propaganda of the Muslims and Meos of Alwar was obviously a rebellion against the State and the Maharaja. The Alwar State Cabinet considered the situation again and recorded a resolution that this propaganda of the Muslims was nothing but a rebellion against the State and the Maharaja and that it should be dealt with as a rebellion. This resolution of the Cabinet was also signed by the Muslim Minister, Major General Abdul Rahman. The Communist leader in the Congress, Dr. Asharf (He was a Meo and was helped in his education by the Alwar State), also incited the Meos to establish an independent Meostan and align it with Pakistan. The Muslim Leaguers of Alwar State also did the same thing. The National Guards of the Muslim League used to visit Alwar State at night in Jeeps and carry on virulent propaganda against the State. *The result of this propaganda was that the Muslim military officers and police officers and also the Muslim policemen and sepoy's openly joined the rebels. Some Muslim Magistrates also led the rebels. One of them shot himself and committed suicide as his crime was exposed.* The Muslims formed unlawful assemblies and desecrated and looted Hindoo temples and Hindoo houses. Subsequently, the Hindoos also formed such unlawful assemblies as a counterblast and looted Muslim houses and destroyed mosques.

The Alwar State signed an instrument of accession on the 5th of August 1947 and announced to have joined the Indian Union in three subjects, viz., defence, foreign affairs and communications. This announcement irritated the Alwar Muslims still further; as a result they looted the town of Tijara, a rich mercantile

town in the Alwar State on the 7th of August 1947 and slaughtered the Hindoos (This was a Muslim majority area). The Muslim rebels had established their camp at Hasanpur near this town of Tijara in the house of a Muslim Jagirdar. The Alwar State forces surrounded this place and recovered looted property. In the action that followed a large number of Muslim rebels were killed. Those who remained alive fled and took shelter in the caves of a small hillock called Kalapahad. From there also they used to raid Hindoo villages from time to time. In the end, these rebel Muslims of Alwar State took shelter in the Gurgaon district of East Punjab. Some even went to Delhi and complained to Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Azad or Pandit Nehru against the Alwar State. Some of them went as far as Karachi and sought help from Mohammed Ali Jinnah. While departing, they threatened that just as 15 years ago they had got deposed the then Maharaja of Alwar by name Jaisingh, they would get the present Maharaja (Tejsingh) also deposed.

These complaints of the Musalmans had their effect, which became evident to me one day by my accidentally meeting Maulana Azad in the lobby of the Constituent Assembly. Both of us being smokers, came out to smoke a cigarette and the following conversation ensued between us :

Maulana Azad : (Sighing as if in great grief). Good day Doctor saheb. You have played havoc in Alwar.

Myself : Good day, Maulanasaheb. What are you referring to? I do not know what havoc I have played in Alwar.

Maulana Azad : Why do you try to hide what you have done by dissembling? You have turned out the Musalmans from the Alwar State. Well, let it go for the moment. But what fault had the mosques committed? Why did you get them destroyed?

Myself : Maulana Saheb, you are under a wrong impression. I have done nothing.

Maulana Azad : Why do you deny? Our C. I. D. has given us all the information, so much so that we know the contractors engaged for uprooting the mosques and the rates sanctioned for this work by your Government.

Mu elf: Maulana Saheb, when you have got all this detailed information, why do you ask me at all? Maulana Saheb, it is good that you have enquired about the mosques. But has your C. I. D. given you any information about the fate of some temples in Alwar?

Maulana Azad: What about the temples? What can happen to them?

Myself: Maulana Saheb, you are talking as if temples do not matter at all. A temple is also a house of God. I think, your C. I. D. looks at things with only one eye. They have not given you any information about the temples; now therefore I will tell you what has happened to the temples. One Jain temple was looted by the Musalmans. In a Hindoo temple, a cow was killed and the image was sprinkled with its blood and the priest was murdered. In another temple, the image was broken into pieces which are at present on my table serving as paper weights.

Maulana Azad: Is it so? I am very sorry.

Myself: Whether it is a mosque or whether it is a temple, in both the places God is worshipped, and God is one.

Maulana Azad: No Doctor, God also has become two now.

Myself: When Maulana Saheb? I am not aware of it, and if what you say is a fact, then the worshippers of the God who lives in temples have destroyed the houses of the God who lives in mosques.

Maulana Azad: By such funny talk, you cannot avoid answering my straight question. Alwar State has got the mosques destroyed by giving contracts to some contractors. What have you got to say to this?

Myself: Maulana Saheb, it is a fact that the Alwar Government has given some contracts but they are not to destroy the mosques but only to remove the debris and clear the road when the mosques have been destroyed by the crowds.

About this time, I also met once, in the lobby, Mr. Gopalswamy Iyenger who was then a Central Minister. He also questioned

me and asked me to take back Musalmans driven away by the Alwar State and to rehabilitate them.

To this query I replied, "I have never turned out anybody from the Alwar State. Some Musalmans have migrated to Pakistan. Some took part in the rebellion against the Alwar State. Therefore they are fleeing from the law. After determining never to return to Alwar, some have set fire to their own houses.. Am I to run after them and request them to come back ? It is impossible." On this Gopalaswamy Iyenger said, " We shall send back the Alwar Musalmans to Alwar State by force."

I replied, "It does not matter. You can do so. But once they enter the Alwar State, they will be tried as rebels and shot.

Sardar Patel also sent three Musalmans, Viz., Choudhari Yunus Khan, Advocate; Choudhari Mehtab Khan, M. L. A. and Choudhari Nathekhan, District Board Member, to Alwar accompanied by a Hindoo Congressman from Gurgaon with a letter addressed to me. The letter is as follows :

New Delhi,
7th August 1947.

My dear Dr. Khare,

The bearer of this letter is a worker from Gurgaon who says that about a lakh of Meos who had left Alwar State and Bharatpur are now residing in Gurgaon and wish to return to the State under such conditions as you might lay down. They are in a penitent mood and are prepared to accept any reasonable conditions which you might impose on their return. I feel that the matter should be settled because they are definitely a liability in Gurgaon and if continued in this present position, they might get more desperate instead of being cowed down as they are at present.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel.

When I received this Sardar's letter from these three Muslim leaders, I said, "I have no objection to act according to the suggestions made in this letter. But it is for you to see whether the leaders of the Alwar Musalmans are willing to have a compromise and carry it out." Next morning I made all arrangements for the protection of these Muslim leaders from Gurgaon, and sent them to meet the leaders of the Alwar Muslims, but no leader of the Alwar Muslims came to see these Gurgaon Muslims and they returned disappointed without fulfilling their mission. Then I said to them, "See now, what can I do? You have now yourself realised how cantankerous the Alwar Musalmans are. You can convey what happened here to Sardar Patel. I will not now send him a separate reply."

These efforts at rapprochement made the Alwar Musalmans more bitter and they began to commit more atrocities. On account of this explosive situation in the State, the Maharaja of Alwar and myself could not attend the Conference of Hindoo people and Princes held about this time in Delhi. The situation in Alwar at this time was so grave that it had repercussions in Delhi also. Therefore, the Viceroy, Lord Louis Mountbatten all of a sudden sent one of his military A. D. C.s. by motor to Alwar on the 10th of August 1947. He himself saw the condition of the Alwar villages on the road while travelling by motor. He went straight to Vijaya Mandir, the residence of the Maharaja of Alwar and expressed sympathy on behalf of Lord Mountbatten about the situation in Alwar. He also offered on behalf of the Viceroy Mountbatten any help required by the Alwar State. On this, the Maharaja immediately telephoned to me and called me to the palace and introduced me to the A. D. C. of Mountbatten. I expressed my thanks to him for the offer of help made by Lord Mountbatten and told him that there was no need for any monetary help or military help. The real necessity was for ammunition, which if given, would save the State from the crisis. The A. D. C. agreed to give the ammunition required and went to Delhi.

On the 15th of August 1947, Sardar Patel urgently telegraphed to the Maharaja and called me to see him at Delhi on some urgent business. While going to Sardar Patel's residence I came across Acharya Kripalani, the then President of the Congress who was

standing near the door. He asked me the reason for my visit. I replied, "Acharyaji, although you have expelled me from the Congress, I am all along dancing on your chest. At present, I am the Diwan of Alwar and member of the Constituent Assembly on behalf of the Alwar State and Sardar Patel has called me specially for an interview." Sardar's daughter, Miss Maniben Patel was also standing near the door. She could not relish my attack on Acharya Kripalani and began to hustle me, saying that if I delayed, I would not be able to see Sardar Patel. I said, "You need not be so anxious about it. Sardar Patel himself has sent for me for an interview. So even if there is a little delay, it will not matter. You do not interfere. Let me have a free and frank talk with Acharya Kripalani."

On entering Sardar Patel's room, I accidentally met there Sardar Baldeo Singh, the Defence Minister, who was also sitting there. As soon as Sardar Baldeo Singh saw me, he said, "Doctor-sahab, I am very much pleased with you." When I asked him the reason for this favour, he replied, "I admire you, doctor, for the wonderful work which you have done in Alwar State. You have done well in beating and driving out the Musalmans from the Alwar State. I am of opinion that specially after partition, the Musalmans have no place in this country. But I do not know what is the view of Sardar Patel in this matter." So saying, Sardar Baldeo Singh just winked at Sardar Patel and smiled a bit. But not a muscle moved on Sardar Patel's face which was like a Sphinx.

I felt very awkward on hearing all this talk of Sardar Baldeo Singh. I felt as if I was in the grip of pincers consisting on the one side of the Central Defence Minister and on the other side the Central Home Minister. I thought that this praise bestowed on me was meant to pull my legs and to find out what according to them really happened in Alwar. I said to Sardar Baldeo Singh, "You have formed some wrong and fantastic ideas about me. I am the Prime Minister of the Alwar State and responsible for maintaining law and order in the State. I have done that duty according to my capacity. I do not recognise any Hindoo-Muslim problem or any Hindoo Muslim community. I simply dealt firmly with those who rebelled against the Alwar State."

After this, I said to Sardar Baldeo Singh, "If you are so pleased with me, then give me a little help." So saying, I described to Sardar Baldeo Singh the visit of the A. D. C. of the Viceroy to the Alwar State on the 10th August and his promise to supply the necessary ammunition to the Alwar State and requested him to fulfil the promise given by the Viceroy's A. D. C. because from that day, the Viceroy's authority on the Indian States had terminated. Sardar Baldeo Singh immediately agreed to supply the ammunition and left the room. After Sardar Baldeo Singh left (all this time Sardar Patel was reclining on the sofa) Sardar Patel called me near and in a low voice said, "An enquiry is likely to be held into the Alwar happenings. So please keep your defence ready. I urgently wired to the Maharaja and called you here only to give this information, because such things cannot be communicated by letter." While we were talking thus, evening set in, and Sardar Patel made himself ready to attend the flag hoisting ceremony near India Gate in celebration of the first Independence Day. He asked me whether I wanted to go there for that function. I replied, "According to my view, today is a day of mourning and not of joy. I therefore cannot come. Please excuse me." Then he asked me where I was putting up. On my replying to him that I was putting up with Seth Ramkrishna Dalmia, he said it was on the way and that he would drop me there.

Within three days of my return to Alwar from Delhi, the necessary ammunition was received from the Central Government. Later on in the third week of August 1947, when the border town of Alwar State named Nawegaon (on the border between Gurgaon district and Alwar State) was attacked by a huge mob of Musalmans on 3 or 4 consecutive nights, this supply of ammunition proved very useful in repulsing these attacks. Had these attacks not been repulsed the huge mob of Musalmans would have over-run Alwar which was only 26 miles from Nawegaon, and destroyed that city and slaughtered the population.

The Muslim appeasement policy of the Congress is well-known and I have cited some examples before. I will now cite an example of extraordinary British solicitude for Musalmans. I have men-

tioned before that Hindoo Muslim communal riots had been going on in Alwar State before I took charge of the office of the Diwan. During the regime of the officiating Prime Minister, Major General Abdul Rehman, firing had to be resorted to on an unlawful assembly of Muslims collected on the Gandhan hill. The technique of the Muslim League is well known. It always takes the offensive and yet complains of being hurt or attacked. According to this well known technique, the Muslim League, within a week of my taking over charge, submitted to me for my consideration, a lengthy representation against Major General Abdul Rehman and demanded an enquiry into the firing on the Gandhan Hill. I gave a patient hearing to this deputation of the Muslim League, which submitted this representation, and told them flatly that since I was convinced of the unavailability of the firing on the Gandhan Hill, their demand for an enquiry could not be accepted. Whether due to this reason or any other reason, one day in the second week of May, 1947, Major Pinhey of the Jaipur Political Agency paid a visit to Alwar, suddenly without giving any previous notice and enquired from me the particulars about the Hindoo Muslim riots going on. I gave him a brief account of the situation concerning the riots and said to him, "You may go anywhere you like and enquire into the riots in any way you like. Please make this enquiry behind my back. I will not therefore accompany you. I will make all arrangements for your tour." Accordingly, Major Pinhey visited the riot areas and while leaving Alwar, told me that everything was okay and the administration was blameless.

This self-same Pinhey again visited Alwar the same way, without giving any previous notice on the 27th of July 1947. At this time, communal riots were in a rising tempo and conversion of Musalmans to Hinduisim was also going on on a considerable scale. Major Pinhey expressed his anxiety about this conversion of Muslims. I told him, "The Alwar Administration is not concerned with this conversion of Muslims. You need not suspect anything. A few days ago, it was reported in the press, that 2,000 Rajput Muslims were taken back in the Hindoo fold in the Agra district. I draw your attention to this news. Agra is obviously under British rule and not ruled by the Alwar State, and the distance between the two places is about 100 to 150 miles. If there-

fore, the same atmosphere prevails in both these places, and in Alwar also some Muslims are converted to Hinduism, why should you express such an anxiety and harbour unwarranted suspicions ? ” Of course, Major Pinhey was silenced by this straight and cogent argument, and went to one or two places in the Alwar State, held some casual enquiry and went away after expressing his satisfaction.

I have already mentioned in a foregoing paragraph that Sardar Patel pointed to the probability of an enquiry being held into the happenings in the Alwar State. Accordingly, the Prime Minister of Alwar, that is, myself received a letter in the third week of August 1947, in which the following three grave accusations were made against the Alwar State.—

- (1) The Alwar administration is maltreating and persecuting its Muslim subjects. The Musalmans therefore have left the Alwar State and gone elsewhere.
- (2) The Army and the police of the Alwar State destroyed Muslim villages.
- (3) The Muslims of Alwar have become a nuisance in Gurgaon and Delhi. The Alwar State is therefore asked to take them back and rehabilitate them in the State.

I was also informed in this letter that the Government of India would appoint a Committee to hold an enquiry into these accusations and the Alwar State was asked to send its representative to submit its defence before this Committee. (I deeply suspect that this enquiry was inspired by the Pakistan Government) The States Ministry had sent a similar letter to the Bharatpur State also. I requested for an interview with Sardar Patel on the 30th August 1947 to get some information about this enquiry and some other matters. Sardar Patel invited me for lunch on this day. Rajawari Amrit Kaur, V. P. Menon and Mr. and Mrs. G. V. Mavalankar, were also present at the lunch. The session of the Constituent Assembly was adjourned *sine die* on this date. But as this enquiry committee was to be held at Delhi on the 3rd of September 1947, I did not go to Alwar but remained in Delhi. On the 31st August, the Home Minister and the Inspector-General

of Police of the Alwar State saw me at Delhi, and conveyed to me the Maharaja's desire, that I should not appear before the Committee of enquiry on the 3rd of September to answer the charges against Alwar. The Home Minister and the I. G. Police of the Alwar State would perform that task. On hearing this order of the Maharaja of Alwar, I told these Officers that I was very happy, because I would be saved the botheration. I would now go back to Alwar and they should stay here. It appeared to me that the Maharaja, knowing that I was outspoken and straightforward in my manner of speech, must have thought that my presence in the Enquiry Committee would adversely affect the interests of Alwar State and therefore must have asked me not to represent Alwar before that Committee.

After conveying the message of the Maharaja to me, these two high officials of the Alwar State saw some officers of the States Ministry, obviously to find out which way the wind blew, in the matter of the enquiry against the Alwar State. In this interview with the officers of the States Ministry these two high officers of the Alwar State found out that the atmosphere about the Alwar State was so vitiated as to cause anxiety. This made them afraid and they immediately went to Alwar by plane and conveyed to the Maharaja how and land lay. They told the Maharaja straight-away, "*We will not be able to perform the task of answering the charges against the Alwar State before the Enquiry Committee. The occasion is grave. Therefore, it is better to depute Dr. Khare to perform this task.*" The Maharaja had no go but to listen to the advice given by these two high officers and he sent them back again by plane to Delhi, to convey his altered decision to me. I said, "All right, now you two go to Alwar and send me all the papers about the Alwar happenings along with my Judicial Secretary." In the meantime, some officers of the Bharatpur State also met me at Delhi, and requested me to perform the task of answering the charges against the Bharatpur State also before the Enquiry Committee. I gladly accepted their request because I was some time ago formally appointed Honorary Political Adviser to the Bharatpur State by the Maharaja of Bharatpur.

As previously settled, the meeting of the Enquiry Committee appointed by the States Ministry to enquire into the happenings

in Alwar and Bharatpur was held at Delhi on the 3rd of September 1947. This Committee was presided over by Mr. Booch, I. C. S., Joint Secretary of the States Ministry. This meeting was attended by myself i.e. the representative of Alwar and Bharatpur States, District Magistrate of Gurgaon, Commanding Officer of the Military Camp at Palwal in the Gurgaon District, and an I. C. S. Officer representing the Home Department of the Government of India. After making some introductory remarks, Mr. Booch said to me, "The U. P. Government has complained against the Alwar and Bharatpur States that these neighbouring States persecute their Muslim subjects, who on that account migrated to the neighbouring Agra and Mathura districts in their hundreds. This has become a great nuisance to the U. P. Government and there is likelihood of breach of peace in both these districts. Moreover, on account of food control, it is difficult to supply food grains to these immigrants. Therefore the Government of India advises the Alwar and Bharatpur Governments to stop the persecution of their Muslim subjects and to take them back and rehabilitate them."

Before giving a reply to this complaint made by the U. P. Government, I demanded certain information from Mr. Booch.

Mr. Booch said, "Doctor, you can ask me any information and I will give it to you."

Myself: "About six or seven months ago, that is about March or April 1947, thousands of Hindoo and Sikh refugees left the Frontier Province and the Punjab and took refuge at Hardwar, Dehradun, Meerut and other places in the United Provinces. Will you tell me Mr. Booch, whether at that time the U. P. Government had made a complaint against the Frontier Province and the Punjab, to the Government of India?"

Mr. Booch "No, it did not make any complaint."

Myself: "This is most surprising. Why did not the U. P. Government lodge a complaint against the Frontier

Province and the Punjab at that time ? Because at that time, the number of those refugees was big enough to be counted in thousands ? Moreover, the country was not then partitioned, and the Frontier Province and the Punjab were directly subordinate to the Government of India. It was therefore more proper at that time for the U. P. Government to have lodged a complaint against these two provinces. Why did not the U. P. Government at that time request the Government of the Frontier Province and the Punjab to take back their refugees and rehabilitate them ? The authority exercised by the Government of India over the Frontier Province and the Punjab was far greater than perhaps the nominal authority exercised by the Government of India on the Alwar State which was virtually independent. Why should the Government of Govind Vallabh Pant take into its head to lodge a complaint against Alwar and Bharatpur ? Is it because the refugees who entered U. P. in March and April were Hindoos and Sikhs and the present ones are Musalmans ? But I would not be foolish enough to make this insinuation against the U. P. Government. How can the U. P. Government of Pant be so hostile to the Musalmans. I therefore think that the purpose of this complaint of the U. P. Government is entirely political, because Dr. Khare happens to be the target here to be debunked and discredited! "

Mr. Booch could give any answer to my argument, and could not also justify the complaint made by the U. P. Government of Govind Vallabh Pant. He only said, " Doctor whatever it may be, you will have to admit that the Muslim refugees from your States who have gone to Agra and Mathura are causing a nuisance to the U. P. Government and it is your duty to remove it. "

Punjab and spread from there to Alwar and Bharatpur States on account of their contiguity to the Gurgaon district. About four or five months ago when the riots were raging furiously in the Gurgaon district, many Hindoos, Sikhs and Musalmans sought refuge in the Alwar State which gave all of them equal protection irrespective of their caste, or community or religion. (It is relevant to record here that after I took charge of the Diwanship of Alwar State on the 19th April 1947, the Maharaja of Alwar announced at the session of the Rajput Mahasabha held in Delhi on the 26th of April 1947, that the Alwar State would give equal protection and help to all the refugees who would seek shelter there irrespective of their religion, according to the capacity of the State). Alwar received praises from all sides on account of this humanitarian work. I trust, Mr. Booch, you remember this fact. At that time, the Alwar and Bharatpur States did not ask the Government of India to take back the refugees of the Gurgaon district which sought shelter in these States. Mr. Booch, we do not expect any generosity from the Government of India, but we expect reciprocity and are entitled to it. It is therefore improper for you to make such a complaint against these two States and ask them to take back the refugees. ”

Mr. Booch was silenced by this unassailable argument of mine. After this, the British Commandant of the Palwal Military Camp of the Government of India intervened in the debate and said, “ The police and military of the Alwar State go to the Muslim houses and burn them. They also carry on loot and slaughter of the Muslims. Not only this, but the Alwar Army also enters the Indian Union territory and helps the Hindoos residing there against Muslims. We have got full information about these activities of the Alwar Army. The Muslim subjects of Alwar and Bharatpur States have fled from these States on account of the oppression to which they are subjected. What have you got to say about these charges ? ”

Similar accusations were made against these States by the District Magistrate of Gurgaon also. I replied, “ I have

gathered from *Hindustan Times* of Delhi that, now-a-days about 25,000 to 30,000 Musalmans flee every day from East Punjab leaving their houses and belongings and seek shelter in West Punjab. Is it true? On the basis of this fact, shall I charge the Police and Military in East Punjab of burning the Muslim houses and looting and slaughtering the Musalmans? But I shall never be so mean. Because, I know that the present communal atmosphere in the country is very bitter and every Musalman harbours hatred against the Hindoos and every Hindoo does the same about the Musalmans. Whatever may be the reasons for this situation, it must be readily conceded that such events happen only on account of hatred, and whether in East Punjab or Alwar or Bharaptur, the causes and the results are the same and similar. Mr. Booch, please carefully consider what I am saying and you will realise the truth of it. I grant that cultured and civilised persons can suppress such feelings of hatred but on some occasions it becomes impossible for some people to suppress these feelings of hatred. I will not therefore be surprised if some sepoy from my Army have gone astray, but to accuse the whole State is not the remedy for it. The remedy lies in naming such accused and making a regular complaint against them backed by relevant evidence. If this is done, I shall certainly hold a searching enquiry into such complaints and punish the accused if the offence is brought home to them. It is no use making such vague charges which on the face of it appear baseless. Any one can prefer such charges against anybody. If sepoy of my Army have really entered the Gurgaon district and committed atrocities there, why did you not arrest them then and there? You had also an army with you. What is the use of making such vague complaints against the whole Army of the State in this manner?"

I gave similar replies to the accusations made by the District Magistrate of Gurgaon, when Mr. Booch said to me, "Doctor, why don't you call back the Musalmans who have migrated from your State to other areas?" I replied, "They are all rebels. Shall I run after them and beg of them to return? How can I do it? Who has prevented them from returning to the State if they wish to do so? Had they not been rebels, they would have

certainly returned back and settled down peacefully in the State. Some of them with the determination never to return to the State have destroyed their own houses and fled from the State taking away with them all their moveable property. How can I run after them to persuade them?"

On this Mr. Booch said, "Doctor, you call these refugees back. The Indian Army will help you in maintaining peace."

I immediately retorted, "I can never tolerate such a pressure exercised by a neighbouring friendly State to compel my State to take back rebels. If they are forced upon us, they will be tried and adequately punished for the offence committed by them."

Hearing this sharp answer of mine, Mr. Booch said, "We shall send the refugees to your State by force, and rehabilitate them there, and our Army also shall protect them. Then what will you do?" I replied, "You can surely do it. Your strength is unlimited. We shall neither oppose you nor prevent you in this task. But have you thought what will this lead to? This will infuriate all Hindoos in the neighbouring areas and under these conditions, it will be very difficult for you to protect even Delhi. This is neither my threat nor my prophecy. It is only a description of the present state of affairs. You say that you will keep a detachment of your army in my State. What guarantee is there that that detachment also will behave impartially? When Punjab was partitioned, a detachment of the Indian Army was kept on the border under the command of Col. Rees. That army also behaved partially. Don't you recollect how bitterly Pandit Nehru himself criticised that army?"

On this Mr. Booch said, "All this is true. But is it not also true that we have to solve this question of the refugees?"

I replied, "Quite true. It is necessary to solve the question of refugees, but this cannot be done locally in this slipshod manner. The question is a vast one and it will have to be solved on an all India scale. I assure you that in this matter, the Alwar State will fully co-operate with the Government of India. You know, Mr. Booch that your Prime Minister Pandit Nehru was always

terribly against exchange of population. He used to condemn this idea as impracticable and fantastic and was not prepared to give it any consideration. The same Pandit Nehru is saying today 'that situation now has arisen when the question of large scale exchange of population will have to be considered.' Mr. Booch, I never agree with Pandit Nehru's views, but in this matter, I am entirely in agreement with him."

After listening to me carefully, the representative of the Home Department of the Government of India, said, "*Dr. Khare is right. This matter should be considered. I think all these Muslim refugees should be sent to Pakistan.*" After saying this, he asked me whether I was prepared to take an equal number of non-Muslims in my State. I replied, "I do not understand what non-Muslim means. I shall gladly receive an equal number of Hindoos and Sikhs in my State."

Thus the question was solved at this time. After finishing this enquiry, when I returned to Alwar by plane in the evening, I saw Maharaja of Alwar waiting for me on the air-strip. He was mightily pleased when I gave him all the account of the enquiry. But the Muslims of Alwar who had gone to Delhi saw Mahatma Gandhi and gave him exaggerated accounts of the happenings in Alwar. Mahatma Gandhi was moved by this Muslim cry for mercy and promised to help them. He said, "Dr. Khare has turned you out from Alwar, I will certainly settle you there." But this time, Mahatma's actions totally failed.

On the 6th of October 1947, a conference of all the neighbouring States was held under the presidentship of Sardar Patel, Central Minister for States Department. This conference was attended either by the Maharajas or the Diwans of all the neighbouring States like Alwar, Bharatpur, Patiala, Nabha, Jaipur etc. I also attended this conference as the Prime Minister of Alwar. In the preliminary remarks made by Sardar Patel, he made it clear that all the Musalmans who had fled from their States and wanted to go to Pakistan would be sent there, and all the Hindoos and Sikhs who desired to leave Pakistan and come to India will be brought to India. *On account of this frank pronouncement made by Sardar Patel, Mahatma Gandhi's dream of settling the Meos and Musalmans in Alwar State vanished into thin air.*

Sardar Patel asked every prince who attended this conference about the number of Musalmans to be sent to Pakistan from his State. Alwar and Bharatpur replied that there were no Musalmans to be sent to Pakistan from those States because there were no Musalmans now in those States. Jaipur replied that the Musalmans of that State would remain there. None of them would be sent to Pakistan. Sardar Patel again and again asked Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, the Diwan of Jaipur, about this and got the same reply. It appeared that Sardar Patel was surprised at this reply. Then Sardar Patel again turned towards me and put me the same question, and I again gave the same reply. Then Sardar Patel asked me about the number of Musalmans who had left Alwar State. I replied that the number might be about a lakh and a half. At once Sardar Patel said that the Alwar State must rehabilitate an equal number of Hindoos. I replied, "It is not possible to take an equal number, because some Musalmans have returned back to the State." Sardar Patel put me a cunning question, "They have all been converted to Hinduism. Then how do you say that they are Musalmans?" Immediately I retorted, "Sardarsaheb, they are ex-Musalmans". (loud laughter in the meeting). Then Sardar Patel asked me, "How many more Meo Muslims are you going to convert to Hinduism?" I retorted, "I am not concerned with the conversion, if they get an inspiration from above how can I help it?" (This again excited laughter in the conference. Sardar Patel himself laughed loudly).

In this conference held under the presidentship of Sardar Patel, it was finally decided that the Muslim refugees should be sent to Pakistan and that the States should take an equal number of Hindoos and Sikhs from Frontier and West Punjab.

The atmosphere in Alwar after this decision naturally became very happy. Dasera holidays soon followed. Dasera was celebrated in the Alwar State with great pomp and ceremony. It was a custom in the Alwar State to kill and burn a huge effigy of Rawan in a *maidan* (open ground) outside the city of Alwar under the orders of the Maharaja. For this purpose, a procession of the Maharaja and his Ministers was taken to the *maidan* in a chariot

drawn by elephants. According to the annual custom, Dasera Durbar was also held and many bards and poets sang eulogies in the praise of the Maharaja. The Maharaja gave liberal rewards to those officers and men of the Army who had distinguished themselves in maintaining law and order and establishing peace. It was not customary to praise anybody else in the Durbar except the Maharaja. The next day therefore, a poet of Alwar gave me an ornamented poem praising me and my ministry. After Dasera, came Kojagiri. On this day, I invited the Maharaja, his Ministers and all the big noblemen, merchants and Jagirdars of the State, say about 250 people, to my place and served them with concentrated sweetened milk according to the custom of Maharashtra, and a flash light photo of this function was taken. Thus the atmosphere of peace and happiness spread in the whole of the Alwar State. But destiny willed otherwise. How and why will be described in the next chapter. I will close this chapter by appending the account of the convention of Hindu People and Princes held about this time in Delhi taken from the book "The Partition of India 1947" written by Shri G. V. Subbarao with thanks to the author and the history of the rebellion of Meo Muslims of Alwar written by my Judicial Secretary.

The Account of the Hindu Convention of the People and the Princes.

In the crisis that faced the country on account of the proposed partition, we have seen, the Hindu Mahasabha failed to give a proper lead. With Veer Sawarkar lying ill on bed and its President, Shri Bhopatkar, grown senile, and its working President gone over to Nehru at the biddance of Mr. Birla, there was a vacuum in the country. How to fill it? For filled it must be, because, in the absence of any responsible leadership, the younger section among the Hindus, Maratha youths especially, were getting impatient and beyond control and anarchy was threatening the land—a disorder that led ultimately to the assassination of the Nation's most respected leader himself within six months after the partition.

It might be here recalled that, between the period of partition and the time of the murder of the Mahatma, though the Congress

was ruling the country, its leaders could not muster any support in the Delhi city itself—on any political question particularly. There bosom friends—the Musalmans—had left the city mostly. The Hindu heart was lacerated and quite alienated to the ruling party; and the in-pouring refugees—Sikhs and Hindus equally—were wrath against the Congress, so much so that, if there was any test election not only in Delhi, but anywhere in North India, the Congress would have forfeited its security. In fact, the Congress leaders could not hold a single public meeting (apart from their official flag functions etc. which were tolerated partly because of their essential sanctity and partly because of their Military bandobast) to justify the partition or on any other political subject. And towards the end of November, when their was an A. I. C. C. meeting, and its leaders and Chief Ministers from almost all the provinces were assembled at Delhi, the Delhi Congress people could summon sufficient courage to organise a meeting in the city for demanding Hindi, as opposed to the Gandhian Hindustani, as the Lingua-Franca of India. As the Subject was a popular and pro-Hindu one, there was a large gathering of about twenty to twenty-five thousands; but when all the provincial chiefs were seated on the dias, a dozen or two Maratha young men mounted up to the dias, and gave those leaders some slaps on the face and pulled them down to the ground one by one, saying “Oh! You are here? Please get down.” Among those who shared this fate, were Messers Ravi Shankar Shukla, B. G. Kher, Anantha Sayanam Aiyangar and many others. On the other hand, any pro-Hindu meeting, anywhere in the North, was attended by thousands of people and the bitterest criticism against the Congress was applauded with ringing cheers.

What, then was the remedy to meet the situation?

Dr. N. B. Khare, the dismissed Chief Minister of the Central Provinces during the Congress regime, who was now Prime Minister of Alwar, came to the rescue, On the 8th July, 1947, in course of a circular letter he wrote:

“The country is passing through momentous times. India has been divided and seeds have been sown of a possible large

scale internal struggle at some future date, unless our superior wisdom and organisation made it possible for us to avoid it. The Congress has accepted the division of India on religious lines, and takes for granted the creation of a Muslim State on the East and West of Hindustan, but refuses to recognise the inevitability under these circumstances, of the rest of India being constituted as a Hindu State. According to them, it must continue a joint state of Hindus and Muslims. Thus the Muslims have got Pakistan and will continue to share the rest of India if the Congress view holds the field.

“The behaviour of the Musalmans during the past years has made it clear that all efforts of the Congress for Hindu-Muslim Unity have miserably failed, and that no Musalman can be trusted to be faithful to Hindustan. In case of any big emergency, the Musalmans will surely act as saboteurs, and this danger must be taken into account while drafting our Constitution, in order that it may be possible for us to discriminate against them in the interest of the security of the country. Likewise, the Congress inability to help the Hindus against Muslim goondaism has necessarily flown in the main from the fact that it is a joint body of Hindus and Muslims. The doctrine of Non-violence, as preached by Mahatma Gandhi, has been a great menace to the strength and political advancement of the Hindus who are the only people that listen to him.

“Under the circumstances it has become imperative to give the country a new lead. We need a United Hindu National Front which will gather all the strength of all Hindus of India, irrespective of their class, province, religious denomination or past political affiliations. We must have a powerful platform to forge sanctions for the enforcement of the Hindus in their Home-land. The Congress Government must be made either to yield to these demands or to quit and make place for those who represent the real wishes of the Hindus. For this, obviously, the Hindu Mahasabha must be strengthened by infusing new blood into it. All Hindus, princes and people, must be invited to join it.

“ For this purpose, it is proposed to hold an All-India Hindu Convention to which leading Hindus, including Princes should be invited to evolve a political programme.”

The draft invitation enclosed to the above circular interalia reads : “ The political change which has come over the country owing to the partition of India on communal lines has made it imperative to the Hindus, Princes and People, to organise a political platform to forge sanctions for the protection of their interest and the réalisation of a National Home for Hindus or a Hindu Rashtra. With the termination of Paramountcy, the artificial wall dividing the states from the provinces has disappeared ; and it is only proper that the princes and people from all over Hindustan should gather together to consider their joint future.”

As this convention was about the only serious effort that was made to consider the situation created by the Partition, it is imperative that we know some more details about it here. The Convention was scheduled to be held at New Delhi on the 9th and 10 August 1947. But as ill-luck would have it, neither Dr. Khare, the President-designate, nor the Maharaja of Alwar who was to have inaugurated the Convention, was able to attend the session, because of serious disturbances in Alwar and in the neighbouring areas. Therefore, Veer Savarkar who had deemed it his duty to attend despite his illness was voted to the Chair ; and the Maharaja's opening speech was read by his Private Secretary. The principal resolution of the convention, relating to the Partition question reads thus :—

RESOLVED

“ That this Convention of Hindus, comprising of representatives of all shades of opinion from all over India, views with dismay the decision of the partition of the country on the basis of religion. Such political recognition of religion is fraught with disaster to India, and it is amazing how the Indian National Congress which had always stood for an undivided India, and for politics being kept free from the influence of religion, betrayed its fundamental principles and oft-repeated election pledges and agreed to the partition of Hindustan on a basis which lends permanent strength to the two-nation theory of the Muslim League.

“ This convention declares that the Hindus have not accepted this partition ; that the Congress has accepted it without reference to the people ; that the British Government had no right to devolve power on a political party without consulting the wishes of the people through a free referendum and consequently the Hindus do not recognise this division of India as a final verdict on the destiny of Hindustan.

“ The Hindus hereby pledge themselves to the cause of a United India as their Homeland and pledge themselves to bring about a re-union of the seceding parts of Hindustan.

“ Till that is achieved, and in order that it is achieved quicker, it is now imperative that Hindusthan is developed as a Hindu Rashtra, to be officially called Hindusthan, with Sanskrit—based Hindi written in Devanagari script as the official language, with its Flag saffron-coloured and Bandemataram as its National Anthem. This Hindu Rashtra shall, in its Constitution provide for the stoppage of the killing of the Cow as an emblem of the National tradition of Hindusthan.

“ While all citizens will have equal rights in this State, it must be recognised that, in view of the fact that the overwhelming majority of the Musalmans of India have supported the partition of India on the basis of the recognition of Musalmans as a separate nation, and in view of the detestable programmes perpetrated on Hindus in pursuance of the Direct Action of the Muslim League ; and in view of the fact that the Musalmans of Hindustan bear a real sense of loyalty to Pakistan, a foreign state, the State of Hindusthan shall reserve the power to discriminate against the Musalmans if and where it is deemed necessary to do so, in the interests of the safety of the Realm, its internal security and external defence and the solidarity of its administrative machine.

“ That, as the non-Muslims living in the areas now included in Pakistan never accepted the partition which is now being forced on them, they shall be regarded as nationals of Hindusthan and shall have all the rights of citizens of Hindusthan when they are in Hindusthan. The Union of Hindusthan will look after their interests as the interests of its own nationals and will render them

all help and encouragement to develop along lines conducive to the Union of the seceding parts with Hindusthan.

“That, in view of the urgent and imperative need of strengthening the defences of the country, it is necessary to take immediate steps to raise an extensive National Militia; and for this, in view of this convention, compulsory military training should be imparted to the Hindu Youth and they should be encouraged to keep arms.

“That, in view of the fact that Urdu is a remnant of the foreign domination of India which is terminated from a major part of India, it is necessary that it (Urdu) should be abolished from all Government offices, Legislatures, Courts and other public bodies; and in Hindi-speaking provinces, Sanskrit-based Hindi, written in Devanagari script, shall be used as the court and official language as well as the medium of instruction in all stages of the educational system. For other parts, the regional languages shall take the same place to the total exclusion of English, provided that the National Language for All-India shall be Hindi.

“This convention requests the Government of India to accept the policy laid down above as the express wish of the vast majority of the people of Hindusthan and to declare in unequivocal terms their adherence to it. It also requests the Constituent Assembly to incorporate it suitably in the Constitution of India.

“If the Government hesitates in implementing this policy, the Convention will be forced to call upon the Government to hold general elections at the earliest date for ascertaining the wishes of the electorates on this issue.

“This Convention calls upon the Hindus to organise themselves on the basis of the policy laid down above and to forge popular sanctions for its acceptance and enforcement by the Government of India.”

Among the other resolutions passed by the Convention were that it should strive to inculcate military spirit among the Hindu youth and to exhort them to join institutions where military

training could be had. The rulers of the Indian States were to be approached for providing facilities for such training. The Committee was also asked to contact and get the support of the religious, denominational and caste organisations of the Hindus and their Volunteer organisations with a view to carry on the activities for the purpose laid down by the Convention. The meeting further conveyed its most profound and heart-felt sympathies with the people of the partitioned territories, Hindus and Sikhs especially, who, during the last one year, have been put to the most ghastly and unprecedented hardships and sufferings.

With the mounting "Meo rebellion" the description of which immediately follows, in putting down which both the Maharaja of Alwar and Dr. Khare had to actively engage themselves for some months, and the assassination of the Mahatma in which both of them were unjustly implicated, the Convention could not make much headway. And after the murder of Mahatma, it was a reign of terror everywhere for suppressing any pro-Hindu activities particularly.

The History of the Rebellion of Meo-Muslims of Alwar State in Rajputana. :

Alwar State is situated in the north-east corner of Rajasthan. Its area including the Nimrana Jagir is about 3,200 square miles. To its north is situated the Gurgaon District of East Punjab, Nabha State and the Kotkasim Pargana of the Jaipur State. To its east is situated also the Gurgaon district and the Bharatpur State and to its west are situated the Jaipur, Nabha and Patiala States. In the Central area of the State there are lots of small hillocks which are rocky and unapproachable even to pedestrians. These hillocks comprise an area of about 500 square miles of the State. The population of the State is about 9 lakhs, out of which the Meo, Khanjad, and Rangad and other Muslims constitute two and half lakhs, their percentage to the total population being 27.

There is an important area in the State named Mewat, the people of which have the same culture and language. These Meos are notorious in Indian history. Tijara, Kishangad and Ramgad Nizamats and the northern part of the Lakhangad Nizamat and

practically the whole of Alwar Nizamant constitute this Mewat territory which is about one third of the whole State. This Mewat territory is not limited to Alwar State only. It extends into the Gurgaon district of East Punjab, Bharatpur State and the Mathura district of Uttar Pradesh. These Meo Muslims were notorious as rebellious people even in the Muslim regime. There was always a tussle between Alwar and Tijara for supremacy in this whole area. (Elliot—Muslim History, Part IV, page 273)'

The Meos with all the other Muslims always indulged in raiding and looting the surrounding areas. Many examples of this activity of theirs are recorded in the Indian History. These Meos were very much troublesome to the Muslim rulers of Delhi and they are described by Muslim historians as terrible people and condemned. They were carrying out these activities of theirs even at the time of Sultan Balban. These people sometimes even raided the area round Delhi and carried on their looting and raiding activities there, without being afraid of the ruling authority. On account of this, it was necessary in those times to close the western gate of Delhi at the time of mid-day Nimaz. Sultan Balban had to drive them from the forest surrounding Delhi and had to keep sufficient forces in that area for its protection. One Bahadur Nahar Mewati became a powerful Sardar in 1388. He had his fortress and residence at Kotila in the Tijara hill area. He was always indulging in looting the territory upto Delhi. Nasiruddin, the ruler of Delhi at that time had to pursue him and drive him towards Zirka. One Sardar of Taimurlang, named Khizr-khan surrounded the fortress of this Bahadur Nahar Mewati and destroyed his place Kotila and drove away the Meos from that area. Thereupon, the Meos took shelter in the surrounding hilly tracts. (Briggs—Farishta, Part I Page 495 and Muslim Historians Part III page 449 and Part I PP 35—53)

In 1421, Sayed Mubarak invaded the Mewat area and carried on destruction there. The Meos thereafter took shelter again in the Tijara area. The next year, the Ruler invaded Mewat again, but the Meos destroyed their own habitations and villages and fled away to the Tijara hills. This had no effect on the Meos. Therefore, the ruler carried on terrible slaughter and incendiarism

there. (Briggs- Farishta Part I Page 518 and Musalman Riya-satkar, Part IV, Page 61). The Emperor again invaded Mewat in 1427. At that time also, the Meos followed their old technique of burning their habitations and fleeing away. In 1428 also the Emperor had to carry destruction again into the Mewat area.

In 1450, after ascending the throne, Bahiul Lodhi, invaded Mewat immediately, but he could not subdue them and the Meos continued to trouble him always. The Emperor Babar has written in his autobiography that the ring-leader of the rebel Meos was Hasan Khan Mewati. Babar subdued the Meos and they were kept under subjugation till the end of the Sur Dynasty. Humayun in his regime had entrusted the work of establishing peace in Mewat to Mirza area Hindal. After him, Akbar completely humbled them and made rigorous arrangements to keep them on the right path.

During the reign of Maharaj Rajashri Bakhtavar Singhji, the Meos of Sonkhar and Kathumar in the south-east and Tijara and Tapukda in the north-east created trouble. After him Maharaj Rajashri Sawai Winayasinghji also had to face terrible raids and atrocities from the Meos. Mild measures were found ineffective. Therefore, their hamlets were burnt and their cattle were wrested from them. This alone brought them to book. (Imperial Gazetteer of India. Pages 4—8). The Meos kept the peace after being subdued, but they again indulged in their evil practice as soon as they got an opportunity. (Pollet—Gazetteer of India, Page 38). In 1847, the Meos collected together and they burnt the granaries of the State and carried away the cattle. These Meos also looted Ferozepore and other villages in the British territory. Therefore, the British Army was required to be sent in that area to establish peace. At this time, many Meo Rebels were hanged (Pollet Gazetteer of India, page 38).

In 1932-33, in the regime of Maharaja Jaisingh, the Meos rebelled against him which resulted in the deposition of that Maharaja. The recent rebellion of the Meos also was engineered after great preparation. It began in 1946 and the Meos tried to create anarchical condition in the whole of the State. At the instigation of Maulana Abdul Kuddus, an outsider, the

Meos of Kishangad Nizammat refused to pay the excise duty on tobacco. This started an open opposition to the State. Thus an attempt to create anarchy in the State was obvious and the Government had to take steps against Abdul Kuddus. After this, the Meos started open rebellion and collected themselves on the top of a hill and sent emissaries to surrounding villages asking the people there to join the ranks of the rebels. They collected rifles and other weapons and met the State forces under the District Magistrate in an open combat. The District Magistrate ordered them to disperse. On refusal they were fired on, which resulted in injury to two sepoys. The Meos seized rifles from some sepoys and again had to be fired on. But the contingent consisted of Meos only. The firing was not very effective. Only one Meo was killed. But the rebels dispersed and it appeared that the situation was under control.

At this time, the Muslims of India were carrying on very strong movement to establish Pakistan and the Meos were inspired to demand an independent Meostan. At that time, the partition of Punjab and Bengal was not on the horizon. Therefore, the Meos thought that their Meostan will be contiguous to the powerful State of Pakistan and that they would be able to better their prospects with the help of Pakistan. They also thought that the establishment of an independent Meostan would naturally result in the extension of Pakistan, because they thought that it would be easy to include not only the Meo areas in Bharatpur and Alwar States, but also some areas in the Uttar Pradesh also in the proposed Meostan. Several Panchayats were held in the Mewat area to support this demand. Towards the end, Choudhari Mehtabkhan, Punjab M. L. A., Mohamad Yunus Khan, B. A. LL. B., Pleader at Besru, Choudhari Sardar Khan and Mr. Rashid Ahmed B. A. LL. B. called a big conference of the Meos at Gurgaon. (Out of these four Musalmans, Md. Yunus Khan, Pleader and Choudhari Mehtabkhan, M. L. A., were sent by Sardar Patel to me on the 8th of August 1947 for a compromise. The Muslim League fourth party of Bombay has joined the Congress. Is not there a great similarity between the action of the Bombay Muslim League and the action of these Musalmans ?) In the invi-

tation to this Conference, it was definitely asserted that although the Meos were living under different administrations, they were very anxious to come together under one administration. A meeting took place on the 1st of December 1946 in the Bharatpur State to carry on this propaganda of the integration of the Mewat areas under different administrations. This meeting was presided over by Dr. Ashraf the Communist Leader. The Meos of Alwar and Bharatpur States took prominent part in this Conference and made speeches supporting the demand. Dr. Ashraf made a very inciting speech. *This conference passed a resolution that Meostan should be carved out from the different areas right from Mehrauli to Bandikui.* This was an emphatic demand for separation from the Alwar State and the Bharatpur State and it sowed the seeds of rebellion against these two States. It was the duty of these Governments to nip this rebellion in the bud. But the Governments did nothing. The result was that there was continuous propaganda in the States in favour of independent Meostan. A Panchayat was held on the 3rd February 1947 at Hasanpur in the Tijara area when a song by name Tarana—I—Mewat was broadcast everywhere in the Alwar and Bharatpur States and the Meos of these States were thus incited to become independent from these States, and even from the State of Delhi and there was a fervent appeal to the Meos to come forward for self-sacrifice. Sayed Muttalabi of Faridabad carried on terrible propaganda in favour of this independent Meostan in the months of March and April 1947. (Dr. Khare (myself) took charge of the office of the Prime Minister of Alwar on 19th of April 1947). The Meos of Gurgaon district with the help of other Muslims started communal riots resulting in terrible loss of life and property of the Hindocs. These Meos from Gurgaon entered the Alwar State and burned some villages. On the 3rd of April 1947, a large number of Meos collected near the Gandhan Hill of the Tijara area. They had rifles, swords, axes and other weapons. This unlawful assembly was ordered to disperse but they paid no heed to it and fired on the Government forces. In this skirmish 6 Meos were wounded and 8 were arrested. 4 wounded Meos were carried away by the mob. On account of these terrible communal riots in the Gurgaon district many Meos from there sought shelter in the Alwar State.

This was a second rebellion against the State. At this time, different political parties were discussing the future of India and there were communal riots at many places. The demand of Pakistan was practically conceded and there were discussions in the Alwar State on the question of joining India or Pakistan. Communal riots were going on in the Alwar State also with the intention to compel the Maharaja to join Pakistan. On the 5th of May 1947, the Meos attacked a contingent of the Alwar Army detailed for watching the area and seized one rifle. This was a dangerous news. *The Council of Ministers of the Alwar State recorded a resolution that this was a challenge to the State and it was useless to try to persuade the Meos thereafter to be peaceful.* The person who seized the rifle from the Alwar Army came from the Gurgaon district, and the Inspector General of Police of the Alwar State was ordered to contact the Indian authorities in this matter.

After some time the situation was brought under control. The Maharaja had not decided whether to join Pakistan or India. Therefore nothing much happened and the Meos hoped that ultimately the Maharaja would elect to join Pakistan.

It was proclaimed on the 3rd June 1947 that India and the provinces of the Punjab and Bengal would be partitioned and Pakistan would be established. This knocked the bottom out of the hopes entertained by the Meos to join Pakistan. The Maharaja decided on the 1st of July 1947 to join the Indian Constituent Assembly. This resulted in causing frustration to the Meos and also other Musalmans. At this time, communal riots took place in the Punjab on a very large scale and the Alwar State being contiguous to Punjab was also affected. The present situation in the Alwar State is the result of these different events.

The Meo rioters in the Bharatpur State began to enter the Alwar State in large numbers about the middle of July 1947. The Government thought that these Meos will be peaceful. Therefore it did not take any steps against them. But these new-comers carried on poisonous propaganda and incited many local Meos to create riotous conditions. On the 29th of July 1947, the Meos fired on the motor car of the Hindoos going from Buntoli to Alwar, and killed 3 persons, The Hindoos were irritated by this cruel

attack. The Meos also destroyed and looted the old Jain temple in the Alwar State. (Sir Hukam Chand, the Millionaire of Indore had brought this incident to the notice of Sardar Patel by wire. Sardar Patel sent that wire to me requesting me to make proper arrangements for protection). Besides this, they forcibly converted many Hindoos.

The situation began to be more and more grave. The Meos attacked villages in large numbers, burned them, and slaughtered the villagers. The Meos thought that just as the Musalmans of India by indulging in large scale communal riots compelled the Congress to concede Pakistan, they would also by adopting the same procedure compel the Hindoos to concede their demand. (But the Meos forgot that the Alwar administration was not timid like the Congress administration).

On account of these frequent attacks by the Meos, the Hindoos also began to carry on counter attacks. The counter attacks on the Meos first began on the villages bordering the Bharatpur State and spread everywhere. Both the parties suffered heavily and the people began to leave their villages, and ran away to other places. In a village called Prithvipura, the Meos committed the sacrilege of killing a cow in a temple. This created a very bitter hatred between the two communities. The Meos of Tijara town and the other Muslims also looted the town and slaughtered the Hindoos on a large scale. This happened under the leadership of a Nazim, an employee of the Alwar State Government, and many pensioner military officers also joined the rebels. (This Nazim's name was Barkatullah. After leading this campaign of looting and slaughtering in Tijara, he fled into the Indian territory. I gave his description to Sardar Patel and requested Sardar Patel to capture him and hand him over to the Alwar State. He was not found). The Meos in the Alwar Military joined the rebels and fired on the State forces. The position became very delicate on account of this. The Meos in the Police Department either deserted or joined the rebels. This created a situation of great difficulty to the State.

The situation at Tijara was brought under control but the Meos again became active and on the 11th August 1947, they

looted Zindoli village in the Mundawar Nizamat and set fire to the houses there. They also broke one idol in a temple there. They also looted and burnt the Mubarakpur village in the Ramgad Nizamat and Ismailpur village in the Kisangad Nizamat. On the 13th August 1947, they looted and burnt Bahadurpur village in the Alwar Nizamat. The Khanjad Musalmans who fled from Tijara took shelter in a Takia in Hasanpur village. On the 12th of August, a mob of 10,000 Meos collected and met the State forces. When they fled away they left behind lot of ammunition, uniforms and rifles. At this time lot of goods looted by these Meos at Tijara was recovered. About 15,000 to 20000 Meos attacked Nawegaon village on the border between Alwar State and Gurgaon, but the State forces repulsed this attack.

After this, a large number of Meos left their villages and took refuge in the surrounding hilly areas and used from there to attack Hindoo villages whenever opportunity offered. On the 16th of August, some Meos fired on the State forces. On the 17th August, the Meos looted Bambora village and stopped the communication from and to that village. The State forces took action against them. Another skirmish took place between the State forces and the rebels when the rebels had ambushed in the nullah between Zindoli and Siwana. The rebels fled from here leaving behind some country rifles, a country pistol, some lead bullets, some caps of catridges and some gun powder.

The Meos of Tijara, Tapukda and Kishangad took refuge in the surrounding hills and carried on stray attacks on travellers and looted the property in the surrounding villages. A detachment of the Army pursued them to the Hamiki village on the 25th August. This village was their base. The army fired on them and the Meos fled into the hills which being difficult to approach, it was impossible to arrest anybody.

On the border of Ramgad Nizamat, the Meos collected in their thousands in the Gurgaon district and began to attack the Alwar forces. They attacked the border village of Nawegaon at night between 11 and 3, on the 21st August, but the Army was alert and the attack was repulsed. The Meos also attacked Naharpur Khurd village. In the skirmish, 10 Meos were killed and

18 wounded. On the 22nd August, the Meos attacked the town of Ramgad and the Army had to fire on them. Two Meos were killed and several wounded. At Khojka also the Meos were fired upon. On the 24th August, while carrying away looted property at Mubarakpur, the Meos had a skirmish with the Army as a result of which they ran away leaving behind 10 swords, 2 country rifles and 4 big boxes of cloth.

As mentioned before, all Hindoos, Rajputs, Jats, Gujars. Ahirs and Baniyas forgot their differences and united to meet the attacks of the Meo Musalmans. The Hindoos also began to raid the Meo villages, as a consequence of which there were skirmishes between the Hindoo unlawful assemblies and the Meo unlawful assemblies. It is difficult to give the figures of killed. Roughly speaking, it can be estimated that the loss on either side was in adverse proportion to the population. The Hindoos also burnt Muslim villages and converted the Muslims to Hinduism on a large scale. About 40,000 to 45,000 Musalmans might have been converted to Hinduism. The Musalmans desecrated temples. The Hindoos razed the mosques to the ground. The state forces naturally did not take any sides. They gave equal protection to all wherever it was necessary and possible. The counter attacks of the Hindoos made the Meos lose their morale. They destroyed their own villages and fled to Gurgaon, Mathura, Agra and Delhi and many other places. Some Muslims sold their belongings and went to Tonk, Bhopal, Bhawalpur and even Hyderabad Deccan. As a result, today there is not a single Muslim in the whole of the Alwar State, which resulted in great financial loss to the State. In this way, the Meo problem in the State which was troubling the State for several centuries has been solved at least for the time being. The Alwar State had to face great difficulties. When the Alwar State was passing through its life and death crisis on account of this Meo rebellion, the Muslims outside the State carried on poisonous propaganda against the State and the State had to face that also. Seven or eight Urdu dailies in Delhi described the Alwar happenings in the most hyperbolical terms and continuously carried on propaganda against the State. Some Meos had made Delhi their abode. The Muslim League in Delhi took them in a procession through the city to create prejudice against

the Alwar State. Fortunately, the Delhi authorities demanded securities from these Urdu newspapers and stopped this mischievous propaganda.

Agra and Mathura districts in Uttar Pradesh being contiguous to the Alwar State, it was natural for some Meo Muslims to take refuge there. During the height of the disturbances, some Meos from the Gurgaon district took refuge in the Alwar State which gave equal protection to all without making any differences on account of religion. The Alwar State at that time did not make any complaint to the Punjab Government or the Government of India and did not ask these States also to take back their refugees. In spite of this, the Government of Govind Vallabh Pant in Uttar Pradesh complained to the Central Government against the Alwar State, that the Alwar State had allowed its population to take shelter in the Agra and Mathura districts. It was surprising that prior to this thousands of Hindoo refugees had taken shelter in Uttar Pradesh, but that time the Government of Govind Vallabh Pant did not make any complaint to the Central Government. Thousands of Musalmans were fleeing from East Punjab to West Punjab but no complaint was made by anybody. It was strange therefore that the British officers who were kept there to protect the border should complain against the Alwar State and charge it with partiality towards Hindoos and prejudice against Musalmans. This charge was effectively refuted by the Alwar State by pointing out to the migration of Musalmans from East Punjab to West Punjab. The State pointed out that Alwar State being contiguous to the East Punjab, the position of Muslims was similar in both the areas. Therefore if the East Punjab Government was not blameworthy for the migration of Muslims from there, why should the Alwar State alone be blamed for the same thing. When the Alwar State was asked peremptorily to take back the migrated Meos in the State, it replied that if the East Punjab Government was prepared to take back the Muslims who had migrated to West Punjab, Alwar State would also do likewise. It is well known that Pandit Nehru, the Prime Minister was deadly against exchange of population. But he also after observing the situation in the Punjab had expressed his view that it was then necessary to consider a large scale exchange

of population. Under these conditions, it was impossible to send the Meos back into the Alwar State. When the Centre asked the Alwar State to receive some Hindoo refugees from West Punjab and the Frontier province in place of the migrated Muslims, the State agreed to receive 50,000 Hindoo refugees. In this way, this difficult problem has been solved for the present. No one can say what will happen in the future. Conditions in the State are for the present quite peaceful, but so long as communal riots are going on in the Punjab and elsewhere, nobody can say how long this peace can be maintained.

CHAPTER XV

DEPOSED FROM ALWAR

I have freely admitted in the last chapter that I accepted the Diwanship of Alwar in those disheartening and difficult circumstances only to fulfill my ambition of becoming a member of the Constituent Assembly representing that State. My ambition was fulfilled because the Maharaja of Alwar announced on the 1st July 1947 my nomination to the Constituent Assembly on behalf of the State. After publication of the news that the Alwar State joined the Constituent Assembly many small and middling ruling princes also announced their joining the Constituent Assembly because the Maharaja of Alwar was regarded as one of the leaders in the Chamber of Princes. It was natural therefore for the princes to follow him. I therefore claim a legitimate share in the achievement of Sardar Patel in the matter of integration of the country, because I persuaded the Maharaja of Alwar to join the Constituent Assembly. There is another claimant also in this achievement of Sardar Patel. He is Lord Louis Mountbatten, the then Viceroy and Governor General of India. I have asserted before that Lord Louis Mountbatten compelled the Indian Princes to join the Constituent Assembly of the Indian Union. I will now relate how this happened.

After the announcement of 3rd June 1947, of the partitioning of the country and the provinces of Bengal and the Punjab, Lord Louis Mountbatten called a conference of the Maharajas and their Diwans under his own presidentship in Delhi either towards the end of June or beginning of July. I attended this conference in the capacity of the Diwan of Alwar. In this conference, Lord Louis Mountbatten advised the Indian Maharajas to join the Indian Union without any hesitation. After the speech of Lord Mountbatten, the Diwan of Kutch expressed his doubt about this advice of Mountbatten. He was sitting close to me. Addressing Lord Mountbatten, he said, "I cannot take the decision of joining the Kutch State with the Indian Union and announce it today. The Maharawal of Kutch is at present on tour in Europe. I cannot take the responsibility without con-

sulting him." Lord Louis Mountbatten replied, "There is no reason for you to be afraid of taking this decision. When your Maharawal returns from Europe, you can straightaway tell him that you have been advised to take this decision by the Viceroy and I am sure you will not be troubled." Both these speeches made in the conference showed how great was the influence exercised by the Viceroy on the Indian princes. No Congress leader, not even Sardar Patel, attended this meeting. I therefore make bold to say that a considerable measure of the credit of integrating Bharat goes to Lord Mountbatten.

After my nomination to the Constituent Assembly was announced I attended a meeting of that body to take the oath of allegiance and sign the register of members. My going to the table to do this has been described by the *Hindustan Times* of Delhi in the following terms, "Dr. Khare walked very slowly and deliberately as if he had to show that although he was excluded from the Constituent Assembly by the Congress, somehow or other he succeeded in joining that August body."

Sometimes I used to make speeches in the Constituent Assembly which were very critical of the Nehru Government. Debate was going on, on the foreign policy of India in the Constituent Assembly, Legislative on the 3rd of December 1947. During this debate a cut of Rs. hundred on the supplementary budget was suggested. While making a speech on this cut motion, Prof. Ranga, a member from Andhra, praised Nehru to the skies and said that the international prestige of India was greatly enhanced. He also praised Mrs. Vijayalaxmi Pandit for walking out of the U. N. O. along with Pakistan to protest against the partition of Palestine. In my speech on this motion, I said "since I had no yardstick, to measure the enhancement of the international prestige of India, I could not give any opinion on it. Perhaps Prof. Ranga had such a yardstick to enable him to give such a positive opinion. Walking out was usual with Congressmen. But it was surprising that those who consented to the partition of this great country protested against the partition of a small territory like Palestine and walked out hand in hand with Pakistan. But after all, there was no wonder

because appeasement of Pakistan was the perpetual policy of the Congress. I do not understand the intricacies and the confusion of international politics. But I can emphatically say that the prestige of Bharat has gone down in the countries of the British Commonwealth. In South Africa our position has become worse. In Ceylon also the rights of the Indians are trampled upon. (After eleven years, today the situation of Indians in Ceylon is much worse) The same was the condition in Burma where Indians owned property worth crores of rupees. The Government of India did not do anything for the safety of their interests in Burma. But the British while quitting Burma, successfully safeguarded all their interests in Burma. But inspite of the setback everywhere, I saw one great advantage in our foreign politics. We could appoint now as many ambassadors or representatives in foreign countries as we liked and thus benefit our friends, relations and admirers. This was not a small advantage! And I congratulate the Government of India for it."

In this debate naturally, the last speech was delivered by Nehru. In his speech Nehru did not reply to any of the points raised by me, but indulged in a personal criticism against me. He said, "I am very glad that Dr. Khare took part in this debate and made the debate lively. He criticised our foreign policy. I grant his right of criticism. When he was on this side of the house, it was difficult to understand his speeches and now when he is on the side of the opposition, it has become much more difficult to gather any meaning in his speeches. His criticism will have no effect because it was only a meaningless jargon."

There was a Congress paper at Delhi at that time named *National Call*. It criticised Nehru in its issue of the 5th December 1947 for criticising me in this manner which amounted to hitting below the belt. Next day, Mr. Bapuji Aney (Representative of the Southern Maratha States) left his seat and came to me and said, "Pandit Nehru ought not to have criticised you in the manner he did yesterday." I replied, "Bapuji, please do not be anxious. It is not my nature to swallow insults and keep quiet.

I shall certainly at the very first opportunity take revenge upon Pandit Nehru for his improper criticism levelled at me yesterday. You need not worry about it."

I soon got such an opportunity. One Congress member moved a cut motion of rupees hundred to discuss bribery and black market. During the debate on this cut motion, Mr. R. K. Sidhwa, a Congress member said, "There is no doubt about the existence of bribery and black market. But the present Government cannot at all be blamed for it. The Government which functioned before this Government is responsible for this corruption and black market."

In reply to Sidhwa, I said in my speech," I object to the statement of Mr. Sidhwa and it is my right to do so as a member of the previous Government. Even so, I have not stood up to defend that Government. But I say that the corruption and black market have now greatly increased in the regime of this Government. They are now much more in evidence than in the regime of the previous Government and the present Government is responsible for it and the reason for it is obvious. The previous Government and its machinery was never so thick with the mercantile community as the present Government and its machinery." At this time, some Congress members expressed their opposition to this statement of mine by making a noise. Seeing it, I said, "I am not one of those who can be cowed down by such noise. I will now place before the house the proof in support of my statement supplied by a highly placed Congressman which you will have to accept. Some days ago, while replying to an interpellation, the Revenue Minister of Bihar, Mr. Krishna Ballabh Sahai placed before the Bihar Legislative Assembly a long list of high placed Congressmen who indulged in black market. Have you forgotten this? I challenge every member in this house to deny this."

Further on I said, "There is another reason for which I intervened in this debate. The other day, Pandit Nehru welcomed my speech in the house. I therefore feel like speaking today also. I humbly thank the Hon'ble the Prime Minister of

India for generously conceding my right to criticise. His complaint is that he does not understand the meaning of my speeches. I am surprised because I speak in plain English which could be understood by any person with a common intelligence. Pandit Nehru says that my criticism will have no effect. I readily agree with him, but the reason is not that my criticism is a *meaningless jargon*. But the reason is that in this house there are serried ranks of mechanised voting automatons who have pawned their conscience and commonsense to him."

Lot of excitement was created in the house by my speech. Some Congress members severely criticised me in the lobby, while some others patted me on the back by saying Zindabad (long live). When I asked them the reason for patting me, they said, that they had been muzzled by discipline. But they felt delighted if somebody manfully came forward and gave expression to naked truth.

A couple of days after this incident, in the assembly, i. e. exactly on the 7th December 1947, Mr. G. D. Birla invited me by phone for dinner at his house, the same night. After the dinner was over, he requested me to see Mahatma Gandhi who was his guest. (This Mr. Birla has written a booklet in English entitled 'Under the Shadow of the Mahatma'. In this book, Birlaji has described the close relationship existing between him and Gandhi and compared himself to Gandhi. In this comparison, he has shown that in practical life, wealth is of great importance.) To understand the implication of this invitation by Shri G. D. Birla, I must refer to some past incidents.

I have mentioned before that Gandhiji took the side of the Meo Muslims of Alwar and wanted to rehabilitate them there. It will be worthwhile therefore to describe the tendencies of these Muslims. It is well known that in those times, the Hindoos and Muslims hated each other. Communal riots were going on in Alwar in June and July 1947 and even sometime afterwards. At that time, many Musalmans left Alwar and went and stayed at Rewari, a town in the Gurgaon district. Rewari is a railway junction between Delhi and Alwar. I had occasion to go to Delhi many times on business and used to go

sometimes by motor and sometimes by rail. On one occasion, after the date and train of my journey to Delhi were finally fixed, a Muslim orderly of Alwar who was serving me at my bungalow suddenly left Alwar like many other Musalmans. He went to Rewari and must have communicated the news of my journey to the Muslim refugees there. Because, that day, when my train stopped at Rewari station about 200 Musalmans ran towards my carriage crying 'Allah ho Akbar'. It was fortunate that I was cautious from the very beginning and I had taken with me in my carriage a Military officer and a dozen armed sepoys for my protection. As soon as the train stopped, these armed sepoys stood before my carriage on both sides with fixed bayonets. The Muslim mob was discomfited by seeing them. My peons had already closed all the windows and doors of the carriage. But one could see outside through the wire-gauzed windows. The Musalmans came so near the carriage that I could easily hear their speeches. They were saying, 'look there, that culprit is going. But what to do?' So saying they looked at the armed sepoys and rubbed their hands. My train halted at the Rewari station for about an hour, but I did not see any police arrangements there made by the Union Government, and I enjoyed this dangerous amusement for one full hour. I was very much afraid that day because my wife accompanied me. I heaved a sigh of relief when the train moved on. This example gives an idea of the loyalty and reliability a Muslim servant.

Once I was going from Delhi to Alwar by car. My car stopped at a *nullah* about 20 miles from Alwar due to some defect in its machinery. It was about mid-day. When I got down from the car and began to look round, I saw all the neighbouring villages burning. I also saw some people coming towards the road with their belongings loaded on bullock carts. I could not at first know what the matter was. But it was evident that it was something dangerous. As the people began to come nearer and nearer towards the road, I found that they were Meo Muslims and thought that if they should come near me, my life would be in danger. But fortunately my car began to move and I reached the office of Ramgarh Nizamat which was

about 5 or 6 miles from the *nullah* with great speed. Ramgarh town was also stirred. The villagers were standing on the terraces with their guns trained on all sides, because they were apprehending an attack by the Meos. I remained in the office of the Ramgarh Nizamat for about two hours for safety. When I enquired from the people about the outbreak of fire in the neighbouring villages, I was told that the Meo Muslims in those villages had set fire to their own houses and left the villages. Mahatma Gandhi was intent upon resettling such devilish people in the Alwar State. But apparently Sardar Patel also did not listen to Mahatma's advice this time; because, as mentioned in the previous chapter in a meeting under the presidentship of Sardar Patel held on October 6th, 1947, attended by neighbouring Princes and their Diwans, it was decided that these Musalmans who had left the States should be sent to Pakistan and the Hindoo and Sikh refugees from Pakistan should be settled in these States.

This decision must have disappointed the Mahatma, and he must have realised that his close friends and colleagues also did not care for his opinions and advice. This must have created a feeling of frustration in the mind of Gandhi. His prayer meetings were going on as usual. About the 25th or 26th of October 1947, near about Dasera of that year, a person present in the prayer meeting said to Gandhiji, "Mahatmaji, you always say that you want to live for 125 years but we want you to live more in this world. You therefore say in your prayer meetings that I shall live for 150 years." Mahatma replied, to this member of the audience. "my dear fellow. now I do not want to live even for 125 years. So the question of wanting to live for 150 years does not arise. I now desire that God should close my eyes here and now, because there is no charm in living any longer as even my close associates now do not listen to my advice. My principles are not followed by anybody and the common people also now do not like me so much." I read this account of this meeting published in the *Hindustan Times* then and I felt very happy that the curse which I had uttered on Gandhi in a public meeting at Nagpur

on 3rd October 1938 (that year's Dasera day) had been fulfilled. This curse has been referred to in a previous chapter.

The admission that my curse was fulfilled in a short period of nine years was given by Mahatma Gandhi himself and I issued a small statement to thank God for it under the caption 'A Brahmin's Curse'. In the conclusion of the statement I said, "Mahatmaji's ahimsa is dead, khadi remains only as a cover for hypocrisy, truth is killed and Hindoo-Muslim unity is buried fathoms deep under a mountain of Hindoo-flesh, blood and bones. Gandhism is dead. Long live Mahatma Gandhi."

This statement was published in *Alwar Patrika* a newspaper of Alwar. 2,000 copies of this statement were printed by Hakim Rai, a refugee from Rawalpindi who had settled in Alwar. He distributed the copies of this statement in Delhi and he gave one copy of the statement to Mahatma Gandhi also. Mahatma read it and said, "Oh, this Khare is still pursuing me. What harm have I caused him? I must find out a remedy to stop this." This must have happened in the second or third week of November 1947 After returning to Alwar from Delhi, when Hakim Rai told me what was said by the Mahatma about me, I thought that it was very likely that I would get another call from the Mahatma for psychological treatment as such a call was received through Nanasaheb Kedar in December 1945, an account of which could be read in the 12th chapter. Therefore when I received an invitation for dinner on the 7th December 1947 from Shri G. D. Birla, my curiosity was naturally aroused.

When I received the invitation from Shri G. D. Birla, I asked him the reason for it. Birlaji replied, "There is no special reason, or any celebration of any function at my place. I am troubling you with this invitation because I have a keen desire that you should dine at my place." On this I asked Birlaji about the particulars of other guests. He said that no other guests were invited. Therefore I was rather surprised, but when a gentleman invites you for dinner, there is no point in refusing it, if you are not otherwise engaged. I therefore accepted the

invitation and went to Birla House for dinner at 8 P. M. as settled. After the dinner, we were sitting in the drawing room and gossiping when Birlaji requested me to see Gandhiji who he said, was living in the room beyond. No sooner I heard this request from Birla, I sensed the reason for his invitation to dinner. I at once said to Birla, "I know very well that Gandhiji is your guest for the past several months. His prayer meetings are also held in your garden. But I am not going to see Gandhiji at all as I have no business with him. I have no desire therefore to see him and waste his time and mine." On this Birlaji said, "Doctorsaheb, how will this happen? How can you leave this house without seeing the Mahatma? When tomorrow morning the Mahatma comes to know that you were here he will take me to task for not taking you to him and when he asks me the reason for not taking you to him, what reply can I give"? I replied, "It is your business to give a reply and not mine. You can give him any reply you like. I am not at all concerned with it, You may even abuse me if you like while you give a reply to Gandhi. I will not feel anything for it. But certainly, I will never see Gandhi." Birlaji was surprised and said, "People are very eager to have Gandhi's darshan, and make all kinds of efforts to secure it. Today, you have got a chance of Gandhi's darshan without any efforts. But you are not availing yourself of it. I cannot understand you." I said, "The reason for my refusal is quite clear. I have no business with him and I have not to ask him for anything." Birlaji cut me short and said, "You have no desire to ask anything from Gandhiji. Therefore you must not refuse to see him. Because in this condition, nobody will misunderstand you." I replied, "Sethji, you are under a wrong impression. If I see Gandhi, newspapers will carry on propaganda against me. Your own paper, *Hindustan Times* will say 'Oh there is something up the sleeve of Dr. Khare. He wants to stage a come back in politics. That is why he sought the interview of Gandhiji', and if I give a negative reply, to this propaganda, your self-same *Hindustan Times* will not publish it. Therefore, why should I involve myself in a difficult

position? Besides, I tell you straightaway that I do not entertain the same feelings of respect for Mahatmaji as before. It is true that he awakened the country and deserves its gratitude. But latterly, his policy has caused great harm to the country. It has led to partition. He also broke his plighted word given to the country that there would be no partition except on his dead body. He has therefore fallen in my estimate. Moreover, there are fundamental differences between him and me about the Philosophy of life. So, there is no use my seeing him, and under such circumstances, you should not insist upon it." Birlaji asked me whether my decision was final and I replied in the affirmative and told him that it would never be changed. I continued, "Sethji, you say that Gandhiji is sitting in the yonder room and you also say that he will ask you about me in the morning. *But I say that Gandhiji is fully aware that I am sitting here.* If therefore he leaves that yonder room and comes here, I will certainly speak to him with respect, or if he sends a man from the yonder room and calls me, I will certainly go and have a talk with him. Sethji, you can understand my meaning. Mahatmaji wants to make it appear to the world that I voluntarily went and saw him. This shall not happen."

The relations between me and Shri G. D. Birla were never so thick that he should call me on the phone for dinner. I stayed in Delhi for about $3\frac{1}{2}$ years as a member of the Viceroy's Council. But during the whole of this period, he never invited me to dinner. Photographs have been published in the press of Birlaji and myself taking tea together. But these are snaps taken in a party given by somebody else. Besides, there is a great difference between our social status. He is a multi-millionaire and I am a common middle class man working for my bread. I therefore emphatically say that the inspiration to invite me to dinner must have been from the Mahatma. This is clear from our post-dinner conversation. Mahatmaji of course must have known that I left Birla House after dinner without seeing him, and he must have also compared my attitude at Calcutta in December 1945, with my attitude in Delhi in December 1947. In 1945, I at least went to Calcutta from

Delhi and saw the Mahatma and in December 1947, my mental disease became so worse that I refused to see the Mahatma, even going to a place where he lived *Mahatmaji therefore must have thought of using some drastic remedy to cure my psychological ailment.*

A few days after this I returned to Alwar and found that the atmosphere there was very much vitiated. I discussed the political situation in Alwar with Mr. Gokulbhai Bhat, the leader of the Praja Mandal (an organisation in the Indian States allied to the Congress). The all India States People's Conference had appointed Gokulbhai Bhat to bring about a compromise between the Maharaja of Alwar and the Praja Mandal of Alwar with a view to the immediate establishment of an interim Government in Alwar. During the discussion I told Gokulbhai Bhat that I was not very fond of power, and that I was a protagonist of responsible Government and I would always try to establish that in Alwar. On this Gokulbhai Bhat said, "How can a responsible Government be established in Alwar when you are here. You are a great opponent of the Congress and you make speeches against Prime Minister Nehru in the Constituent Assembly and you intend to pull him down and usurp his place." I replied, "You are entirely wrong. What you suggest is absolutely impossible and such thoughts have never crossed my mind. Moreover, in democracy; everybody is entitled to do what you allude to. There is nothing wrong in it." Gokulbhai said, "You sit in the Constituent Assembly as a representative of the Alwar State, and abuse the position given to you by the Maharaja of Alwar. Is it proper on your part to do so? I suggest to you to resign from Alwar and get elected to the Constituent Assembly from Nagpur. What right have you got to dabble in Alwar politics?" To this I gave a very straight reply. I said, "What right have you got to ask me to resign and go back to Nagpur. If the Maharaja of Alwar who appointed me asks me to resign and go back to Nagpur, I shall do so immediately. Gokulbhai, I am a believer in Akhand Hindustan and regard the whole of India as my motherland. Nagpur, Alwar or any other place, therefore is equal to me. According to your own suggestion, I ask you, that when you belong to Sirohi State, what right

have you got to dabble in Alwar? If you have got that right, you must concede that to me also." When the Meo rebellion was going on, the Praja Mandal members of Alwar, in other words, Congressmen of Alwar, were very much pleased with me, for my suppression of the rebellion with a firm hand and maintenance of peace. But after the establishment of peace in Alwar, the atmosphere became very much against me, which would be evident from the foregoing conversation. Besides this, the members of the Praja Mandal of Alwar had spread a thick rumour in Alwar that I would have to quit Alwar soon.

I thought that the States Minister Sardar Patel might not be liking me. Therefore he might have inspired the members of Praja Mandal of Alwar to carry on this propaganda against me. Therefore to ascertain the truth, I sent a letter to Sardar Patel dated the 18th December 1947, which was as follows:—

"Within 24 hours of my arrival in Alwar from Delhi on the 15th December, many people asked me about the possibility of my continuing in Alwar, because members of the Alwar Praja Mandal have spread the news that you would soon ask me to quit Alwar".

Sardar Patel's Secretary sent a reply to this letter on the 25th December 1947 which was as follows:

"Even before your arrival at Delhi from Alwar Sardar Patel himself had heard news about the possibility of your quitting Alwar. But the States Ministry have no connection with this news, either intentionally or otherwise. Sardar Patel has asked me to convey this to you."

From the above, it was evident that the conspiracy of the Praja Mandal against me to oust me was going on but Sardar Patel was not connected with it. Then who was connected with it? Was it Gandhi?

I have mentioned before that I went to Alwar for two reasons. One, to join the Constituent Assembly of India and the other, to confer self Government upon the people of Alwar.

My first object was realised and inspite of the vitiated atmosphere and the conspiracy against me, I began to make efforts to realise my second object and with the consent of the Maharaja, the following issue of Extraordinary Alwar Gazette was published on the 20th December 1947.

“On the occasion of the convocation held in Raj Rishi College Alwar, on the 17th December 1947, His Highness Shri Sawai Maharaj Deo was pleased to make a significant pronouncement regarding constitutional reforms in the Alwar State. His Highness said that full responsible Government would be established in the Alwar State within two years and immediate orders would be issued to prepare lists of voters in the Alwar State on the basis of adult franchise. There would be territorial constituencies in the State and every 20,000 people would elect one member to the Constituent Assembly which would frame the Constitution of the Alwar State. Till the constitution is framed and promulgated, this very Constituent Assembly would function as the Legislative Assembly also. During this interim period, an interim ministry would be formed of which at least half the members would be popular ministers.

N. B. Khare

Prime Minister.

This pronouncement made in this Extraordinary Gazette was very progressive because it gave all the power to the people. No other State had up to this time made such a progressive pronouncement. But this did not satisfy the Alwar Praja Mandal. On the contrary, they thought that this was a move to put off the evil day. Therefore the members of the Praja Mandal began to visit Delhi often. Gokulbhai Bhat also came to Alwar three or four times and called upon the Maharaja, but without any success to bring about a compromise between them. The Maharaja was ready to form an interim Government which would include two representatives of the Praja Mandal, one of the Hindoo Mahasabha and one representing the Jagirdars. Besides these four ministers, the Maharaja said that Dr. Khare

would continue as the Prime Minister. Gokulbhai Bhat opposed the scheme of the Maharaja. After this deadlock, I personally saw the Maharaja and told him straightaway, "whatever may be the agreement between us, the moment you tell me to go, I will quit Alwar because I do not desire to involve you into any difficulty on account of myself." On this the Maharaja said, "No doubt you are prepared to go any moment. But how can that be. It will not be proper". I told Gokulbhai Bhat also, "I am prepared to quit Alwar any moment because I do not want to stand between the people of Alwar and acquisition of political power by them."

As soon as the Extraordinary Gazette was published, the Alwar Government ordered the immediate preparation of voters' lists. This work would have been finished in three or four months and the dates of elections announced. The Maharaja decided to recast his Ministry in this interim period also and he offered one seat on the ministry to the Hindoo Mahasabha, and two seats to the Alwar Praja Mandal. But this did not satisfy them, because they did not want me at all and the Praja Mandal was not at all prepared to co-operate with the Hindoo Mahasabha. They said they would readily co-operate with the Muslim League or the Meo Panchayat (at this time there were no Meos or Muslims in the State), but not with the Hindoo Mahasabha because it was a reactionary organisation.

To show that the Praja Mandal's contention was wrong, it was brought to their notice that there was Shyama Prasad Mukherji a minister in the Government of India representing the Hindoo Mahasabha, and there the Hindoo Mahasabha and the Congress were co-operating. What harm was there to do the same thing in Alwar. But the Praja Mandal was not at all guilty of rationalism. Besides, they must have been afraid that in the particular circumstances obtaining in the Alwar State, if the elections were held the voters would favour the Hindoo Mahasabha. Therefore, they refused the two seats offered to them on the ministry. The Maharaja therefore recast his ministry by taking on it one minister representing the Hindoo

Mahasabha. This acted as fanning the fire and the Praja Mandal began to give threats of a terrible agitation on the strength of Delhi. I told them that they could do what they liked. I was not a man to be cowed down by such threats. After this, the Praja Mandal carried on a poisonous propaganda against the Alwar State in Delhi, adding to the poison already created by the propaganda of the Muslim League.

About the 12th or 13th of January 1948, Mahatma Gandhi started his fast unto death to give Rs. 55 crores to Pakistan. This made the atmosphere of Delhi very tense. Sardar Patel did not like that Mahatma Gandhi should add to the difficulties of the Government in such a delicate situation by undertaking such a fast. He therefore saw the Mahatma on the 13th of January and tried to persuade him to give up the fast. It is said that in this interview Sardar Patel requested the Mahatma to remain quiet as God in a temple, and receive homage from the Government and bless it. Sardar Patel very humbly requested the Mahatma, not to create such difficulties, but the Mahatma being overwhelmed with his unwarranted and extraordinary love for the Muslims, did not like this humble request made by the Sardar. On the contrary, he became angry with Sardar Patel and some bitterness was created between the two and each one told the other that he would not see his face again. On account of this, Sardar Patel must have behaved this time quite contrary to his usual practice. Because instead of remaining with the Mahatma during the period of the fast, this time he left Delhi while the fast was going on, went to Bombay and Ahmedabad and did not return to Delhi till it was announced that the fast was ended.

At this time, the marriage of one of my daughters was settled to be held in Nagpur. Therefore, I took some casual leave and arrived at Nagpur on the 19th January 1948, where I heard on the 20th January 1948, that one Madankal Pahuja threw a bomb at the prayer meeting of the Mahatma. The marriage of my daughter was solemnised on the 22nd January and I left Nagpur for Alwar on the 24th of January 1948. In

these two days, an astrologer of Nagpur named Vishwanathrao Agnihotri (since dead) requisitioned my horoscope through Mr. G. D. Dhawale, a friend of mine and gave me in writing his predictions for me for the next six months on the 24th of January 1948, just when I was leaving my house to go to the aerodrome for my journey to Delhi. When I cursorily glanced at it, I found in the prediction that in the first week to February, I would lose my power and authority and would have to face many insulting situations creating mental fear and harming my reputation. I read this and laughed a bit and said to the astrologer that I did not think that his prophecy would come true because I enjoyed the full confidence of the Maharaja of Alwar. I reached Alwar on the 25th of January 1948. In the meantime, the Maharaja of Alwar had received a wire from the Maharaja of Jaisalmer that Pakistan had attacked that State. (the Maharaja of Alwar and Maharaja of Jaisalmer were closely related). Therefore, by the order of the Maharaja, I sent a plane belonging to the Alwar State to Jaisalmer to reconnoitre the area and went to Delhi on the 27th January, because the sitting of the Constituent Assembly was going on. On the 28th January 1948, while the session of the Constituent Assembly was going on, I went to the seat of Sardar Patel and gave him the wire received from the Maharaja of Jaisalmer and requested him to send adequate assistance to that State. Thus in a very happy mood, I was busy in my work and I had forgotten the prediction made by the astrologer at Nagpur. But what a misfortune, Mahatma Gandhi was assassinated on the 30th of January 1948.

On this very day, according to a previous arrangement, there was to be an At Home at my residence in Delhi on behalf of the Maharaja of Alwar to some prominent members of Parliament and some Rajput noblemen. Two servants of the Alwar State had come to my residence in Delhi on this day to make arrangements for this party. When they were going to make these arrangements, they heard the news of Mahatma Gandhi's assassination near the Delhi Secretariat. So they came to me and communicated this news to me. In the beginning I did not believe it, but when they told me that they had got

the news from the Secretariat of the Government of India, I was greatly shocked and I immediately ordered them to cancel all arrangements for the party and telephoned to the maharaja accordingly. The next day, that is on the 31st January 1948, the Maharaja of Alwar came to Delhi to join in the funeral procession of Mahatma Gandhi.

The murderer of Gandhi was connected with the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, the summer classes of which were held at Alwar in the month of May 1947 as mentioned before. Moreover, the poisonous propaganda of the Alwar Praja Mandal was also going on. They used this assassination of Gandhi as an effective instrument to carry on the propaganda against Alwar State. Alwar State had also established a small arms factory under the name of the Alwar State Ordinance Factory as a branch of the Army Department of Alwar. The Alwar State was also engaged in making preliminary preparations to establish an aeronautical college in Alwar. Alwar State also had suppressed the Muslim rebellion with a firm hand. The Alwar Praja Mandal took full advantage of all these facts and publicly accused the Maharaja of Alwar and myself of having a hand in the conspiracy for the assassination of Gandhi. The leaders of the Praja Mandal made these accusations against us in a public speech delivered at Alwar by them on the 3rd February 1948. The Collector of Alwar sent an authoritative report of this meeting to the Prime Minister, i.e. myself which is given below.

Special Report of the Collector of Alwar :

"The Praja Mandal held a public meeting last night which was announced in the evening. It was given out with the announcement that there was a conspiracy behind the murder of Mahatma Gandhi and that some of the highest officers of Alwar State were among the conspirators and their names will be announced in the meeting. Soon after this announcement, a group of children and grown up boys came to the Secretariat displaying the photo of Mahatma Gandhi and raising slogans against the Hindoo Mahasabha, R. S. S. and the murders of Mahatma Gandhi. I therefore apprehended that the speeches,

which were likely—as they had been elsewhere in India—to be provocative in their nature, might lead to breach of peace. I therefore posted Pandit Ganga Saran, the City Magistrate and Pandit Ratna Narayan Shivapuri, Nazim, Alwar, at the meeting. The police had also made adequate arrangements and when I reached the meeting, I found Kuar Bakhtawaraj Superintendent of Police with sufficient force there. These measures taken ensured the prevention of breach of peace.

The meeting commenced at about 7 o'clock and the attendance at one time was estimated at about of 5,000. I am awaiting the detailed reports from the Nazim and the police, but as I was personally present in the meeting, I think, I may as well convey the main points attempted to be made by the speakers. *Mr. Shobharam* was the chief speaker and the proposition which he wanted to develop was that immediately there were prospects of India's attaining Independence, reactionary forces in India led by the Rajas, Maharajas and other vested interests got together to prevent the achievement of Independence. Reactionary bodies like the Muslim League, Hindoo Mahasabha, and the R. S. S. were brought on the scene by the Britishers and the money of the Rajas and Maharajas was used. The Maharaja of Alwar today is known throughout India as the biggest reactionary. He invited Dr. Khare, a traitor from the Congress ranks, to be the Prime Minister of this State. This man was very bitter against Gandhi and instead of doing State work, he turned the State into a centre of conspiracy against the Nehru Government and Mahatma Gandhi. He called the Hindoo Sabha leaders to Alwar and gave them State money. Time will come when exactly it will be known how much public money has been spent like this. But it was a fact that vast amount has been spent. Pandit Maulichandra Sharma was actually seen begging for money from the Prime Minister by the Praja Mandalists. Deshpande who has already been arrested on the charge of murderous assault on Mahatma Gandhi came to Alwar frequently and was given money every time. There is a rumour that Dr. Khare has been arrested in Delhi. It may not be true but I can say that sufficient evidence is forthcoming

against him in Delhi, and he is sure to be arrested within three or four days. In brief, he pointed out to the public that ever since Dr. Khare had arrived in Alwar, a conspiracy was started here through the agency of Hindoo Mahasabha and R. S. S. with the aid of public money of Alwar State, to overthrow the Nehru Government and the result is Mahatma Gandhi has been murdered. If some day, the Government of India orders an open enquiry, we will furnish proof to establish this conspiracy against Dr. Khare and even the Maharaja.

The other speakers also supported the same theme. The *central idea* was that Dr. Khare and the State are behind the murder of Mahatma Gandhi and they would not tolerate Dr. Khare any longer as the Prime Minister of the State, and will surely be launching a powerful agitation to see that he is removed. Detailed report will be submitted when received from the Nazim and the police."

4-2-1948

Prime Minister

and Revenue Minister

KHEMCHAND,

COLLECTOR OF ALWAR.

When I received this report of the Collector of Alwar at Delhi on the 5th of February 1948, I realised my dangerous future and also recollected the astrological predictions made by the astrologer, Agnihotri at Nagpur, 10 or 12 days ago. The incidents and all the future happenings in the next six or seven months, proved the predictions to be true. From this, nobody should conjecture that I was a great believer in astrology. I have already explained before how I regarded that science.

According to the forecast made in their speeches by the Alwar Praja Mandalists on the 3rd February 1948 the District Magistrate of Delhi came to my house on the 7th February 1948 and served me with a notice not to leave the precincts of Delhi for a month. From this, I sensed that the matter was grave; and that was true, because the Maharaja of Alwar was brought from Alwar to Delhi by the Government of India and kept in detention in the Marina Hotel, New Delhi under strict police and military surveillance. The Maharaja was prevented

from either writing letters to anybody or seeing anybody. The Government of India also seized the State of Alwar by sending a military force. Alwar forces would have opposed the forces of the Government of India, but this was averted by showing the consent letter given by the Maharaja of Alwar to the Commander of the Alwar forces. The Government of India seized the State of Alwar merely on the suspicion of murder, but it remained quite calm and peaceful even when recently Pakistan murdered 12 Indians at Nekowal.

The Government of India dismissed the Ministers of Alwar State and placed a police watch to watch their houses. The Government of India appointed an I.C.S. officer as Administrator of the Alwar State and I received from him the order of my discharge on the 7th February 1948, signed by the Maharaja of Alwar, which was as follows;

New Delhi,
7th February 1948.

Government of India, Ministry of States Notification No. F. 200-P-48 dated the 7th February 1948, has been handed over to me by the Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of States, in the presence of the Governor-General and the Hon'ble the Minister for States. I am shocked to note the contents of this document referring to the activities of the R. S. S. in the Alwar State; and the possible complicity of this organisation in the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi and other serious crimes with the support or connivance of the State Administration. It is extremely painful for me even to think that such an allegation should have been made against my State. As however the allegation is so grave, I do not wish to interfere in the least in the proposed investigation of the allegations and wish the position of my State to be cleared as best and as soon as possible. It is therefore ordered that the services of Dr. Khare, Prime Minister of the State be dispensed with. The administration of the State will be carried out by an Administrator appointed for the period of the enquiry. The Administrator should be given full co-operation

by the services, both civil and military. I shall voluntarily reside outside Alwar State during the period of the enquiry which should not in any way be prejudiced.

Tej Sing Alwarendra

Maharaja of Alwar.

Copy forwarded to Dr. N. B. Khare, with the request that immediate steps should be taken to return to the State any money or other things belonging to the State that may now be in his possession. The orderlies and peons deputed to work with him should be relieved at once and asked to report so the undersigned immediately.

N. N. Iengar,

Secretary to the Administrator,

Alwar State.

This very day, Lord Mountbatten, the Governor-General, said in his radio broadcast that the Government of India had in their possession prima facie evidence in support of the suspicion of the Alwar State having a hand in the Gandhi assassination. This prima facie evidence had been shown to some other princes who also agreed about its import. The Maharaja of Alwar has very generously agreed to leave Alwar State and stay in Delhi during the period of the enquiry, (The actual situation has been described before) and has dismissed Dr. Khare.

All this news was also broadcast on the radio on the 7th February on hearing which, the then Law Minister of the Government of India, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, came immediately to see me at my residence, 11, Canning Lane. As soon as he saw me, he asked what was all that about. I replied, "I think, this is all like Arabian Nights. But Dr. Ambedkar, why do you ask me about this. You are the Law Minister. You must know all about it." Dr. Ambedkar said, "I do not know anything about it yet." I said, "It is wonderful. Is there no joint respon-

sibility?" Dr. Ambedkar replied, "There is no joint responsibility. These two or three ministers are at the centre of the circle and we are at the circumference." I said, "Dr. Ambedkar, when both of us were in the Viceroy's Council, there was definitely joint responsibility. Why is it not there now?" Dr. Ambedkar replied, "It is a fact that joint responsibility is not there. But Dr. Khare, don't you worry. All this is done only to persecute you on account of your forthright opposition of Gandhi and Gandhism. Doctor nobody will come to you now. They will all be afraid of visiting your house which will be strictly watched by the C. I. D. Even your friends and well-wishers will be afraid to see you. Naturally therefore, you will feel very lonely. You are therefore welcome to come to my house for a chat any time you like, after ascertaining by the phone that I am at home." I visited Dr. Ambedkar after two days according to his suggestion and so long as I was staying in Delhi, I visited him on three or four occasions and we talked freely on current Maharashtrian politics, on the faults and merits of the Brahmins and non-Brahmins of Maharashtra except the untouchables, and also on the question whether mental slavery or physical slavery was worse. As prophesied by Dr. Ambedkar, no Maharashtrian friends came to see me in Delhi during my stay there. During my conversation with Dr. Ambedkar, I found out that he was very proud of the glorious history of Maharashtra.

In this unexpected way, I was deposed from the office of the Prime Minister of Alwar State on the 7th February 1948. In virtue of my office, I was a member of the Constituent Assembly. The day on which my services were dispensed with, was Saturday. The next day being Sunday there was no question of attending the Constituent Assembly. On Monday, that is, 9th of February 1948, some interpellations given notice of by me, were on the Agenda. Still I did not think it proper to attend the Constituent Assembly on that day, and while I was writing my resignation letter to be sent to the Speaker, a Military Officer brought a letter from the Maharaja of Alwar which was as follows :—

New Delhi,
9th February 1948.

Dear Dr. Khare,

I view of my statement dated 7th February 1948, I think, it would be proper on your part to resign your membership of the Constitusnt Assembly, and I shall be grateful if you kindly send a letter of resignation to the Speaker. I intend to appoint a member of the Alwar Praja Mandal on the Constituent Assembly.

Yours
Tej Singh
Maharaja of Alwar.

The above letter would show how intolerable to the Congress was my membership of the Constituent Assembly.

Congressmen had created a very vicious atmosphere against me in Delhi. They carried on a whispering campaign that there was such an overwhelming evidence against me that I was bound to be hanged. This created anxiety about me in the minds of my well-wishers. Two or three workers in the two Hindoo minded Urdu dailies of Delhi named *Pratap* and *Milaf* came to me and said that the Congresswalas were saying that I was sure to be hanged. They therefore came to see me and ascertain what the position was. I told them that all that was false and that they should not worry because I had no connection at all with Gandhi's assassination and nothing was therefore going to happen to me. On hearing this, they left me in a happy mood. After a couple of days, two other persons came to see me. Most probably, they were Congressmen. They said, "Doctorsaheb, there is such a great misunderstanding about you. Why don't you see Sardar Patel and clear it up. You are well acquainted with each other." I was very much irritated by this mischievous advice of these two persons. It was obviously quite foolish to see Sardar Patel under those circumstances, as I was under a cloud of suspicion, and when obviously an enquiry was being held against me. I therefore said to them, "The advice given by you is out of place. I am not

afraid of any misunderstanding whatever, because, I have no connection with the assassination of Gandhi. Manufacturing of false evidence against me will not be of any use because it is difficult for such false evidence to pass muster in a court of law unless and until there is some actual connection with the crime. I know, sometimes falsehood prevails against truth. Unfortunately, if this happens, and I am sentenced to be hanged I will go to the gallows without any fear, and curse the Congress. But I will never see Sardar Patel and humble myself before him. Please leave me immediately."

About this time, a stenographer of a Parliamentary Secretary from Nagpur had come to Delhi and spoke to somebody that my house in Nagpur was attacked and that one of my children was injured. This news naturally made me uneasy and I demanded a trunk call from the telephone in my residence at Delhi to my Nagpur residence. My object in doing so was to get authentic news about the alleged attack on my house in Nagpur. For a long time there was no response and when I repeatedly asked the exchange about this lack of response, I was informed that the telephone in my residence in Nagpur was removed by the C. P. Government. This made me more uneasy and I could not understand why the C. P. Government should remove the telephone from my house in Nagpur when the Central Government which was actually holding an enquiry against me, did not remove it from my residence in Delhi. But I thought that this must be due to my great 'friendship' with the Shukla-Mishra Government of C. P. and Berar.

In this condition of anxiety, I thought it better to go to Nagpur and stay there even under surveillance. I therefore informed the States Ministry that the object of the Government was to detain me in Delhi during the period of the enquiry against me, so that I might not be able to interfere in the enquiry. This object of the Government could be easily achieved even if they allowed me to go Nagpur and put restrictions upon me there. The Government should therefore allow me to go to Nagpur. Two or three days after this request of mine, permission was granted to me with the consent of the enquiry-

ing police to go to Nagpur and the next day I purchased two tickets one for me and one for my wife for air journey, and made preparations to start from Delhi, the next morning. But I was surprised by the visit to my house at about 10 P.M. in the night previous, of a Magistrate and a police officer who served on me again an order not to leave Delhi. I was a bit angry and said to them, "What is this childishness. You gave me the permission to go to Nagpur this morning and you cancel it within 12 hours. What does it mean? I have already purchased tickets for air travel to Nagpur". The police officer said, "It does not matter. The Government will repair that loss. But we must carry out the fresh order received from the States Minister (Sardar Patel). After this, I was asked to hand over my air tickets to the police and the aviation company was also informed of the cancellation of my journey. At this very time, the police arrested my nephew who was staying with me at Delhi. Knowing this, my eldest son Dr. Vidyadhar Khare sent one of my brother's sons from Nagpur to keep me company. My departed dear friend, T. J. Kedar, Advocate, sent with him an oral message to me which was as follows :

"I am convinced that you have no connection with the assassination of Gandhi. Your old Congress friends want to persecute you for your bitter opposition to Gandhi. This enquiry against you is held only with this object and will not yield any results. But if unfortunately, the Government succeeds in roping you as an accused in the Gandhi assassination case, I, T. J. Kedar, will go and stay wherever the court is held and as long as the case lasts, at my expense, and defend you. You need not worry." This is called real friendship and generosity.

After this, on the 13th February 1948, my houses at Alwar and Nagpur were searched by the police. A lot of correspondence was seized by the police at Nagpur. Some of it has not yet been returned. I had with me a typed copy giving an account of both the interviews which Gandhi had with Mr. Emerson, the then Home Secretary of the Government of India, in 1931, before and after the session of the Karachi Congress.

In this account Gandhi's opinion that Bhagatsingh was rightly hanged was recorded, along with Gandhi's definition of independence. I think the copies of these interviews must have been suppressed or destroyed by the C. P. police because obviously the account was derogatory to Gandhi. But these copies bear no importance now because I have made use of their contents in 1941 in a statement in support of Mr. Jannadas Mehta who was fighting a Congress candidate in a by-election to the Central Assembly from Maharashtra. Gandhi was alive then and I had sent him a copy of this statement and challenged him to deny it. My private servant was present at the time of the search of my house at Alwar. The police beat him and asked him whether Godse was my guest at Alwar or not. Godse had never come to Alwar. Therefore my servant told the police, "no one bearing that name had ever come as a guest and stayed with Dr. Khare. If the alleged Godse was shown to me, I would be able to state clearly whether that man had come as a guest or not." All this happened but according to my servant, the high police officer at Alwar was a gentleman, because he read all the correspondence found in my house in Alwar; and kept it as it was, and said to my servant, "*that by reading this correspondence, it appears that Dr. Khare is a good man. I do not understand why the Government is persecuting him.*" The correspondence found in my house in Alwar was not seized by the police on account of the goodness of this officer. Therefore the photoblocks of this correspondence could be published in the second part of my biography.

At last I was permitted to leave Delhi on the 7th of March 1948 and arrived at Nagpur with my wife by plane. The belongings of myself and my wife were searched by the police at the aerodrome and an order not to leave Nagpur city was served upon me. That order was in vogue for a considerable time. About the second or 3rd week of March 1948, the Central Government announced in a public statement that the enquiry against the Maharaja of Alwar was finished, that nothing was found against him and he was allowed to go back to Alwar. But the enquiry against Dr. Khare, the ex-Prime Minister of Alwar was still going on and he was still under restrictions.

Mr. A. K. Pillay (Since dead), Barrister-at-Law and a great constitutional lawyer, published a critical article in an English weekly of Madras named '*Sunday Observer*' (Since defunct) on the 16th May 1948, about these unjust restrictions upon me. That article is very important constitutionally and legally. Therefore, it is being reproduced here.

A. K. Pillay's article :

After the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, people indulged in violence and atrocities at many place throughout India, causing terrible loss to many innocent persons. Cunning and mischievous people took advantage of the situation and caused great loss to their political opponents. *The Congress leaders also took advantage of this painful situation to restore their waning prestige and importance in the public and to destroy their opponents.*

Deposed without an enquiry :

For example, the action taken against Dr. Khare, the Prime Minister of Alwar was at once oppressive, unjust and dictatorial. A show was created to make it appear that the Alwar administration was involved in the assassination of Gandhi, and the dictator of the States Ministry, ordered the Maharaja of Alwar to leave the State immediately. The Prime Minister of the Alwar State, Dr. Khare, was at that time staying in Delhi to attend the Constituent Assembly. He was also detained in his residence without any authority only because the State had executed the instrument of accession. He was deposed and the administration was usurped by the States Ministry.

This astounded the people. They thought that all this was done because there was substantial evidence. After about 3 months, the Maharaja of Alwar was proved to be innocent as a result of the enquiry, but it was announced that the enquiry against Dr. Khare was still going on. During this interval, the States Minister was pleased with the Maharaja of Alwar and he was made the Deputy Rajpramukh of the new territory named Matsyadesh.

Questions of Law :

This gives rise to the following legal and constitutional questions :

(1) It must be taken for granted that the States Minister of the Government of India must have had in his possession reliable evidence about the complicity of the whole Alwar State in the Gandhi assassination before the decision was taken to turn out the Maharaja from the State, to dismiss the Prime Minister of the State, and to take the administration of the State in charge of the States Ministry.

(2) If there was sufficient evidence to take the amazing steps described above, it was necessary to launch one action against the likely accused alleged to be involved in it. Was it not against rules and legal procedure to declare some of the likely accused innocent, and to announce that the investigation against others was going on? It was easy to postpone this decision till the enquiry against all the suspected persons was finished. When the enquiry was finished and it was found out that the principal person (Maharaja) was innocent, it was improper to keep his servants and followers under suspense. To declare that the enquiry against some was finished and against some others was going on, was to say the least, highly improper.

(3) It is obvious that where there is neither democracy nor responsible Government, the ruler of the State was all powerful, and nothing could happen in such a State without his order and consent. It was therefore absurd to declare the Ruler innocent and announce that the enquiry against the Prime Minister was still going on.

Why was not Dr. Khare declared innocent :

The accusation was made against the administration of the State and not against any individual and the Maharaja was ordered out of the State and the administration of the State usurped by the States Ministry. Under such circumstances, it was an insult to the intelligence not to declare the Prime Minister of the State innocent.

(4) It must be remembered that there was no charge of conspiring or abetting against Dr. Khare as an individual. The alleged offence against him consisted only of his public statements against Gandhi and within a few days, Dr. Khare was released from detention at Delhi and allowed to go to Nagpur, his residence, where he is at present staying. Under such conditions, to keep this aged and venerable patriot who has worked in many high offices, in suspense, is improper, illegal, mean and cruel. A fearless and straightforward person like Dr. Khare surely deserved better treatment.

Dr. Khare had to pay a high price for his fearlessness and outspoken utterances. He was never liked by the Congress High Command. He became the first Prime Minister of his Province because he was most popular and respected by all. But since he refused to be cowed down by the Congress High Command, he was dismissed from the premiership in 1938. After 10 years, the same thing was repeated and he was dismissed from the Prime Ministership of Alwar State. Enquiry was held against him on suspicion of his complicity in Gandhi assassination for several months behind his back, but nothing came out of it. Yet he is kept under a cloud of suspicion. An ordinary criminal even is treated much better.

Besides the above, Shri Khairatiram Agarwal, the Editor of *Hindu Sandesh*, a Hindi weekly of Jodhpur had written an article in that paper on 13th November 1948. This paper belongs to Rajasthan. The opinion contained in it therefore deserves to be regarded as authentic.

Article published in Hindoo Sandesh :

Our special representative went to Alwar and held a searching enquiry in this matter. Really speaking neither Mr. Nathuram Godse had ever visited Alwar nor had the Maharaja given him any pistol. The fact is that Shri Nathuram Shukla, Editor of *Shakti*, a paper published in Jabalpur had certainly gone to Alwar and was a guest of Mr. Siddh. He also made public speeches. Being alarmed by the poisonous and false propaganda carried on by the Alwar congress-

men, the Central Government became panicky, sent a military force and seized the Alwar State. The Maharaja was detained in Delhi during the enquiry and the Prime Minister, Dr. Khare was dismissed. After some time, the Maharaja of Alwar was declared innocent and was allowed to go back to Alwar, but it was not understood why restrictions were still imposed upon Dr. Khare.

Every one knows that the Meos inspired by the Muslim League had decided to establish *Meostan* and for this purpose they had created trouble in Alwar, Bharatpur, Gurgaon, Bulandshahar, Agra and Meerut. They had decided to attack Delhi also. If the Governments of Alwar and Bharatpur had not suppressed this Meo rebellion, politicians can easily imagine what would have happened. It must therefore be said that Dr. Khare not only saved Alwar State from destruction, but protected the Central Government also. All persons who were suspected of complicity in the crime of Gandhi assassination have been declared innocent and released. It is not understood why the Government of Central Provinces has kept Dr. Khare still under restrictions. It is the duty of the Central Provinces Government to remove all restrictions against him as he is also a patriot and has served the country.

In this connection it will be quite relevant to quote from what another Rajastani viz. Mr. D. R. Toliwal says about me in his Hindi book "Prominent Personalities of Bharat 1857 to 1953". On page 40 he says "Dr. Khare was also the Diwan of Alwar, when he firmly suppressed the rebellion of Meo-muslims inspired by the Muslim League and thus checkmated their dream of attacking and conquering Delhi."

I also quote here a paragraph from the book "Partition of India (1947)" written by Shri G. V. Subbarao to throw more light on the dangerous situation in Delhi at the time. On page 224 the author says, "Just one more incident connected with the R.S.S. Volunteers, and it relates to a Muslim plot for capturing Delhi shortly after Independence. Referring to the intended Muslim coup in Delhi on September 10, 1947, the late Bharat Ratna Dr. Bhagwandas wrote on

16-10-1948 : 'I have been reliably informed that a number of youths of R. S. S. underwent the self-imposed indignity and shame of pretending to become even converts to Islam in order to secure the confidence of Muslim Leaguers in New Delhi and so were able to inform Sardar Patel in the very nick of time of the Leaguers' intended coup on September 10, 1947, whereby they had planned to assassinate all members of Government and all Hindu officials and thousands of Hindu citizens on that day, and plant the flag of Pakistan on the Red Fort and thus seize all Hind. If those high spirited and sacrificing boys had not given the very timely information to Pateltji, there would have been no Government of India today, the whole country would have changed its name into 'Pakistan', tens of millions of Hindus would have been slaughtered and the rest converted to Islam or reduced to stark slavery, and the Super-orthodox and fanatically bigoted Pandit-gentlemen would have been either dead or eating cow's flesh with gusto."

—Shri Guruji, the man and his mission Page 34.

Over and above the foregoing quotations describing the situation in Delhi at the time, it will be worthwhile to quote the highest British authority in the matter. Mr. Alan C. Johnson, thus writes in his book, '*Mission with Mountbatten*,' under the date 7th September (1947)

"The situation in Delhi worsened very considerably during the previous twenty four hours. If we go down in Delhi, Mountbatten warned we are finished."

The foregoing account will show what service I rendered and how the Congress after deposing me, unjustly victimised me. Not only that but the Congress tried to smear my blameless character and bring about my character assassination which if successful would have resulted in my eclipse from society. This malicious persecution by the Congress Government will be described in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XVI

MALICIOUS PERSECUTION

I was detained in Delhi under surveillance after the unfortunate assassination of Mahatma Gandhi. After about a month, I was allowed to go to Nagpur to stay there also under restrictions. I believe, public may be remembering this, although a decade has passed. But the public may not have any idea about the reasons for doing this and also any knowledge of the mischievous and malicious acts done, to remove me from public life by those who always proclaim their love for *truth* and *non-violence*. In this chapter I will give an authentic account of all these acts to enlighten the public.

When Gandhi was assassinated, I was the Prime Minister of Alwar. Several attempts of different kinds were made to ensnare me.

(1) Houses searched at two places :

First an attempt was made to involve me directly into the conspiracy to assassinate Gandhi. When the assassination took place I was in Delhi as a member of the Constituent Assembly. As mentioned before, I was served with an order on 7th February 1948 not to leave Delhi, and on the 13th February 1948, my houses at both the places, that is, Nagpur and Alwar were searched. From my bungalow in Alwar two letters enquiring about the Arms Factory established in Alwar were seized along with my own pistol, and from my bungalow in Nagpur lot of correspondence throwing light on political events was seized some of which had not yet been returned.

Police seize a letter :

None of the officers and men from the police department who were sent to search my house at Nagpur knew Marathi. This resulted in a very humorous incident. While I was the Premier of C. P. and Berar, Mrs. Anusayabai Kale, the present Congress M. P. (Since dead) from Nagpur had sent me a letter requesting me to bring about a compromise between her friend,

a nurse and her husband. In this letter the last sentence was "if you do this, there will be a sweet re-union between the two estranged souls." The letter was in Marathi. In Marathi, sweet re-union means '*godse-punarmilan*'. When this letter was seized, they saw Godse in it and the police were glad because they thought that they had secured a very valuable piece of evidence. They said, "Seize this letter. There is Godse in it."

(2) Wonderful method of persecution :

After the Gandhi assassination, there were arrests galore all over India and Alwar was no exception. Shri Giridhar Sharma Siddh, a staunch Hindoo Sabha worker was arrested in Alwar, and all the known police methods were exhausted upon him to obtain a confession or information, but to no purpose. Therefore a novel method of persecution was used which was very amusing. Mr. Siddh was confined in a condemned cell in Alwar jail and in a small compound in front of his room a tank was dug out, filled with water and swarms of mosquitoes were put in. Of course Mr. Siddh could not get any sleep on account of this.

Bundles of notes come out :

In this mental condition of Siddh caused by lack of sleep, the Alwar Police threatened him with dire consequences and tried their special methods. Along with this they also tried to tempt him. The police said "Siddhji, you are blameless. There is no accusation against you. Why are you unnecessarily undergoing all these tribulations? You listen to our advice a little and you will be benefited for the whole of your life". When Siddhji asked the police to make their meaning clear, the police said, "We shall show you the photograph of Godse and you study its features carefully and remember them. After 4 or 5 days we shall again show you the same photograph and ask you whether you had seen a man with such features in Alwar. You then say, "yes, there was a man with such features in the bungalow of the Prime Minister, Dr. Khare. He was staying there as his guest. Dr. Khare took him to the Maharaja who gave him a pistol and that man was practising shooting with that pistol

in the compound of Dr. Khare. That is all. You say so and you will be benefited for the whole of your life." While saying so, bundles of currency notes came out from the pockets of the police. It need not be mentioned that Godse had never come to Alwar. So all this was false. Mr. Siddh was a strong man. Therefore, he told the police that he will never put innocent lives in jeopardy by making such false statements. He abused the police as dogs and said, none of them were fit to speak to him and if they went on doing that, some drastic things might happen for which he would not be responsible. It need not be mentioned that after that, the police gave up all their attempts on Mr. Siddh.

(3) Jaipalsingh lost his Job :

Ten days before the unfortunate assassination of Gandhi, i. e. on the 20th of January 1948, a Punjabi refugee, Madanlal Pahua threw a bomb at the prayer meeting of the Mahatma. The police tried to involve me in this incident also. There is a College in Alwar named Raj Rishi College in which courses of arts and science are taught. One Jaipal Singh, England-returned graduate, was the Principal of this College at that time. He was suspended after the assassination of Gandhi and interrogated. All the methods of pressure, threats etc. were used upon him. During the enquiry he was asked about the relations between him and me. Police said to him, "You are passing through serious times. So get yourself extricated by listening to our advice. Why do you involve yourself unnecessarily. You simply say that Dr. Khare the Prime Minister of Alwar wielded great influence over me and he gave me a verbal order to give the acids and explosives in the Alwar College laboratory to prepare a bomb." Jaipal Singh emphatically told the police that under no circumstances, he would tell a lie and the result was that he lost his job and this England-returned graduate is now looking after his home agriculture.

(4) Arms factory established in Alwar :

This attempt of the police was most hateful. As I am rather fond of military science, I was trying to establish an aeronau-

tical college while I was the Prime Minister in Alwar. I had also established a small Arms Factory in Alwar. A Sikh refugee from Rawalpindi named A. S. Baxi was living in Delhi. While in Delhi many refugees came to seek help from me and Alwar was famous for rendering such help to the refugees. This Mr. A. S. Baxi was well versed in the art of manufacturing arms. He had travelled in Germany, France etc. and had learnt the art in those countries. He also came to seek my help as a refugee in Delhi. He suggested that his knowledge of manufacturing arms should be utilised and a small arms factory should be established at Alwar. He said he was also prepared to supply some capital. Although I welcomed the suggestion, I told him that that was a grave matter and nothing could be done without the consent of the Maharaja of Alwar. After this, I saw the Maharaja of Alwar and placed before him the proposal made by A. S. Baxi. Between us it was agreed that instead of any individual establishing such factory, it would be better if it was established as a limb of the military department of the State. If this was done with State help, the factory would be stable and also useful to the Alwar army. In the end it was decided that in this factory, the Alwar State and A. S. Baxi should be partners. A. S. Baxi was to manage the factory and the Alwar State to supervise it as a department of the Alwar Army. All legal documents to bring this about were prepared.

Consent of the Political Agent.

Obviously, it was improper to establish such a factory quietly and secretly. I therefore corresponded with the Political Agent in Rajputana at that time and in a few days received his consent to start the factory. This factory manufactured pistols, revolvers, cartridges, hand grenades and many knick knacks useful to the army. In precision and accuracy the goods turned out could compete with foreign articles. The consent letter received from the Political Agent of Rajputana was dated the 5th or 6th of August 1947. Later on, on the 15th of August 1947, Sardar Patel the, States Minister had called me by wire to see him at Delhi. In this interview, I casually mentioned this establishment of the factory at Alwar to Sardar Patel and

requested him to help the Alwar State in securing the required materials for that factory. The Sardar praised me for establishing the factory in Alwar State and promised all necessary help. All this talk was verbal and there was nothing in writing.

Factory was sealed :

It has already been mentioned before that after the assassination of Gandhi, a notice was served upon me not to leave Delhi and the Maharaja of Alwar was brought to Delhi and kept in detention in the Marina Hotel, New Delhi, and the Government of India sent its army to seize Alwar. All the ministers of Alwar State were kept under surveillance in their own houses. Besides this, the Maharaja's palace was also sealed and such a strict watch was kept on all the boundaries of Alwar that nobody could enter or leave the State. The goods manufactured in the arms factory was counted and taken in possession by the Government and the factory was also sealed. The manager of the factory, Shri A. S. Baxi was also arrested and interrogated by 4 different police officers on 4 different occasions, about the establishment of the Alwar Arms Factory. All the 4 statements given by A. S. Baxi on the 4 different occasions were absolutely identical. There was no difference of a word or a comma.

Persecution of Mr. Baxi :

The police were surprised at this and they asked Baxi how he could give the same account every time. Baxi replied, "When the account is true, how can there be any difference. If I attempted to tell a lie, then there could have been some difference." The police asked Baxi whether the sanction of the Government of India was obtained before starting the arms factory in Alwar. When Baxi replied in the negative, the police said, "In this way by secretly establishing such a factory for manufacturing arms, you wanted to raise an armed rebellion against Government established by law. Therefore there is a noose round the neck of yourself, the Maharaja of Alwar and Dr. Khare. Mr. Baxi, you should now save your life by deposing against the Maharaja and Dr. Khare." Baxi replied, "your

accusation is entirely wrong. Nobody wanted to raise a rebellion against the Government of India. This factory is a part of the Alwar Army Department. I would never tell a lie and place in jeopardy the lives of innocent gentlemen." The police said, "If you do not show us the sanction of the Government of India, the situation will be very grave."

Give a statement against Dr. Khare :

On this Mr. Baxi showed to the police a letter of consent to start the Arms Factory from the Political Agent, Rajputana, dated the 5th or 6th August 1947. Seeing this letter, the police said, "We do not attach any value to this letter, because this has been written by the British when they were winding up before quitting. They must have sent this letter without making any proper enquiry. Therefore, unless and until you show us the sanction from the present Government of India, you will be in danger. We know, you cannot show us the sanction from the Government of India. Why should you therefore put your own life unnecessarily in danger. We give you a blank cheque. You will get whatever you demand, money, land, house, property. You simply name it, and release yourself from the danger by making a confession against the Maharaja and Dr. Khare." The police were too insistent. Therefore Baxi took time for the whole night to consider the question and thus temporarily got himself extricated.

Noose round the neck becomes firm :

Baxi's house was of course watched. Baxi's wife's brother was also a refugee. I had given him some job in the same arms factory. He and Baxi were living together. Baxi, his wife and her brother all gave deep consideration to this question for the whole night. Baxi's brother-in-law insisted, and said "What have you got to do with the Maharaja of Alwar and Dr. Khare? Let them die! We are refugees. Therefore if you just accept the advice of the police and give a confession as desired by them we would be benefited for three or four generations." But this evil advice and the pressure of the brother-in-law had no effect on Baxi's mind. For the whole night, he read the

holy Grantha Sahib and got peace of mind. He decided never to commit an act of treachery. Accordingly the next morning he went to the police and told them, "I do not care whatever happens to me, but I will never betray these gentlemen who gave me bread in times of adversity." After getting this final answer from Baxi, the police asked him again about the sanction from the present Government of India. They said to Baxi, "We know perfectly well that you cannot produce any sanction from the Government of India as you have none. We also know that somebody had only verbally talked about this arms factory with the States Minister, but it has no value. Now therefore, the noose round your neck has become quite firm."

Noose round the neck removed :

After this Baxi told the police that he would go home and search the correspondence and see if there was any letter from the States Ministry. Fortunately, he found out such a letter. Of course, this letter was not the sanction demanded by the police. In this correspondence, the Alwar State had submitted the list of raw materials required for the factory to the States Ministry and requested it to arrange to supply it. The States Ministry had sent a reply to this request in which the State was directed to the places from where the materials could be obtained; and it had also informed the State that the head office of the B. B. C. I. Railway, Bombay, had been directed to supply a direct wagon from Bombay to Alwar to carry those materials. When this letter of the States Ministry was handed over to the police, the police were greatly surprised. They said, "Baxi, we congratulate you. This letter has snapped the noose round your neck. We will keep this letter and give you a receipt for it". Baxi said, "I do not want any receipt for this letter from you. Even if you play false and say that you did not get this letter at all, I do not care because I have got a photo-stat copy of this letter, and also a copy obtained from the registration office embossed by the seal of the magistrate after registration." The police were amazed to hear this and asked Baxi the reason for taking all those precautions. Baxi replied, "I am an honest man and a cautious man."

took all these precautions because I had to deal with the police."

Still the factory was destroyed :

After this enquiry, the police submitted the report to the Government of India saying 'everything above board nothing under-hand' and I was saved from the possible involvement. Later on, the Government of India asked their technical experts at the Khadki Arsenal to inspect the Alwar Arms Factory and to make a report. Accordingly, the expert inspected the factory and recommended to the Government of India that they should take this factory in their charge, and work it because the workmanship and accuracy and precision of the weapons manufactured there, were comparable to those of foreign articles. But the cussedness of the Government of India compelled it to destroy this factory as it was established by me.

(5) Enquiry against Alwar State :

When I worked as a Prime Minister of the Alwar State, the times were turbulent. The Mco Muslims of Alwar had rebelled against the State with a view to have it aligned with Pakistan. I suppressed that rebellion with a firm hand. During these times, loot, rape, arson, murder, kidnapping did take place. The same things happened in East Punjab, Delhi, Rajputana, also during that period. But the Foreign Minister of Pakistan Sir Zaffrullakhan charged the Alwar State before the U. N. O. with committing genocide of the Muslims. India was represented at that time at the U. N. O. by Shri Gopalaswamy Iyenger, but he had not the courage to contradict Pakistan and also to make counter-charges against Bhawalpur State and Western Pakistan where also such things had happened. The States Ministry was established on the 15th of August 1947 and enquiry against the Alwar State was held on the 3rd September 1947, wherein all these charges were enquired into. This was only a departmental enquiry; I defended the State and nothing was proved against the State. After this enquiry, the States Ministry decided that all the Musalmans in Alwar who had deserted the Alwar State should be sent to Pakistan.

When will this enquiry end ?

After this enquiry and the decision taken, anybody would reasonably think that the curtain was permanently dropped over all these happenings. But it was not so. After the assassination of Ganchi all the incidents were again enquired into by the police and they tried their level best to establish my connection with some incidents of loot, rape, kidnapping arson murder, etc. They also tried to establish my connection with the destruction of the mosques in Alwar, but all attempts to involve me failed and I was also relieved from this possible involvement. It was announced by the Government of India in March-April 1948 that the enquiry against the Maharaja of Alwar was finished and that nothing was found against him. He was allowed to go back to his State; but the enquiry against Dr. Khare was still going on. Only Sardar Patel in heaven knows when that enquiry would be finished.

Gratitude for honesty and courage :

Now a period of 10 years has elapsed since all these incidents happened. So anybody would say that it was unnecessary to give all these details now. I myself had no knowledge of these details till August 1952. In this month, when I went to Delhi to attend the session of the House of People, Mr. A. S. Baxi met me and described in full detail how he was persecuted and also tempted by the police to make a false confession against me. Similarly, the son of Mr. Jaipal Singh, the Principal of the Alwar College who was studying in Delhi, also met me and told me what had happened to his father and how he was also troubled. Mr. Siddh also met me sometime before and told me how he was threatened and tempted to give a false statement about Godse's staying in my place in Alwar. I therefore decided to place these facts before the public with a double purpose, first to express my gratitude publicly to all these concerned people for their courage and honesty inspite of all temptations and blandishments; second to expose to the public the wickedness of the Congress party in attempting to bring about my character assassination.

look at this picture and that.

My gratitude to these honest gentlemen can be contrasted with the ingratitude towards me of the Congress High Command. The public now knows the efforts I made to get the Congress Working Committee members released from the Ahmednagar jail before the Simla Conference which was held in Delhi in July 1945. The correspondence between me and the Viceroy in this matter has been published in my biographies. Similarly, this book also reveals the efforts I made to persuade the Maharaja of Alwar to align his state with the Indian Union with the result that many rulers of the States who regarded the Maharaja of Alwar as a sort of a leader in the Princes Chamber, also joined the Indian Union. This also helped in the integration of the country and the States Minister Sardar Patel at that time had thanked me and congratulated me. Similarly, the attempts of the Musalmans in the neighbouring areas to capture Delhi about the 15th August 1947, were also foiled by me by dealing firmly with the rebellion in Alwar. Sardar Patel at that time had praised me with a full throat, but it is regrettable that after the assassination of Gandhi, all the valuable services rendered by me to the country were forgotten by the Congress leaders and they tried their level best to eclipse me and if possible, to finish me. This shows that, let alone *Satyā* and *Ahimsa*, the Congress *does not possess even ordinary humanity*.

CHAPTER XVII

I JOINED THE HINDOO MAHA SABHA

I did not join any political party after my expulsion from the Congress on 2nd October 1938. Whatever public work I could do, I did as a free-lance. Restrictions imposed upon me on my return to Nagpur after being deposed from Alwar automatically ceased to exist after six months, and I became free to do political work. Many people tried to persuade me to join their respective parties. I also wanted to join some political party because I saw that the Congress was becoming more and more corrupt. After mature consideration, I decided to join the Hindoo Maha Sabha.

After the assassination of Gandhi, the Government of India oppressed the Hindoos all over the country. Specially in Maharashtra, the oppression reached the highest pitch as there were internal dissensions in Maharashtra, between the Brahmins and non-Brahmins. It appeared that the Hindoo community was exposed to an attack from any quarter as there was nobody to protect it or to fight for it. Pakistan was brought into existence on account of the Congress policy of Muslim appeasement. This policy was not altered even after the unfortunate assassination of Gandhi. The policy of the Congress continued to be partial to the Muslims and against the Hindoos. On account of this disgusting favouritism towards the Muslims, indulged in by the Congress Government, there appeared to be a great danger to the integrity of the country. This danger was enhanced by the policy adopted by some world powers.

I called a press conference in my house on 16th August 1949, and in a press statement mentioned the reasons for my joining the Hindoo Mahasabha and declared that I had joined the Hindoo Mahasabha from that date.

The press statement was as follows :

“At present, the integrity of our country is in danger on account of some internal reasons as well as the manoeuvres of of three world powers :

(1) Machiavellian tactics of England and America based on dollar and pound diplomacy (I want to draw here the attention of the reader to the fact, that America entered into a friendly alliance with Pakistan in 1953-54 and gave military assistance to it. So also even today the policy of England and America about the problem of Goa and Kashmir is against the interests of India).

(2) Russia and the Indian communists who always dance to the tune of Russia.

(3) Aggressive pan-Islamism. (Readers will note that the Muslim countries viz., Turkey, Iraq and Pakistan have entered into a friendly alliance).

To save the country from these dangers, no *ism* imported from outside would be of any use. It was necessary therefore to lay emphasis on the historical and cultural unity of India existing from times immemorial. Hindoo Mahasabha follows this line of thought and it has recently accepted some socialistic ideas in economic matters. Hindoo Mahasabha although communal in name has always worked on national lines. Although this organisation is not popular at the time of my joining it, I am deliberately joining it because I agree with its policy and principles,

I must also mention here that while I was a member of the Viceroy's Council in 1944 and addressed a public meeting in the *Patil Pawan Mandir* at Ratnagiri, somebody asked me to compare the policies of the Congress, the Muslim League and the Hindoo Mahasabha. At that time, I had said, *The Congress is national in name but communal in policy and it favours Muslim communalism. Hindoo Mahasabha is communal in name but in action, it is fully national and the Muslim League is frankly communal both in name and action.*"

After the announcement of my joining the Hindoo Mahasabha on the 16th August 1949, I was invited to preside over the Silver Jubilee of Shri G. V. Ketkar, the then Editor of *Kesari* of Poona. This function was celebrated on the 21st

August 1949, in Poona. In my presidential speech, I said, "When I was expelled from the Congress in 1938 these very people, i e. Mr. G. V. Ketkar and his friends sympathised with me. I am beholden to them, because it is their policy to render assistance to persons in difficulty.

Much water has flown under the bridge during the last 25 years. Our country is not fully independent in the strict sense of the term, but certainly its slavery has ended. But unfortunately, we are deteriorating in moral and social values. I must say that the reason for this, is the hypocrisy indulged in political movements during the last 30 years. In our national flag song, we used to declare that we would sacrifice ourselves on the altar of the country and the religion. But ultimately the reverse has happened. Instead of sacrificing ourselves for the sake of the country and religion, we have sacrificed them by adopting the policy of secularism and accepting Pakistan. If secularism means equal respect or equal indifference to all religions, I would not quarrel, but the secularism of our Government necessarily means anti-Hinduism.

The science of midwifery lays down that when there is a transverse presentation and danger to the mother's life, the child should be sacrificed to save the mother. If you sacrifice the mother to save the child, it amounts to murder. But what did our Government do. The infant Pakistan in the womb of Bharat Mata presented itself transversely and these wiseacres bisected the Mother (Bharatmata) to save the child.

Some times, I write articles in newspapers. In one of my articles I had quoted a speech recently delivered by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister, at the political conference held at Delhi. Nehru has said in the speech,

"The Congress has become rotten. See if it can be improved. If not, kill it at once because such a death is better than a slow and painful death."

On the strength of this speech of Pandit Nehru, I had expressed my agreement with him in that article and then cited instances of black marketing, bribery, corruption, nepotism, favouritism

etc. (It is now 9 years, but instead of improving, the congress has deteriorated more and more. Still it is alive due to the ignorance and foolishness of the Indian voter. The result is that in his most recent speech about the 20th April 1958, Nehru has emphasised that the Congress is all right).

This article of mine was published in England, America and Pakistan. The Congresswalas therefore charged me that I wrote this article on the inspiration of foreigners. But they had not the courage to criticise Nehru on whose speech I had based my article. This was a grave injustice against me. But what else can be expected from those who had become mental slaves of Nehru. I did not write that article with the intention of getting it published in Pakistan, but I could not help it if it was published in Pakistan.

Our Prime Minister always used to proclaim that India would not remain in the Commonwealth, but ultimately, he has elected to remain in the Commonwealth and the Congress has given its consent. I like that the Government should be secular, but that does not mean, anti-Hindoo. I am for Hindoo Rashtra, but that does not mean persecution of followers of other religions. Just see what is happening today. Big Hindoo States like Baroda have been finished, but Hyderabad still endures inspite of the police action. Why is it so? Simply because the Nizam of Hyderabad is a Musalman! (The States Reorganisation Commission recommended the division of Hyderabad into 3 linguistic territories. Pandit Nehru could not help it. But he must have been shocked.) The same thing applies to Bhopal. It is well known that the Nawab of Bhopal is a sympathiser of Pakistan. Yet that State is still maintained as a separate entity under Central Administration. Why? Because the Nawab of Bhopal is a Musalman. The States Reorganisation Commission recommended the merger of Bhopal in Madhya Pradesh, but the Congress High Command has made Bhopal the capital of Madhya Pradesh instead of Jabalpur.

Where is the territory which was called India or Hindustan? Our rulers placed before the people* a strange equation as follows : *India minus Pakistan is equal to India ! Is it not*

strange ? Does not this equation give a go-by to the principles of Geometry and Algebra. All this happens because the Indian people are ignorant. This equation will be scientifically correct only when Pakistan will be equal zero.

The European countries are called *Christian* nations, the countries in the far east are called *Buddhist* nations, the countries in the middle east are called *Islami* nations. Similarly our country in the east, viz., India must be called *Hindoo* nation. Why should we be ashamed to do so ? Many religious preachers have come to this country upto now and have preached their religion. Buddhism got a great footing in this country because Buddha belonged to India. Emperor Ashoka became a Buddhist and he made that religion a State religion and propagated it in the country as well as outside. But Shri Shankaracharya banished Buddhism from this country and re-established the Vedic religion again. Today under the name of secularism a new religion like Gandhism akin to Buddhism is sought to be spread in India. I am sure, one day, this new-fangled religion will also meet with a Shankaracharya who will banish it from India. The Hindoos will have to take such an action. The Hindoo Society must therefore be strong. I accepted the invitation of the Silver Jubilee of Shri Ketkar with the idea to see how far the Hindoo society has become strong and I have become confident of the future of the Hindoo society by seeing the work of Shri Ketkar for the last 25 years and this great congregation assembled here to honour him."

While returning from Poona to Nagpur, I met Savarkar in Bombay on my way. Savarkar congratulated me for joining the Hindoo Mahasabha and suggested that I should take up the responsibility of being its President. This suggestion had certainly some effect upon my mind. After this, on the 10th of September 1949, I attended the meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Hindoo Mahasabha held in Delhi on a special invitation. In this meeting I was elected as one of the Vice-presidents of the Hindoo Mahasabha. Next day, I got a huge reception on Gandhi ground from the Hindoos of Delhi for joining the Hindoo Mahasabha.

Vinoba quits Alwar :

Some workers of the Hindoo Mahasabha from Alwar had come to Delhi at this time to attend the meeting of the Working Committee of the Hindoo Mahasabha. They met me and told me about the propaganda which was being carried on by Vinoba, the great disciple of the Mahatma, in Alwar. They told me that the propaganda carried on by Vinoba disturbed the peace of Alwar. He had therefore to leave Alwar. My curiosity was aroused by hearing this and I asked them what was done by Vinoba which led to the disturbance of peace in Alwar. They said, "Vinoba carried on propaganda in Alwar that those Musalmans who might have been converted to Hindooism in the year 1947 in Alwar, should get themselves reconverted to Islam again. The same thing was communicated to me by Shri Ghanashyam Singh Gupta, the ex-Speaker of the Central Province Legislative Assembly and leader of the Arya Samaj, when he came to see me on the 20th of October 1955. Not only this, he also told me that the Shuddhi office of the Arya Samaj used to receive full reports of the conversion of Musalmans to Hindooism in Alwar. Besides this propaganda asking those Musalmans who were converted to Hindooism to get themselves reconverted to Islam, Vinoba also carried on another kind of propaganda which was also dangerous. He preached that the houses and property of those Musalmans who had left the Alwar and Bharatpur States and had gone elsewhere should be returned to them and they should be rehabilitated in those respective States. This involved the unsettling of those Hindoo refugees from West Pakistan who were settled in those two States. Naturally, therefore, this irritated the Hindoo community and there was likelihood of disturbance of peace, which resulted in Vinoba quitting Alwar. When I heard all this, I thought that Vinoba, being the chief disciple of the Mahatma, had gone to Alwar to do the work dear to his late Guru's heart. It could also be imagined that the departed soul of the Mahatma might have inspired Vinoba the chief disciple, to go to Alwar and do the work of rehabilitating the Musalmans there which the Mahatma could not do in his lifetime. Who knows ! It is said that Sadhus and saints got such inspirations from departed souls. I say so,

because although in those disturbed times immediately before and after the partition, similar events had taken place in many places right from Amritsar to Gurgaon, Vinoba chose only Alwar for his activities. Was it not strange? Whatever it may be, when I was told by the Alwar people that Vinoba was compelled to leave Alwar, I could not write anything about it without ascertaining the whole truth about the incident. I therefore called Shri Narayanrao Chandorkar, a retired Commissioner and a resident of Nagpur and Administrator of Alwar State in 1949 to my house, and requested him to give me an authentic account of what happened in Alwar while he was the Administrator there, regarding Vinoba. The account given to me by Chandorkar is given below in brief.

Chandorkar said, "I do not know if Vinoba carried on propaganda in favour of Musalmans converted to Hindooism being reconverted to Islam. But I know it as a fact that he carried on propaganda to dislodge the Hindoo refugees settled in Alwar and Bharatpur States and to rehabilitate the original Muslim inhabitants in their place. I took charge of the office of the Administrator of Alwar on the 15th of May 1949. Vinoba had commenced his work in Alwar and Bharatpur States before I took charge. On one occasion Vinoba was putting up in a Dak bungalow in Bharatpur State. From there he sent a letter to me asking me to see him there. I did not like this action of Vinoba as I was brought up in British traditions, but I thought that it would be wise on my part to comply with Vinoba's request as it was a Congress Government. During this interview, Vinoba told me, 'it is quite necessary and proper to rehabilitate the original Muslim inhabitants in these two states of Alwar and Bharatpur. This must be done at all costs. Don't you know that Mahatma Gandhi gave up his life for the sake of Hindoo Muslim unity? It is therefore your duty to help me in this cause'. I replied, 'I am an administrator. I am not a politician. It is not in my hands to chalk out the policy. My duty is only to carry out the policy chalked out by the Central Government. I therefore cannot oblige you as long as the policy of the Central Government is not changed. *This suggestion of yours is against*

the policy of the Central Government. How do you ask me to carry out such a policy, which is against the Central Government You are acting against the policy of the Central Government. If you and your followers create trouble I will have to arrest you as a matter of duty to prevent any breach of peace and I will not hesitate to do so. You collect the Muslims and tell them that your followers of Sarvodaya are in favour of rehabilitating the Musalmans in their old places. But these Government servants are against this and obstruct the work of Sarvodaya. This propaganda of yours has endangered the life of Government servants and they hesitate to do their work properly on account of this danger. You must therefore stop this vicious propaganda. If you want that the Central Government should change its present policy, then you go the Central Government and have it done.'

The vicious propaganda of Vinoba continued even after this interview with me (Chandorkar). One of his followers named Satyambhai came to Alwar and began to indulge in threats. He was ordered to desist from such propaganda and the States Ministry was informed of all the activities of Vinobaji and its directives in this matter were solicited. On this Sardar Patel, the States Minister informed, 'The policy of the Central Government has not yet changed. You should therefore continue your work as before. A meeting of the Central Cabinet is going to be held after five or six days to consider this question. You should attend this meeting with all the papers you have got about Vinoba's activities and you should also inform Vinoba to attend this meeting. Accordingly, I (Chandorkar) and Vinoba both attended this meeting of the Central Cabinet. In this meeting Sardar Patel did not speak much. The Meeting was conducted by Pandit Nehru, the Prime Minister. It was decided in this meeting to continue the old policy and pandit Nehru asked Vinoba to quit Alwar under these circumstances. Thus Vinoba had to quit Alwar.'

It was decided to hold the annual session of the Hindoo Mahasabha at Calcutta in December 1949, and my name was proposed for Presidentship. I have already mentioned before

that I had a strong support from Veer Savarkar. Besides, Shri Ashutosh Lahiri, the then General Secretary of the Hindoo Mahasabha also supported me and I was declared elected unopposed. I will mention later on who opposed me secretly.

This annual session of the Hindoo Mahasabha was held in the last week of December 1949. Veer Savarkar inaugurated this session. Veer Savarkar, ex-president L. B. Bhopatkar and myself were seated in a chariot and taken in a grand procession in the city of Calcutta. The procession was a huge one and lasted for about seven hours. My presidential speech was also a long one. I will only give here some important extracts from it because the forecasts made in it were realised in a substantial measure.

“In Western Pakistan genocide of Hindoos and Sikhs was committed. Lakhs of them therefore had to quit that territory and seek refuge in India. Today, there is hardly any Hindoo or Sikh in Western Pakistan. In Eastern Pakistan although no massacres of Hindoos were committed still they are being persecuted there. Their property is being looted and it is impossible for them to continue to live there with self respect”.

As indicated in this speech, Eastern Pakistan began to commit genocide of Hindoos in January-February 1950 with the result that lakhs of them had to seek refuge in West Bengal. On account of this speech of mine, the Congress press criticised me bitterly and called me communal, anti-national etc. But it did not do anything to protect the human beings (Hindoos) in East Pakistan.

I have suggested in the above paragraph that to commit genocide of Hindoos is the usual policy of Pakistan. I have given proofs in support of the statement in my Calcutta speech. Sir Francis Mudie was well known to me as a Hindoo hater because he was my colleague in the Viceroy's Council. He was appointed as Governor of West Punjab and he wrote a letter dated the 5th September 1947 to Mr. Jinnah the Governor General of Pakistan. This letter has been published in a book

named 'Inside Pakistan' written by Mr. K. L. Gauba, a Muslim. The proof is contained in an important extract from this letter which is as follows :—

“Dear Jinnah,

I have received your letter dated 26th August. I got it after you left here on Monday. I will certainly give you a true and full account of the situation here every fortnight. As advised by you, I will write absolutely frankly. I tell everybody who meets me that no Sikh must be allowed to remain in Pakistan. The main thing is that they must be driven away by all possible means. There are three lakhs still in Lyalpur today. They are not making any move to quit. But they will be compelled to do so.”

What Jinnah wanted would be clear from this letter. The massacre at Shekhupura is well known. The book 'Inside Pakistan' says about this massacre that 'such a terrible massacre has not taken place anywhere else in the whole world.'

It would be clear from this Mudie-Jinnah correspondence quoted above that the policy of driving away the Hindoos and Sikhs from Pakistan was followed both by the people and the Government of Pakistan. Even the British officers in Pakistan were also following this policy. I got direct proof of this when I was the Prime Minister of Alwar. Thousands of Hindoos and Sikhs from West Pakistan sought refuge in Alwar State in April 1947. The officers of the Alwar State enquired from these refugees the reasons for their quitting West Pakistan. Many refugees told the reasons on oath. Many Hindoo refugees from Tank, a town in the North West Frontier Province had come to Alwar. They declared on oath as follows :

“One Mr. Duncan, a British I. C. S. officer was a Joint Magistrate there. He himself poured petrol on the houses of the Hindoos and set fire to them and invited the Musalmans to do the same. How is it possible to stay there under these conditions ?

The Muslim rulers of Pakistan are following this policy, but the Congress rulers of India are still following the policy of appeasement of Musalmans. It is natural therefore for Musalmans in India to join the Congress, which is almost as near to them as the Muslim League. (The fanatic Muslim Leaguers of Bombay have dissolved their party which they called fourth party and have joined the Congress en-bloc).

The Congress requests for Muslim votes during elections and the Muslims naturally put pressure on the Congress to satisfy their demands in consideration of their votes. Thus the Congress is becoming more and more secular (anti-Hindoo) every day. This may one day convert India into 'Dinia' (a Muslim State). I am not alone in harbouring this fear. Our President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad has given expression to the same fear in his book 'India Divided' although nobody will dare to call him a communalist.

We lost Kambhoj and Gandhar (modern Afghanistan and Kandahar) a thousand years ago. Presently we have lost the Frontier Province, Sind, half of the Punjab and half of Bengal. Pakistan is a very strange country. It is divided into two areas—Western Pakistan and Eastern Pakistan, i.e. East Bengal. Between these two areas of Pakistan, there is Indian territory, about 1,000 or 1,200 miles long. Communication between these two Pakistan areas therefore is very difficult. Taking this situation in view, I had given expression to my thoughts in my Calcutta speech as follows :

"There is a great similarity between the political situation obtaining in the United States and Canada and that obtaining between East Bengal and India. Although a British colony, Canada is far from England. Its policy is always therefore to be very friendly towards the U.S.A. specially in matters pertaining to defence and economy. East Pakistan or East Bengal is also very far from West Pakistan. It is therefore difficult for West Pakistan to defend East Pakistan. So also although there is similarity in religious thought between West Pakistan and East Pakistan, there is difference between the two in language and culture. It is therefore difficult for these

two parts to have emotional and administrative integrity. Recently Pakistan refused to devalue its rupee. Therefore one of the ministers in East Pakistan resigned his job. Although there is no similarity in religious thought between East and West Bengal, in other matters, i. e. in economy, culture and social habits, there is much in common between East Bengal and West Bengal. It will therefore be to the advantage of East Bengal to establish friendly relationship with India just as Canada has done with U. S. A.’

As indicated above in the extract of my speech made at Calcutta, events have already begun to take place. The East Bengal Muslims have made it clear that they do not want Urdu language. The Muslim students of Dacca University made terrible agitation in favour of the Bengali language. Pakistan tried to suppress it with the help of guns and many Muslim students were killed, but their insistence upon Bengali language did not die. The East Bengal Muslims insisted that Bengali language must get the same status as the Urdu language. They insisted upon it even in the Constituent Assembly. Among the territories comprising Pakistan, East Bengal is the biggest in population. Not only that, the population of East Bengal or Eastern Pakistan is greater than the total population of all the territories of West Pakistan put together. To prevent Eastern Pakistan to take advantage of the position and adopt a dictatorial attitude, all the different areas of West Pakistan have been integrated into one province by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan which has also decided to give equal representation to East and West Pakistan. But it is sure that the different groups in west Pakistan will agitate against this integration, for the sake of their own respective languages. *Whatever it may be, it is evident that East Pakistan and West Pakistan will always remain as two different autonomous States enjoying the same status and uniform and unitary administration will not be possible.* Many points of dispute will arise between these two autonomous States of Pakistan and in the end, on account of language, customs, economic and other matters, East Pakistan will adopt a friendly attitude towards West Bengal, i.e. India,

and ultimately that territory will align itself with India just as Kashmir has done. Thus the very existence of Pakistan will be jeopardised.

When Kashmir was attacked by the transborder Pathans and Pakistan forces, I had suggested that over and above sending adequate forces to Kashmir to defend it, the Government of India should secretly ask the Nepal Government (which was not a member of U.N.O. then) to send 5000 to 10,000 armed Gurkhas to East Bengal. Had this been done East Pakistan would have been finished then and there. But Sardar Patel could not do this as Kashmir was not under his charge as States Minister, but was under the charge of Pandit Nehru the External Affairs Minister. It was strange that all the Indian States were under the Department of the States Ministry headed by Sardar Patel, but Kashmir alone which was not a foreign territory but enjoyed the same status as that of any other Indian state, was under the charge of Nehru, the Minister for External Affairs. Why was this differential treatment given to Kashmir? The reason is simple. In early 1946 Pandit Nehru wanted to go to Kashmir. But he was prevented on the border from entering in to Kashmir and was arrested. This might have impelled Nehru to take a revenge on the Maharaja of Kashmir. The second reason is parochialism, because Pandit Nehru is a Kashmiri and says with great pride 'My Kashmir, My Kashmir'. There is none in India today who can criticise Nehru for this obvious parochialism. But this parochialism of Pandit Nehru has caused a great disaster to India. The question of Kashmir has become a festering sore. I think, ultimately all the bombastic announcements made about the whole of Kashmir being a part of India will prove futile, and the question of Kashmir will be solved by dividing it more or less on the cease fireline; the latest visit of Graham is a pointer. I think, the Government of India is waiting for a favourable time, to thrust this solution of Kashmir down the throat of the Indian people. Even if the Congress Government commits another blunder by dividing Kashmir, public opinion will still continue to favour the Congress, because the propagation of mental slavery has inculcated among the people, the belief that Congress can do no wrong.

America tried to rope in India into a military pact but failed in its attempt on account of the cautiousness of Pandit Nehru who deserves praise for this. But America wants to form a military ring round Russia. Therefore, she entered into a military pact with Pakistan and gave it huge military aid. Pakistan has readily fallen into this trap of America because it is an enemy of India. (That day will be a golden day when the Government of India will realise this fact). This policy of hatred towards India is not agreeable to all the Pakistanis. On account of this reason and some other internal reasons, in the last general elections, the Muslim League was routed in East Bengal, and a ministry under the leadership of Fazlul Huq, the opposition leader, was formed. Had the Government of India been wise, it would have taken advantage of this situation by political manoeuvres and offering economic aid and persuaded East Pakistan to align itself with India just like Kashmir. But this did not happen. Still the Pakistan Government blamed the Government of India for the defeat of the Muslim League in East Bengal and deposed the ministry in East Bengal and promulgated military rule there and Fazlul Huq the Chief Minister was interned.

The annual session of the Hindoo Mahasabha was held in Hyderabad Dn. in May 1954 under the Presidentship of Shri N. C. Chatterjee, Bar-at-law. I attended that session and deliberately spoke in Urdu; in my speech I said, "The Begum of Pakistan has become proud of her beauty and youth and has divorced India and married America. The results of this new-fangled marital union will not be very agreeable to Pakistan. These bad results are manifest in the shape of Fazlul Huq in East Bengal. I warn the Begum of Pakistan to be careful lest the fruit of her youth may be washed away in the perspiration caused by the heat of her youth and beauty" This speech of mine caused roaring laughter and prolonged clapping in the audience. (This political forecast of mine made in poetic language has proved correct because there is now military dictatorship in Pakistan and democracy is scrapped).

I continued my speech and referred to the situation in Hyderabad Dn. after the police action. I said, "It would have

been proper and necessary to end the Nizam of Hyderabad after the defeat of the Nizam in the Police action, which was forced by him on the Government of India. Some prominent Congress leaders had promised at that time, that the Hyderabad State would be liquidated. But that promise was not kept. This is very strange. I would therefore advise the people of Hyderabad to carry on their agitation against the continuance of the State till they succeed in getting their demand."

My speech had a very good effect upon the people of Hyderabad and they very much appreciated my frank and straightforward speech. In support of this, I quote here a letter dated 13th May 1954 received by me from Shri Vasantrao Mukhedkar, High Court Pleader, Hyderabad. He says in that letter :

'Not only that you have made this session of the Hindoo Maha Sabha a success, but you have stolen the hearts of the Hindoos of Hyderabad. We will always like to be guided by you and to serve you and we earnestly request you to pay frequent visits to Hyderabad at least so long as the Nizam continues to be the Rajpramu-h'.

Leaving the subject of my speech at Hyderabad here, I turn to the Hindoo refugees from East Bengal, who had sought shelter in West Bengal. I had already referred to this problem in my presidential address at the annual Session of the Hindoo Mahasabha held in December 1949 at Calcutta. The policy of Pakistan to drive away the minorities from its territory is well known. On account of this, lakhs of Hindoos from East Bengal came to West Bengal in January-February 1950 and created great difficulties for the West Bengal Government at that time. The Central Home Minister Sardar Patel had personally gone to Calcutta and saw the situation for himself. He must have been greatly shocked by what he witnessed, because after leaving Calcutta, he said, that it would be proper to demand sufficient territory from East Bengal to rehabilitate the refugees from that area. At Nagpur he made a very brave pronouncement *that sword shall be met by sword*. But nothing of the kind

happened. When he reached Ahmedabad, he again laid emphasis on non-violence. Probably, in the interval, Pandit Nehru must have expressed his serious disapproval of those pronouncements.

While in Calcutta, Sardar Patel did a very brave act. He called Shri Devendranath Mukherjee ex-Mayor of Calcutta, a senior Advocate, a Senior Vice President of the Hindoo Mahasabha and a member of the West Bengal Legislative Council to see him at his residence and told him, "You do not follow Dr. Khare. When he was amongst us he had been proved to be incompetent, and therefore we expelled him. Why did you elect him as the President of the Hindoo Mahasabha. It will be proper for you to give up following him". (After being deposed from the Prime Ministership of C. P. and Berar in 1938, I carried on propaganda against the Congress Working Committee and charged some members thereof with nepotism and favouritism. The then President of the Congress, Subhash Chandra Bose, publicly challenged me to tender proofs in support of my allegation; and in reply I published facsimile photographs of a letter sent to me by Sardar Patel asking me to give the contract of Nagpur Water Works to Ratanchand Hirachand, and another letter sent to me by Mrs. Sarojini Naidoo asking me to try and appoint an advocate named Walter Dutt as Advocate General or High Court Judge. Was this not a great disqualification of mine for which I had incurred serious displeasure of Sardar Patel? Because after my dismissal, the Shukla ministry which succeeded me soon appointed Walter Dutt as an Advocate General)

On this Shri Devendranath Mukherjee replied,

"We have nothing to do with what you think about Dr. Khare. We find him a highly capable, honest and fearless leader. We shall continue to follow him. Please therefore do not waste your advice."

This was disclosed to me when three of us, viz., Devendranath Mukherjee, Nirmal Chandra Chatterjee and myself were travelling by plane from Calcutta to Cooch-Bihar to enquire into the

incident of firing on Hindoo Sabha workers at Cooch-Bihar. Unfortunately, Sardar Patel is not alive to ascertain the truth of this. May Devendranath Mukherjee live long.

Sometime later, I went again to observe the conditions of the Bengali refugees and I was a guest of a wealthy Marwadi by name Sonthalia. No sooner had I reached the place of this Marwadi gentleman where I had put up, than I was served with an order by the Bengal Government preventing me from making public speeches and holding press conferences. One can imagine the feelings of my host after this order was served upon me. I consulted Bengali friends whether to break this order or not and I was advised not to break it. I held a private meeting in a hall and made a speech, there, which was reported the next day in the press. Thus the order was nullified.

During this visit to Calcutta, I went to see various camps of the refugees. I visited many such camps, but I remember only two names, Ranaghat and Bongaon. The Bengal Hindoo Sabha was the first to establish a refugee camp. I inspected it and found the arrangements satisfactory. I inspected one Government camp also, and I am sorry to say that worse arrangements could not be imagined. There was no arrangement at all for water or conservancy. Near the camp, there was an isolation hospital for cholera patients in a tent. One can imagine the condition of cholera patients in such a place under a blazing sun and with terrible thirst. Many must have died under these conditions. There was no arrangement to inoculate new-comers against cholera. Under these conditions, men must have died like dogs. Besides this, the Sealdah station in Calcutta used to be always crowded with refugees. Patients of cholera, pneumonia, typhoid, women recently delivered, and their infants, women about to deliver, were huddled together, with no space to move about. I believe such a calamity may never have befallen the Hindoos in their own country before. My heart almost broke but where is the remedy ?

The Police and Magistrate guard my room :

I had called a meeting of the All India Hindoo Mahasabha Working Committee at Delhi on 1st April 1950 to consider this

very question of refugees. When I arrived at Delhi to attend this meeting, the police served an order on me the same night requiring me to leave Delhi immediately. I told them, "I did not get good sleep during my journey to Delhi. I would not therefore leave Delhi unless I enjoyed good sleep this night. You do what you like." So saying I slept and the police and the magistrate guarded the door of my room the whole night. Similar order was also served on Mahant Digvijaynath, the General Secretary of the Hindoo Mahasabha at that time, and Prof. V. G. Deshpande, the Organising Secretary. I got up in the morning and told the police that I was not prepared to obey their order. The police arrested me and took me to the Parliament Street Police Station, where I met Mahant Digvijaynath and V.G.Deshpande in the same condition. Later on Deshpande and myself were taken to the Kosi-Kala station and I was packed to Nagpur attended by 4 or 5 policemen. The Government of India had provided money to the police to purchase second class ticket for my journey, but when the police came to know my social status, they did not think it proper to take me by the second class and they told me this. I said to them 'Please do not worry. I am prepared myself to spend for my first class railway ticket. How could you help it if your Government was so mean'. The police said, "Doctorsaheb we will not take any money from you. We shall spend from our pocket and recover the money from the Government afterwards." Then I said, "Very well, but if you fail to recover the money from the Government you inform me at Nagpur and you will get your money by money order. " On this, the police said, "Doctorsaheb, we shall never do this. Even if the Government does not reimburse us, it does not matter. If we have to spend some little money for a great man like you we shall get the merit of serving you a little." Deshpande and myself were seated in the same compartment. But later on Deshpande got down and went towards Ghaziabad. During the journey when I was sitting at Itarsi in the waiting room, I met Dr.Parchure and Mr. Dandawate of Gwalior in the same condition of arrest. Both of them were taken and imprisoned in Nagpur jail. During the journey wherever the train used to stop, four or five policemen used to stand near my compartment. This was a matter of great amusement to the

passengers, who used to ridicule the Government for this stupidity. The police officers and men returned back to Delhi from Itarsi and I went to Nagpur alone. At Katol station a Magistrate came and served me with an order asking me not to leave Nagpur city for six months. After arriving at Nagpur I lodged a complaint in the Supreme Court, Delhi, against the Central Government as well as the Provincial Government to get these orders declared invalid. This complaint of mine was heard by a Constitution Bench of five judges. Three of them held the order of the Central Government valid and legal and two of them held that the order was invalid. The Shukla-Mishra Government of C.P. and Berar thought discretion was the best part of valour and immediately withdrew their order as soon as they received the notice.

The Nehru-Liaquat Pact was signed in April 1950. No person with self respect could approve of this pact. I was at least present in Delhi before this pact was signed. I think, therefore I was forcibly externed from Delhi. But why should Veer Savarkar in Bombay and L. B. Bhopatkar at Poona have been placed behind prison bars at that time? It must have been due to the hatred against Hindoo community and perhaps also personal hatred against these two individuals. Or it must have been done to please Liaquat Ali. No other reason could be imagined for putting these two gentlemen behind the prison bars. Mr. Ashutosh Lahiri a leader of the Hindoo Mahasabha in Bengal was also arrested and kept in Almora jail for 9 months. He himself told me the reason for his arrest after he was released from detention. He met Pandit Nehru and acquainted him with the sorry tale of these Bengali refugees and requested him to render some help to these down-trodden human beings of East Pakistan. Pandit Nehru refused to do so as Pakistan was a foreign country to which Ashutosh Lahiri replied, "Well, you do not do anything. We ourselves will form some armed bands and infiltrate in East Pakistan secretly to help the Hindoos there. You simply connive at it." Pandit Nehru at once flared up and said, "If you do so my army will shoot you from behind." Pandit Nehru might have thought that being a revolutionary, Ashutosh Lahiri might actually do some such thing. Therefore he was put behind the prison bars.

From the above account it would be clear that those who had some sympathy with these Bengali refugees and who wanted to enlist public sympathy, were put behind prison bars, or exterred or detained under Preventive Detention Act. Obviously, the object of this was to keep the public in ignorance about the situation in East Bengal. Sardar Patel's brave pronouncement of sword meeting sword also vanished into nothingness. At this time East Bengal was on the verge of collapse, because on account of the oppression of the Hindoos living there, trade between Pakistan and India had practically come to a standstill, and the railways and industries in East Bengal were about to stop on account of scarcity of coal which was supplied from Bharat. The situation at this time was so tense that opposing armies were facing each other on each side of the border of East Bengal, and a detachment of the Indian Army at Ferozepur, was ordered to be in readiness at a moment's notice to march on Lahore to capture it. At this very time, Nehru's love for Pakistan was aroused and Mr. Liaquat Ali the Prime Minister of Pakistan was invited to Delhi, and the infamous Nehru-Liaquat Pact was signed in Delhi by Nehru and Liaquat Ali about the 8th or 9th of April 1950. At this very time, the movements of Lady Mountbatten were very intriguing. She first went to Karachi by air. After staying for a few days in Karachi, she went to Delhi, and she left for England the day on which Liaquat Ali reached Delhi from Karachi.

It would be quite relevant here to quote what A. N. Bali says about the back ground of this Nehru—Liaquat pact.

“ His (Nehru's) mind is indecisive on all points except where hatred of Hindoo Mahasabha and Hindoo institutions are concerned. Who decides for him on such crucial occasions as when India-Pakistan relations become embittered? Judged from what happened on several occasions during the last 4 years one can say that the hidden hand upto this time has always been that of Lord and Lady Mountbatten. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru gave the highest honour that India could afford to Lord Mountbatten, by choosing him as the first Governor General of India, though it was he who had brought about the vivisection of the country and had given Pakistan on a platter.

to the Muslim League, against all the pronouncements of Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian National Congress. It was Lord Mountbatten as he himself revealed later on who was taken in confidence by Mahatma Gandhi, when he went on fast on the question of giving Rs. 55 crores to Pakistan and not Pandit Nehru, because Mahatma Gandhi saw no difference between Nehru and Mountbatten. *He knew that what Mountbatten says today Jawaharlal will say tomorrow.* Who put the idea into Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's head that India should not march her army into Pakistan, when Nehru was convinced that Pakistan was at the front and back of invasion of Kashmir? In the high power conference in which representatives of Kashmir, India, and the Army joined, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru used his veto on the flimsy ground of shortage of petrol. Was it not Lord and Lady Mountbatten's influence that really kept him in check. If there was any doubt as to the influence of Lady Mountbatten on Pandit Nehru in moulding his actions, it was dispelled in March 1950 when India and Pakistan were on the brink of war against each other on the treatment of Hindoo minorities of East Bengal. All of a sudden there was news in the papers that Lady Mountbatten was going to attend some nun's or nurse's function somewhere in Indonesia, and on her way there she had dropped in at Delhi on a courtsey call to Nehru. Her courtsey call was prolonged much beyond the number of days it was originally announced she would stay in Delhi. She left only when Nehru-Liaquat pact had become a clear fact. What information she sent to the British Premier, Mr. Atlee, to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, or what message was conveyed to the British Commander in-Chief of the Pakistan Army, and through him to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, nobody can know till she herself chooses to divulge this. **But the fact of the matter was, and it was not lost sight of by shrewd men in India who looked below the surface, that Lady Mountbatten was here in Delhi when Pakistan was in danger of being smashed by the Indian army owing to her own acts of barbarism against innocent Hindoos of East Bengal."**

It would also be worthwhile to quote an extract from the biography of Pandit Nehru written by Frank Moraes to show

what influence Lady Mountbatten wielded on Pandit Nehru. On Page 328 of his book, Frank Moraes says, "On Nehru particularly Edwina Mountbatten (Lady Mountabatten) made an immediate impact. . . . she sensed that what Nehru most wanted and did not know how to achieve, was to relax and in the coming months at the height of many tense and grave crises, she was able to coax him into a few moments of relaxation, in company or along with her husband or daughter, or by herself. More than any other person, she was able to soothe his strained, tired and overwrought nerves, and Nehru soon found in her an understanding and intelligent companion able to reinforce some of his views, and to persuade him away from others, and to take his mind momentarily from the things which obsessed him or irritated him, a companion always willing to help, but never to intrude."

After the Nehru-Liaquat pact was signed, the then supply Minister of the Government of India, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee resigned his ministership as a protest against that pact. This pact was only beneficial to Pakistan because Pandit Nehru himself said, that the Government of India carried out all the conditions laid down in it, while the Government of Pakistan did not do so. I recollect here the statement of *Shankarrao Deo* made in the Constituent Assembly that, *We would serve Bharat through serving Pakistan*. The case about the detention of the Hindoo Sabha leaders of Poona and Bombay was referred to the Bombay High Court who released them because their detention was nothing but a breach of civil liberties. Pandit Kunzru took the Government of India to task about the trampling of Civil liberties in his speech in Parliament. Kunzru's criticism was replied to by Sardar Patel in Parliament on 2nd August 1950.

Sardar Patel said, " There is a group in this country which is not satisfied even by the assassination of Gandhi. I am prepared to prove it to anybody. This group intends to assassinate Jawaharlal Nehru. This information has been given to me by a person connected with L.B. Bhopatkar the ex-President of the Hindoo Mahasabha A group connected with the Hindoo Mahasabha has assassinated Mahatma Gandhi

..... I was bitterly criticised when Mahatma Gandhi was assassinated for having failed to protect his life. But when I had begun to take proper steps to prevent further crimes, you say that the civil liberty is in danger Communists have their roots in the Bombay State and the protagonists of the Hindoo opinion are also every where in evidence in the Bombay State. I think, they want to establish not even a Hindoo State, but a *Brahmin State*. It is therefore our sacred and primary duty to put behind prison bars those who have this idea." *What a terrible hatred of the Hindoo Mahasabha and the Maharashtrian Brahmin community !*

Protest by Bhopatkar and Dr. G. V. Deshmukh

Shri Bhopatkar categorically replied to this false charge made by Sardar Patel and challenged him to prove these charges through the person alleged to be connected with himself (Bhopatkar). Similarly, my friend, Dr. G. V. Deshmukh who once upon a time enjoyed the confidence of Sardar Patel also replied to this mischievous charge made by Sardar Patel. A meeting of the Samyukta Maharashtra Committee was held on the 14th August 1950 under the Presidentship of Dr. G. V. Deshmukh in Bombay. This meeting unanimously passed the following resolution :

“ This meeting of the Samyukta Maharashtra Committee records its emphatic protest against the mischievous and baseless charge made by Sardar Patel, the Deputy Prime Minister and the Home Minister of the Secular Government of India. The Committee regrets that Sardar Patel should so lower himself as to make the wicked charge against the Hindoo Sabhaites, and Maharashtrians, of establishing a Brahmin Raj. **This meeting also condemns this insinuation by Sardar Patel and his attempt to incite hatred between the Brahmins and non-Brahmins, in view of the tragic happenings in Maharashtra after the assassination of Gandhi.**”

My devastating reply :

I was touring in the Punjab as President of the All India Hindoo Mahasabha in the 2nd or 3rd week of August 1950. When the accusation and insinuations made by Sardar Patel

were brought to my notice, I held a Press Conference in Ambala and gave a crushing reply to Sardar Patel.

I said, "The allegations made by Sardar Patel that some groups in Hindoo Maha Sabha were conspiring to murder Prime Minister Nehru is false and wicked. It seems to me that it is an attempt to gain sympathy for the Congress. The Hindoo Sabha does not desire to establish a Brahmin Raj. It is a peaceful and democratic organisation. To make such an allegation against the Hindoo Maha Sabha is an insult to the intelligence. The allegation of Sardar Patel that Bhopatkar tried to create trouble in Bengal which was already agitated and therefore had to be arrested, is deliberately false because Bhopatkar never went to Bengal after the termination of the All India Hindoo Maha Sabha Session held at Calcutta in December 1949 and he was also not arrested in Bengal. Bhopatkar was arrested in Poona, two days after the arrival of Liaquat Ali in Delhi for the Nehru-Liaquat Pact. The question of having spread communal hatred does not arise at all. It is definite that he has been arrested to please Liaquat Ali, and to debunk the Hindoo Maha Sabha and take revenge against it. During the whole of Gandhi assassination trial, no allegations have been made against the Hindoo Maha Sabha and no proofs tendered about its being involved in the assassination. Still the Maha Sabha is hated but the Maha Sabha does not hate anybody. The Bombay High Court has expressed an opinion while deciding the Habeas Corpus petition of Bhopatkar that the prejudices harboured by Highest authorities against the Hindoo Maha Sabha have been reflected in the mind of the magistrate! People should draw their conclusions from this."

I was elected unopposed as the President of the Hindoo Maha Sabha in December 1949. Some months after this, three or four prominent leaders of the Hindoo Maha Sabha (one of them being V. G. Deshpande, the then General Secretary of the Hindoo Maha Sabha) told me that Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, ex-President

of the Hindoo Maha Sabha and a Central Minister at that time went to them and asked them not to elect me (Dr. Khare) as President of the Hindoo Maha Sabha. He said that they could elect any other President except Dr. Khare and emphasised '*if Dr. Khare was elected President of the Hindoo Maha Sabha, Sardar Patel would not like it and he would crush the organisation*'. When these prominent leaders of the Hindoo Maha Sabha disclosed this to me, I did not believe them. But I must admit that after reading the speech of Sardar Patel in Parliament in August 1950, and the repression of the Hindoo Maha-Sabha leaders by the Government of India in April, I believed the secret divulged to me about Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, by the Hindoo Sabha leaders. Dr. Shyama Prasad made this disgusting propaganda against me to please Sardar Patel in November-December 1949, but he was soon rewarded for it because he had to resign the office of the Central Minister on the 8th or 9th April 1950, after the Nehru-Liaquat pact was signed. **Sardar Patel's hatred against Maharashtrian Brahmins was not created just after the assassination of Gandhi. This is very old and an inheritance from the British along with political power. It is a fact that in India the Maharashtra Brahmins were the first to rise in revolt against the British.** The leaders of the 1857 War of Independence, viz., Peshwas, Tatya Tope and Rani of Jhansi were all Maharashtrian Brahmins. 20 years after this, there was a small rebellion in Maharashtra against the British with the declared object of establishing a democratic republic. The leader of this rebellion, Wasudeo Balwant Phadke, was also a Maharashtra Brahmin. 20 years after this, i. e. in 1897, great oppression was being carried on under the garb of plague preventive measures. Sometimes, ladies were also insulted by the British soldiers. All this was done in the regime of one Mr. Rand, the Plague Commissioner with the Government of India. This oppression and insult became intolerable and Government was relentless. The people became desperate and Rand was murdered with a view to stop this insult and oppression. Those who committed this deed, that is, the three Chaphekar brothers and one Ranade were also Maharashtra Brahmins. The Great Tilak, the father of Indian unrest according to Sir Valentine Chirol, who carried on intense propaganda against the British

Rule in his paper *Kesari* and gave the *Mantra* of *Swaraj*, was also a Maharashtra Brahmin. He was sent to Mandalay Jail for 6 years in 1908. In 1909, Mr. Jackson, the collector of Nasik was murdered, from political motives. Kanhere who committed this deed and Deshpande who abetted were also Maharashtra Brahmins. Both were hanged. Karve and Khare who were sentenced to a long term imprisonment in this connection, were also Maharashtra Brahmins. Similarly, Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, who established the *Abhinava Bharat* Revolutionary Secret Society while yet in his teens, and who spread the revolutionary ideas amongst the students in Europe, and who trained many revolutionaries and was sentenced to two terms of transportation for life and was sent to the Andamans, was also Maharashtra Brahmin. Seeing all this the British inaugurated and sponsored the non-Brahmin movement in Maharashtra, to destroy the influence of Brahmins in Society and to safeguard their own Empire. The British did this through the Maharaja of Kolhapur at that time. In 1920 after the death of Lokmanya Tilak his paper *Kesari* published in full the original correspondence that took place between the Maharaja of Kolhapur, the Governor of Bombay and the Viceroy at that time, which conclusively proved the genesis of the non-Brahmin movement. It is said that the Maharaja of Kolhapur at that time was severely warned for this neglect and failure to take care of the correspondence. Maharashtra is even suffering today on account of this wicked and mean action of the British.

The fear and hatred entertained by the British against the Marathas and specially the Maharashtra Brahmins, is apparent even in their writings. India is well acquainted with the British Civilian Sir Michael O' dwyer. He was a Lieut. Governor of the Punjab. The infamous and cruel Jallianwala Bag firing occurred in his regime. He was subsequently murdered in England by Udham Sing a daring Punjabi youth as a revenge for the Jallianwala Bag outrage. This Michael O' 'dwyer was for a long time in the Civil Service of India, and had written a historical book about the political situation in India in his time, viz., 'India as I knew it 1885 to 1925'. An extract from page 416 of that book will support my statement made above.

“Of these, the most powerful are the Marathas, who as shown in Chapter 9, made a bold bid in the 18th century for the dominion of India when to the Moghul Emperors, it had become the ‘lost dominion’. Their ancestral home is in British district of Bombay among which the great Shivaji’s descendant still rules as Maharaja of Kolhapur. But the descendants of Maratha conquerors, the Scindia, the Gaikwar, Holkar and others are now among our most powerful feudatories and rule in Western and Central India nearly 10 millions of people, among whom however, there are but few Marathas. The Maratha race consists of about some 4 or 5 millions of people and is a small minority like the Sikhs; like them it has martial qualities and the tradition of conquest and rule. This would soon be stimulated into action if British power were seriously shaken. But a Maratha Confederacy is even more difficult now than a century ago for *there is now no Brahmin Peshwa of Poona to lead it.*”

From this extract also, one can conjecture that the British may have used the Maharaja of Kolhapur at that time as a tool to instigate the non-Brahmin movement.

In this self-same book of Sir Michael O’dwyer it has been admitted on page 160 that the Maharashtra Brahmins led an anti-British movement in India. Attempts have also been made in this book to create a feeling of hostility in minds of other Indians against Maharashtra Brahmins and to debunk them from their leadership. The passage runs thus :

“It would be hard to say how this struggle will end. The Maratha Brahmin is the only class among the Hindoo intelligentsia that has behind it the tradition of two centuries of almost independent rule. That gives them an experience and the outlook on politics more real than that of the subtle but shallow *Madras*i, the fervid but frothy *Bengali*, and the eloquent but un-convincing *Pandit of the Ganges valley*, none of whom have behind them any tradition of the Swaraj which they glibly claim as their birth-right. *The reason for the undoubted prominence of the Maratha Brahmin in the political movements of the last 30 years whether a moderate such as Gokhale, or an extremist such as Tilak is to be found in their history.*

They have by actual experience learnt what it is to rule; the others have for nine centuries been under the successive conquerors and with all their forensic ability show so far no indication of any capacity for organising a Government of their own. You cannot exclude from politics history and the human nature which goes to make history; if you try to do so, history will make you and unfortunately others as well, pay the penalty. (Exactly this is happening in India at present). Nor can you solve political problems by eliminating history and the human nature and (to conceal your ignorance of both) catching the spurious but empty formula of self-determination! Those who have chosen to follow that will o' the wisp are already sinking in the bog to which it leads."

The Maratha Brahmins should not be elated by this praise bestowed on them in the above passage. They should also not feel depressed by the calumny to which they are subjected by other people. I believe, the only intention of this British politician in bestowing this fulsome praise upon the Maratha Brahmin, was to pull him down from his 30 years leadership of the political movement in India which was galling him. It is a fact that he has achieved this object because the Maratha Brahmins have been deprived of the leadership from the year 1920.

After my deposition from the Prime Ministership of C.P. and Berar in 1938, great agitation developed in the people. Sardar Patel, the head of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee at that time, followed the British method of creating a split between the Brahmins and the non-Brahmins to suppress or pacify that agitation. Subhash Chandra Bose, the then President of the Congress came to Nagpur after the *Khare Episode* and while addressing a public meeting said, "Rightly or wrongly we have deposed Dr.Khare." The audience refused to listen to him after this. About 60 Sikh Volunteers with their swords (kirpans) were brought to the meeting to keep order, but the Nagpur people were not cowed down by this display of force. They told Shri Bose on his face, "We are not afraid of these swords. This is not Bengal. This is Maharashtra." To put in a nutshell, the meeting was disturbed and disrupted.

The Congress President Mr. Subhash Chandra Bose had to run away by the back door, under police protection. Naturally, Sardar Patel might have been filled with anxiety by this incident and he also like his predecessors, the British, took advantage of the fact of the dismissed Prime Minister (that is myself) being a Brahmin. **The British destroyed the influence and importance of the Brahmins, using the then Maharaja of Kolhapur as an instrument. Sardar Patel did the same thing with the help of Kesheorao Jedhe a non-Brahmin congressman.** After this Bose incident, a C.P. and Berar non-Brahmin Conference was held in Nagpur under the auspices of the Congress. This Conference was presided over by Kesheorao Jedhe of Poona (and they say the Congress is not communal!). This conference of non-Brahmins was attended by Jamanlal Bajaj and many other prominent congressmen. Sardar Patel also sent a message wishing success to this conference, in which he said, "How long will the non-Brahmins of C.P. and Berar who are in huge majority be led by a particular small community?" (This shows that the nationalism of the Congress is nothing but the hatred of the Maharashtrian Brahmins.) The most surprising thing about the conference was that it was attended by Shri N. V. Gadgil a Brahmin of Poona. I was laid up in bed at that time on account of heart trouble. Some people came to my house and said, "We can understand Jedhe, although he is a Congressman, he is a non-Brahmin, but what about Gadgil? He is a Brahmin. How did he join this non-Brahmin Conference?" I replied, "How can I tell you why Gadgil attended the conference? You yourself ask him. But I know this much that during our stay in Delhi for 2 and half years, as members of the Central Legislative Assembly, Gadgil, Jedhe and myself were close neighbours on the Pherozezshah Road. I could see then that Gadgil and Jedhe loved each other like twin brothers. Gadgil therefore must have attended this conference just to keep company with Jedhe.

Jedhe's confession :

Kesheorao Jedhe left the non-Brahmin movement early in the year 1930 and joined the Congress. He took part in the Civil Disobedience Movement in that year. Recently, he has published a signed article about his political career in the special issue of

Diwali 1955 of the Marathi monthly magazine '*Prasad*'. This article will throw a lurid light on the estimate made by Kesh-eorao Jedhe of this non-Brahmin movement. It is very illuminating and an interesting article. I therefore quote below an extract from it.

Says Kesheorao Jedhe, "I was a partisan of the non-Brahmin movement for 12 years till the year 1930. While I was in this movement, I never felt that I was rendering any service to my country. This movement never went beyond social service, spread of education, removal of untouchability, and combatting superstition. There was no trace in this movement of any nationalism. The leaders of this non-Brahmin movement regarded the British as Gods. They never did anything beyond securing positions of honour and authority under the British. They were all selfish and antinational. They were like the old Maratha sardars striving for honour and rewards in the old Bijapur Government. The day I left this non-Brahmin movement and joined the Congress, was the proudest day in my life, because I followed my ancestors in giving up narrow casteism and joining the movement for freedom."

The above disclosure made by Kesheorao Jedhe will throw light on the character of the non-Brahmin movement. Jedhe himself says that it took him 12 years to know this! And as he himself says, when he realised the character of this movement, he jumped into the national movement. As he says, he was for the first time arrested on the 17th November 1930 and this day, according to him was very fortunate. After this he worked in the Congress for full eight years when his inborn non-Brahmin propensity returned and he adorned the presidentship of the non-Brahmin conference held under the auspices of the Congress in Nagpur. What could be the object of Jedhe in doing this, except to create a split between Brahmins and non-Brahmins? Sardar Patel also sent a benedictory message with the same object.

Sardar Patel is not alone in inheriting from the British along with political power, their prejudices also against Maharashtra, Marathas and Maharashtra Brahmins, generated by

their glorious medieval history. These prejudices have been inherited from the British along with political power by the whole of the Congress High Command. For example, Pandit Nehru, in one of his books has described the great Shivaji as a predatory adventurer. Gandhi also has described Shivaji as a misguided patriot. He tried his level best to bury the beautiful Hindi poem about Shivaji written by poet Bhushan. Some years ago when I was in the Congress, Gandhi said in my hearing, "Oh, if these Marathas are brought together they will sack our Surat again." Shri B. G. Kher, ex-Chief Minister of Bombay refused to declare a public holiday on the birth days of Shivaji and Tilak, as according to him they were not epoch making personalities. The Dar Commission appointed by the Congress High Command to consider the question of linguistic provinces, also recorded adverse and hostile sentiments about Maharashtra. The Jawahar-Vallabhabhai-Pattabhi Committee which was appointed after the Dar Commission also has done the same thing.

In November 1953, after the formation of the Andhra province, discussions were going on about the establishment of other linguistic States and the appointment of the State Reorganisation commission was on the horizon. But this Commission was not yet announced. (The announcement of this Commission was made by the Government of India in December 1953). At this time, I observed the machinations indulged in by Sadoba Kanoba Patil of Bombay against the formation of Samyukta Maharashtra with Bombay as capital; and all the prejudices of the Congress High Command against Maharashtra were also before my mental eye. I therefore published an article in the *Kesari* of Poona on the 27th November 1953 and boldly warned the Maharashtrians that they would not get a Maharashtra State with Bombay as capital. This article published by me in *Kesari* has proved to be prophetic and historical. It will therefore be quite relevant to quote it here in full.

Warning of Danger to Maharashtrians :

A plot to keep Maharashtrians always in a minority.

"A few days ago, a meeting of some members of Parliament was held in Delhi under the presidentship of Shri S. K. Patil,

a member of Parliament and the President of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee. This meeting has decided to form a national unity platform to agitate against linguistic redistribution of provinces.

A new anti-Maharashtra group :

In this meeting Shri S. K. Patil emphasised the necessity of such a platform to oppose the linguistic provinces in order to counteract the separatist tendencies growing in the country. Shri S. K. Patil openly told the meeting that this was necessary to strengthen the hands of Nehru. This will clearly show who inspired this meeting. The same inspiration must be behind the Maha Vidarbha agitation in the central provinces and also behind the plan sponsored by S. K. Patil to give the status of a province to the Bombay city and separate it from Maharashtra.

Non-Maharashtrians have nothing to lose :

A bigger meeting of the members of Parliament is going to be held in Delhi in the first week of December (1953) for further consideration of the formation of this national unity platform. In India there are at present 28 small or big States from Coorg to Uttar Pradesh which constitute the Union of India. Out of these 28 States, 25 are formed on the linguistic principle whether intentionally or otherwise. Is it not a fact that Bengal, Bihar, U.P., Orissa, Saurashtra, Mysore, Travancore, Cochin and the newly established State of Andhra are all formed on the linguistic principle of one language one State. The Majority of members of Parliament have come from these unilingual States. It is therefore easy for them to oppose the linguistic redistribution of provinces and there is no doubt that they will give their strong support to this national unity platform. Out of the 28 States only 3 States, viz., C. P. and Berar, Bombay presidency and Hyderabad are multi-lingual. Why should the majority of members of Parliament who hail from uni-lingual States see to the conveniences of the inhabitants of these bi-lingual States? Naturally, therefore, under the pious principle of national unity and integration this majority of members of Parliament

will trample down the right of the inhabitants of these bilingual States and secure the goodwill of the Prime Minister.

Fear of the bravery of Maharashtra :

During the last 250 or 300 years, Maharashtra has played a very prominent part in the movements for freedom of India whether violent or non-violent. It had also ruled over many provinces. It was inevitable for Maharashtrians therefore to have trodden upon the toes of many. As a result, Mohamedans have an animus against the Maharashtrians. So also the British; and this animus has been inherited by the Congress High Command from the British along with political power. The Congress even now entertains the fear about Maharashtra that if they were brought together and integrated, they might try to control the whole country. In a nutshell, the fine qualities of Maharashtra have turned into disqualifications in the present circumstances. The Congress High Command should realise that in the age of democracy it is not possible for Maharashtrians to dominate the whole country. But why should they realise this? It is not convenient to 'do so'.

What should the Maharashtrians do :

Under the circumstances, the Maharashtrians should try to remove these prejudices and fears entertained by the non-Maharashtrians. The main difficulty in the formation of a United Maharashtra is the Bombay city which is cosmopolitan. Calcutta is also a cosmopolitan city like Bombay, and like Bombay it is also a great centre of commerce and industry. The industries in Calcutta are also in the hands of non-Bengalis and Calcutta is a capital of Bengal. Still the glory, industry and prosperity of Calcutta is not at all affected. In Bombay also the commerce and industries are in the hands of non-Maharashtrians and there is nothing to fear that if Bombay becomes the capital of United Maharashtra, its glory, prosperity and industry will be affected. Maharashtrians should certainly give this assurance to the non-Maharashtrians in Bombay. I think, this will remove all the difficulties in the way of formation of a United Maharashtra with Bombay city as capital. Some interested people under the garb of justice and fairness suggest a plebiscite to decide the issue of Bombay. Maharashtrians should

never agree to this sanctimonious suggestion. It is dangerous because votes can be easily bought by capitalists.

Bombay city should be treated on a par with Bellary. The decision recently given by Justice Mishra about Bellary city applies with greater force to the Bombay city. In the population of Bellary city, 24 per cent of them are Kannadigas, that is Kanarese speaking, 36 per cent are Telgu speaking and the remaining 40 per cent consist mainly of Urdu and Hindi speaking Mohamedans. But Bellary city is surrounded on all sides by Kanarese speaking territory. It is not possible to align Bellary with Andhra. On account of this, Justice Mishra decided to include Bellary city in the Mysore or Karnatak State, although Kanarese speaking people were in a minority in Bellary city. This decision was inevitable on account of the geographical situation. When the Bill to form the Andhra province was on the anvil in Parliament, the Andhras demanded the inclusion of Bellary city in the Andhra State. But the Government of India turned down this demand. The Andhras also demanded a plebiscite to decide the fate of Bellary. But this demand also was turned down by the Government of India which confirmed the decision taken by Justice Mishra about Bellary. The same should apply to the Bombay city with greater force, because geographically, Bombay city is surrounded on all sides for miles together by Marathi speaking area except on one side where there is sea. Moreover the percentage of Marathi speaking people in the Bombay city is 48. This is also very large and greater than that of any other language.

Karnatak province in site :

In the linguistic redistribution of provinces, the question of people speaking Gujarathi, Marathi, and Kanadi (Kanarese) languages has remained undecided. Of these as announced in the House of People by the Deputy Home Minister, Mr. Datar, the question of Karnatak (Kanarese) will be solved soon because there is strong and united insistence among the Kanadi-speaking people. Maharashtra is lacking in both. When the question of Karnatak is solved, the Kanarese districts in the Bombay Presidency and Madras presidency, the Bellary city, the Mysore State, and the three Kanadi districts in the Hyderabad State will

be brought together in one province and the Maharaja of Mysore will naturally be the Rajpramukh of this province. The Andhras are also carrying on a strong agitation for a Vishal or greater Andhra that is, for attachment of the Telgu districts of the Hyderabad State to the Andhra province. The Andhras will surely succeed. They will use all means in their power to achieve their objective. The Congress party Deputy Speaker, Anant Shayanam Iyengar has already suggested that some offices of the Andhra State should be established in the Hyderabad City. Moreover, the Andhra Leader, named, Kaleshwar Rao has also suggested that if the Nizam of Hyderabad is willing to align the 8 Andhra districts of Telangana with the Andhra State, the Andhras will have no objection to make him the Rajpramukh of the Andhra State. What does the Nizam lose if he gets the 11 districts of the Andhra State in lieu of the 3 Kanadi districts! He will be greatly benefited by this exchange and he will readily accept this compromise.

New bondage for Maharashtra :

When the Karnatak province is formed only two languages will remain in the Bombay Presidency, viz., Marathi and Gujrathi. The Marathi speaking people will be in a majority in the Legislative Assembly of this residual Bombay State. This will not be liked by the Gujrathi brethren. It has therefore been decided to attach the Saurashtra State to the residual Bombay State after the Kanadi districts are separated. In this way our Gujrathi brethren will be satisfied. This can be easily done because the Gujrathi capitalists wield a great influence over the Central Government. It is also possible that Vindhya Pradesh, and Bhopal will be attached to the present Madhya Pradesh. When this happens, the Marathi speaking people will be in the same position as before. They will be in a minority in the Central Provinces, Hyderabad and even in the Bombay State. **It appears therefore that Maharashtra is still under evil spell and its misfortune has not yet ended. It would have to shed its blood and tears and undergo toils and tribulations. Maharashtrais will have to close up their ranks and bury the Brahmin-non-Brahmin dispute. Maharashtrais should not depend upon the so-called goodness of Hirey and Gadgil.**

Will the Maharashtrians take into consideration this warning given by me''

The report of the States Reorganisation Commission was published in the first week of October 1955. It has recommended bi-lingual Bombay State, minus the Karnatak districts, and a separate small State of Vidarbha consisting of only 8 districts. This would show that the above warning given by me to the Maharashtrians two years before the publication of this report was quite proper. So also my diagnosis about the Congress High Command was unerring. The Poona Marathi daily, named *Bharat* has referred to my warning in its article dated 14th October 1955 under the caption 'States Reorganisation was pre-determined'. The article says, "We have already given expression to our views about States Reorganisation. We have nothing new to add to it, but the published report will show that many suggestions made in the report were pre-determined or previously settled, as suggested in the warning published by Dr. Khare in the issue of *Kesari* on the 27th November 1953." Nehru and Pant denied all previous knowledge of the suggestions made in this report. Readers could determine for themselves how much reliance could be placed upon their statements. The article in *Bharat* concludes by saying that public memory will be refreshed by quoting some extracts from the warning given by Dr. N. B. Khare.

Pandit Nehru's statement that he did not know anything about the States Reorganisation Report before it was published, is not true to facts. The Portuguese killed many unarmed Goa Satyagrahis on the 15th August 1955 by firing. Naturally, the public opinion in Bombay was very much agitated by this killing of their brethren, and they marched in procession to the Bombay Secretariat to protest against it, and the procession was fired on by the police of the Bombay Government. Referring to this incident, Pandit Nehru publicly said the very next day, that it was a rehearsal of what was going to happen after the publication of the States Reorganisation report. Pandit Nehru received a copy of the States Reorganisation Commission's report on the

30th of September 1955. How could he then anticipate what was written in it on the 16th August 1955, that is a month and a half before he received a copy of the report? Was it a ghost or a dove who gave him the information? Let it go. 'Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof'.

Nehru made many unjust accusations against the Maharsatrians about the incident on the 16th August 1955, but he had no courage to say a word of reproof to the Portugese for their cruelty because one of the attributes of his Panchshila is killing at home and kowtowing abroad. It would be quite relevant here to give the *five cardinal principles of Pandit Nehru's Panchshila*. They are :

- (1) *Breach of promise.*
- (2) *Corruption.*
- (3) *Muslim appeasement.*
- (4) *Killing at home and*
- (5) *Kowtowing abroad.*

Panchshila has been accepted by Chou-en-Lye, the Prime Minister of China also. But there is a great difference between the politics and the mental attitude of Pandit Nehru and Chou-en-Lye. This difference came to the surface in the matter of Macao, an island near the Chinese coast. Just as Goa in India is under the Portuguese rule for the last 400 years, similarly Macao, a Chinese island is also under the Portuguese rule for the same period. The Portugese decided to celebrate this with a joyful function, but the Chinese Premier, Chou-en-Lye roared and warned the Portugese to desist from this, as it would not be tolerated by the Chinese. The Portugese Government was powed down by merely the raising of the brow by the Chinese Premier. But in Goa, the same Portugese behaved quite differently. They beat and shot the peaceful Satyagrahis and they did not care for Nehru's words. They might as well go a step further and make a common cause with Pakistan in the matter of Goa, although it was proclaimed in the Bandung conference that Pakistan was against colonialism. If all this happens, Pandit Nehru will alone be responsible for it. Although China and India both favour Panchshila, the behaviour of the Portugese towards

these two countries is quite different. This is due to the system and attitude of the Government in both these countries. *The system of Government in China is based upon manliness and the system of Government in India is based upon the attributes of the third gender.*

The impotence of Bharat described above has impelled the Portugese to lodge a complaint against India, in the international court at the Hague. The complaint is ludicrous and fantastic. The Goa nationalists have seized the territory of Dadra and Nagar Haveli belonging to Portugese near Daman, and Portugal wants passage through the Indian territory to enable it to reconquer this territory from the Goa nationalists. The only answer to this effrontery of Portugal would be straightaway to seize Goa, Div, and Daman and annex these to India. To do so will be quite just. If the Portugese have the right to re-conquer the territory seized from them about 3 or 4 years ago, India also has got the right to seize from Portugal the territory of India conquered by it 400 years ago. This is the philosophy of Gita. *But Shri Krishna is yet to be born to drive away the impotence and effeminity of the Indian Arjun.* That day will be a golden day in the history of India. Till then, the Indian people have to suffer trials, tribulations and insult under the cloak of Panchshila. The question of Goa is an old one, but the same impotence is shown with regard to a recent incident which occurred at Nekowal in the Jammu area. The Pakistanis crossed into the Indian territory in this village and killed a dozen citizens of India which included one Major, a military officer detailed on duty there. After this incident, the then Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mohamed Ali, had come to India to talk it over with Nehru, the Indian Prime Minister. He said that if the U.N.O. observers after enquiry decided that Pakistan was in the wrong about the Nekowal incident, Pakistan would give damages to India. Later on this Mohamad Ali was deposed from the Prime Ministership of Pakistan and was appointed as the Pakistan Ambassador to America, and in his place Choudhari Mohamed Ali became the Prime Minister of Pakistan. U.N.O. also gave a decision that Pakistan was in the wrong and India demanded damages as agreed to, but Pakistan refused to accept this demand. Nehru announced this in the House of the People and said it was

deplorable. But he had neither the courage nor felt the necessity of doing anything further. What else is impotence? Similarly, there is a small grazing ground named Chhad in the Runn of Kutch. Pakistan encroached upon it and threatened the Indian citizens. Such instances are very common, but the Indian Government does not go beyond protests. Pakistan also owes about rupees 300 crores to India, a part of the common debt before partition. Any demands made by India for repayment of this debt, are thrown by Pakistan into the waste paper basket and India simply registers protests, perhaps, loving protests, which naturally invite more and more such attacks from the loving partner.

In his beautiful autobiography, in English, Pandit Nehru has very aptly criticised the policy of the then moderates towards the British Government. Pandit Nehru has compared this policy of the moderates, to the behaviour of a faithful shepherdess. She says, "From one cause of fear I am most free. It is impossible to ravish me. I am so willing." No doubt, this language is very vulgar. But it will not be criticised by the public because Nehru has used it. If some body else uses such language he will be bitterly criticised by the Indian public. I have therefore deliberately described this protest of Nehru as a loving protest which invites more such attacks from a loving partner. Nehru's policy towards Pakistan is just like the policy of the moderates towards the British Government, compared by Nehru to the attitude of a faithful shepherdess; and I challenge Nehru to lay his hand over his heart, and deny it.

Nehru will say that he has adopted this policy towards Pakistan and Goa to avoid disturbance in world peace and it is an act of highest bravery to continue this policy. But people who hold contrary views, are entitled to describe this policy as rank cowardice. Such a policy encourages the enemy to indulge in further attacks and thus encourages violence. Therefore, extreme non-violence is an extreme sin. Pakistan is presently demanding the whole of the Punjab, the whole of Bengal, Assam and Kashmir that is Pakistan as originally conceived by Jinnah. If Pakistan creates sufficient trouble for this demand Nehru may as well yield it, for the sake of world peace, and I warn my countrymen against it.

I digressed a little and expressed my views on the much vaunted foreign policy of India as it was relevant to do so here. I will now turn towards the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission about Maharashtra.

Dictatorial, hostile, unfair and unjust mind of the Congress High Command is reflected in the recommendations made by the States Reorganisation Commission about Maharashtra.

The very idea of integrating and organising Maharashtrians acts on the Congress High Command like a red rag to a bull. Shankarrao Deo one time President of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee and a member of the Working Committee of the Congress, stood for election to the office of the Congress President after giving public expression to his views in favour of Samyukta Maharashtra. It is well known that in this election, he suffered a severe defeat on account of the manoeuvres against him by Sardar Patel, because he was in favour of one Maharashtra State. On account of this, Shankarrao Deo lost his seat of honour in the Congress organisation, and suffered from frustration. He has now joined the Sarvodaya Samaj and he is carrying on propaganda in favour of Bhodan and Gramdan. He is also helping the Committee for one Maharashtra State formed by the people outside the congress. After the General Elections of 1952, Shri N. V. Gadgil also was kept out of the Central Cabinet by Nehru on account of some such reason. These two gentlemen being offended by this injustice done to them by the Congress High command carried on enthusiastic propaganda in favour of Samyukta Maharashtra for some time and it appeared that they would give a brave fight to the Congress High Command also on this issue. But ultimately they have proved to be broken reeds with no backbones. The Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee also lowered its flag on the issue of Samyukta Maharashtra and has proved to be treacherous to itself and to the people of Maharashtra.

When I was Premier of C.P. and Berar in 1938 I also fell a victim to the dictatorial attitude and injustice of the

Congress High Command, but the Maharashtrian Congressmen did not give me any support at that time. Perhaps because it was an individual question. Shri M.S.Aney alone gave me strong support at that time in the all India Congress Committee and skilfully placed before it my case, although it had no effect on the A. I. C. C. and I was expelled from the Congress, but I always felt deeply grateful to Mr. Aney.

The injustice done to me in 1938 by the Congress High Command was an individual affair and did not much matter, but the present injustice done by the Nehru Government of separating Bombay city from Maharashtra amounts to decapitation of Maharashtra in order to please the Gujrathi capitalists who contribute lakhs of rupees to the Congress fund. To separate Bombay city from Maharashtra and not to make it a capital of Maharashtra, is not only a great injustice to Maharashtra but shows distrust of Maharashtra and amounts to an insult to Maharashtra. The city of Calcutta can become the capital of Bengal. The city of Madras can become the capital of Tamil province or Madras, and the city of Bangalore where the Karnatakis are in a minority, can become the capital of the Karnatak province. Why should not then Bombay become the capital of Maharashtra State? What sin has Maharashtra committed to deserve this injustice. The Gujarati merchants carry on their trade in many countries of the world without feeling any difficulty or inconvenience. They carry on their trade in Africa and acquire large properties. They also carry on shop-keeping trade in the villages of Maharashtra without any impediment or obstruction from the people of the villages. Why then do they think that the trade in Bombay city will suffer in the event of Bombay being the Capital of Maharashtra. There cannot be any other reason except distrust and hatred. It is the height of injustice and insult that the Congress High Command should favour this improper and unwarranted demand of the Gujarathis which amounts to Swadeshi Colonialism. This phrase, Swadeshi Colonialism was first coined and used by Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan who was at that time very brave and

outspoken in his support for one Maharashtra State with Bombay city as capital, It must be said that the lure of office has made him now support the bilingual Bombay State.

It is relevant here to show how the Gujaratis who claim the right of Swadeshi colonialism over Bombay city, came to Bombay. It is well known that the British East India Company defeated the Marathas in the year 1818 and destroyed the Maratha Empire. After this event, when the East India Company was in need of Indian agents and brokers to further their trade in Bombay, the officers of the East India Company wrote to the Directors of the East India Company in England that the original Maratha inhabitants of Bombay city would not be of much use to further the Company's trade as agents and brokers, because as the Company had destroyed their empire very recently, they would therefore naturally be bitter and hostile to the Company. This would be harmful to the Company's trade and rule also. It would be therefore very helpful if they imported the Gujrathi people from Surat and Ahmedabad to Bombay and handed over to them the agencies for the Company's trade and business. This would be conducive to the increase of Company's trade and would avoid all danger to the Company's rule.

This is how the Gujaratis came to stay in Bombay and are now opposing the legitimate rights of the local inhabitants that is, the Marathas. Even Nehru has haltingly admitted that Bombay city belongs to Maharashtra. The High Command wants to punish the Maharashtrians for their original patriotism, and to reward the Gujrati capitalists for their original help to the British trade, by favouring their claim of Swadeshi Colonialism on the Bombay city. After all, the Congress High Command are the inheritors of the British. This attitude of theirs should not therefore cause any surprise.

The Congress High Command perpetrated grave injustice upon me in 1938 against which I fought single-handed with my back to the wall. Even temptations of wealth and woman did not affect me. I have never showed my back to my opponents in the Congress High Command and I fought till the last, without caring for the consequences and suffered

all insults and injustice heaped upon me. When an individual could do this, why could not the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee fight boldly and bravely against this injustice done to the whole province? If not the Maharashtrians would always be trampled under foot.

There is the Brahmin non-Brahmin feeling in Western and Southern Maharashtra. The State Reorganisation Commission piously proclaims that they have separated Vidarbha from Maharashtra so that the bitter Brahmin-non-Brahmin feeling should not be imported into Vidarbha. This is nothing but sanctimoniousness. Perhaps, the States Reorganisation Commission has based its scheme of separation of Vidarbha from the rest of Maharashtra on the statement submitted to it by Shri Bapuji Aney who has done this from a separatist motive, which is unbecoming to his greatness. But it is heartening to find that the Government of India has ignored this recommendation of separating Vidarbha, made by the State Reorganisation Commission and attached Vidarbha to the rest of Maharashtra integrating both into one province of Maharashtra. This has perhaps happened on account of the serious agitation carried on by the people of Maharashtra. If the people continue this agitation with the same tempo, I am sure, it would not be long before Bombay city is also joined to Maharashtra and made its capital. It is wrong to say that there is no Brahmin-non Brahmin feeling in Vidarbha. Granted that it may not be so intense as in the Western and Southern Maharashtra, but it does exist. I have already mentioned before that the Congress itself incited and encouraged this feeling in 1938 during my episode. This feeling was in existence in Vidarbha before the Khare Episode also. About 30-35 years ago in Wardha, I have myself witnessed the Satya Shodhak Tamashas (That is non-Brahmin folk song and dances). I also recollect very well the song sung in that Tamasha. The purport of the song was that the non-Brahmin Kunbi was a simple person. The Brahmin ruined him. The Brahmin was not fit to teach and recite Vedas, to officiate at and to perform sacrifices and to give and receive charities. He was only fit to be beaten. The British Government then did not think of using Section 153 to checkmate this communal propaganda

because it wanted the Brahmins to be debunked. The Congress followed the British during my episode.

But now there is Sawaraj and Democracy. Maharashtrians must therefore bury this Brahmin non-Brahmin controversy for all times. They must forget all the bitterness handed down from past history and also the Brahmin-non-Brahmin, the Maratha non-Maratha and such other insignificant and anti-national differences. Maharashtrians must have seen and experienced how distressing, dangerous and degenerating are such differences, after the unfortunate assassination of Gandhi in 1948. A Maharashtra Brahmin named Godse, murdered a non-Maharashtra non-Brahmin named Gandhi on account of which some Maharashtra non-Brahmins of a particular propensity felt irritated and committed terrible atrocities on the Maharashtra Brahmin community. But in 1955, when a Maharashtra non-Brahmin named Baburao Kochre, made a murderous attack on a non-Maharashtra Brahmin, Pandit Nehru, the Maharashtra Brahmins did not do anything, because they were cultured and civilised and they fully realised that a whole community could not be blamed on account of a bad deed committed by a single individual belonging to that community. If the whole of the Chitpawan Brahmin community is to be regarded as detestable on account of the fact that one of its members named Godse murdered Gandhi, then why should not the Chitpawan Brahmin community be revered because Gandhiji's political Guru (Master) Gokhale and Gandhiji's chief disciple Vinoba Bhaye, are both Chitpawan Brahmins? Therefore the conclusion is irresistible that it is wrong to blame the whole community for a bad deed committed by one of its members. Maharashtrians must therefore forget their inter-caste differences and bring about complete unity amongst themselves to fight against this injustice done to them. They should forget all the differences between Brahmins, Marathas and all other castes and all the inferiority and superiority complexes among themselves, and come together as Maharashtrians or Marathas and must compel the Congress Government to change their decision about Bombay city. Who knows, from this agitation for changing the decision about Bombay city, the historical bravery and doggedness of Maharashtrians may again come to the forefront!

There is a great similarity between the creation of Pakistan as a separate State and the creation of Bombay City also as a separate State. The Nehru Government appears to have inspired the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee headed by Sadoba Patil to demand a separate State for Bombay city. In this drama therefore, it appears that S. K. Patil and Morarji Desai have played the part of Mohamed Ali Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan, and the Nehru Government has admirably played the part of the British Government, and the part of the Indian National Congress and Mahatma Gandhi has been played by Shankarrao Deo to a nauseating point. Shankarrao Deo regarding Nehru and Congress President Dhebar as God Vithal and Goddess Rukmini, made several pilgrimages to Delhi to fall at their feet, but he got nothing but kicks from them ; and these deities directed Shankarrao Deo to go to Morarji Bhai Desai, their devoted servant and please him and get his favour first. Accordingly Shankarrao Deo saw Morarji Bhai Desai at Juhu, a health resort near Bombay on the 29th of December 1955 and tried to gain his favour, but to no purpose. Morarji Bhai plainly told Shankarrao Deo that Bombay did not belong to Maharashtra at all.

When I read the account of all these happenings in the papers, I was convinced that Bombay city would never be given to Maharashtra and that the desire expressed by Nehru to make Bombay city the commercial capital of India might be true, and any how Nehru might bring that about. The Maharashtrians always felt keenly about the separation of Bombay city from Maharashtra. This keenness was demonstrated at a public meeting held on behalf of the Congress on the Chowpaty sands on or about 21st November 1955. No sooner had *S. K. Patil*, the President of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee said in the meeting that the *Maharashtrians were fools and they would not get Bombay even in 5,000 years*, then there was great agitation in the meeting on account of that insulting speech, and shoes and stones were hurled at the dias of the meeting. That was deplorable, but such things happen on account of mass psychology.

Being a strong partisan of United Maharashtra with Bombay city as capital, I felt much upset by this incident showing the

keenness of the people of Maharashtra for the Bombay city, and the obduracy of the Congress High Command and its lieutenants, and thought of doing something in the matter. This was nothing new to me because since 1946, when Pakistan was on the horizon and an Empire Parliamentary Delegation consisting of 8 or 9 members of the British House of Commons visited India, I submitted a representation to them before they left the shores of India on the 9th of February 1946. In that representation, I had given in detail cogent reasons showing how Pakistan was impracticable, unsustainable and harmful.

The idea of doing something to prevent the separation of Bombay city from Maharashtra occurred to me at this juncture, and I expressed my desire to my friend Mr. V. L. Prabhu, an Advocate, a Hindu Sabhite and a strong partisan of Samyukta Maharashtra with Bombay city as capital. He also was disgusted with reading the accounts of the pilgrimages made by Shankarrao Deo to the shrine of Delhi, to fall at the feet of Nehru and the Congress President Dhebar. We agreed that Maharashtra would not get Bombay city by making pilgrimages, and that for this purpose a non-violent but determined fight was necessary. We therefore thought of attacking the fortress of Nehru and we wrote a letter to the then Finance Minister C. D. Deshmukh and Shri Haribhau Pataskar (present Governor of Madhya Pradesh) to resign their offices and also requested them to ask all the members of the Parliament elected from Maharashtra to resign on this issue. We wrote this letter on the 29th of December 1955 and sent copies of it to the local press for publication. We also sent a copy for publication to the paper *Kesari* of Poona but none of these papers had the courage to publish this letter. *Kesari* had the goodness to return it for lack of space. This excuse did not satisfy us, because newspapers generally hide behind this excuse when the matter to be published does not fit in with their policy, or they have no courage to publish it. It was significant that *Kesari* had at this very time published a third rate article written by Dr. Kailashnath Katju describing Nehru as a lawyer. Obviously, this article of Katju was of no importance at all, but our letter written to C. D. Deshmukh and Haribhau Pataskar was of great importance concerning the burning question about Maharashtra.

Myself and Mr. Prabhune were non-officials and Dr. Katju was a Minister, but I would not charge the paper *Kesari* started by the great patriot Lokmanya Tilak with giving preference to Katju's article on account of this reason. I can imagine that in the working of big newspapers like *Kesari* correspondence goes through several hands and therefore such mistakes are likely, but anyway, I must say that I did not like the non-publication of this important letter of ours by *Kesari* specially because *Kesari* always welcomed me when I used to visit Poona as member of Viceroy's Council. I must disclose here that a local Marathi daily of Nagpur named 'Maharashtra' published our letter written to C. D. Deshmukh the Finance Minister calling upon him to resign, on the 19th January 1956. While publishing it, the paper *Maharashtra* had remarked that it was received in its office on the 31st of December 1955.

Pandit Nehru announced the decision of the Government of India to separate Bombay city from Maharashtra and to make it a Centrally administered area on the 16th January 1956. Before announcing this decision great police precautions were taken in Bombay city to prevent breach of peace. Not only this, but prominent leaders demanding Samyukta Maharashtra with Bombay city as capital were put behind prison bars. But this injustice was so great that inspite of all these precautions peace was disturbed in Bombay city, and there was firing on innocent people for the only reason that just like the other people of India, they demanded a Marathi speaking province. The firing resulted in the loss of about 105 lives including some suckling babes and men engaged in prayers in their own tenements. This was very deplorable and unfortunate, but it brought into bold relief Nehru's Panchshila of killing at home and kowtowing abroad.

After this disturbance of peace, the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee issued a mandate calling upon all members of Parliament from Maharashtra and all Ministers also from Maharashtra to resign. This decision of Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee was good so far as it went, but it was like a horse after the fair. If these resignations had been tendered as suggested in the joint letter of myself and Mr. Prabhune at the end of December 1955 or beginning of January 1956 along with the resignation of the Finance Minister Mr. C.D. Deshmukh, perhaps

the four people having hostile attitude towards Maharashtra and Maharashtrians viz., Mr. Dhebar, Nehru, Pant, and Maulana Azad would not have dared to separate Bombay city from Maharashtra and thus decapitate Maharashtra; and all the incidents of incendiarism, shedding of blood and loot that happened unfortunately in Bombay city would not have happened, because had the representatives of the people in Parliament tendered their resignations, people would have thought that their leaders had taken due notice of the great question of Bombay city swaying their minds. But this did not happen on account of the pusillanimity of the press and cowardice of the Congress in Maharashtra. But who can help destiny ? Unfortunately the mandate of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee asking members of the Parliament to resign was also half-hearted and the resignations were either not given or quickly withdrawn. I am glad that Maharashtra has taught a lesson to the Congress during the last General Elections held in 1957 and the Congress has been routed in Maharashtra and Bombay city. This happened because Pandit Nehru broke his plighted word. Pandit Nehru was invited to Poona to deliver a public speech on the 1st of August 1956 on the Tilak anniversary day. In the speech, he categorically expressed his agreement that Bombay city belonged to Maharashtra and said he would like that Bombay city should go to Maharashtra and he would be glad to make efforts in that behalf. But surprisingly enough within 4 or 5 days of this speech of Pandit Nehru in Poona, the House of People agreed with the scheme of bilingual Bombay. So the first principle of Pandit Nehru's Panchshila, viz., breach of promise was in evidence here. Maharashtra should not fall into the trap of a bilingual Bombay. It is a trap used before by British also. This bilingual province of Bombay is certainly not liked by the people of Western Maharashtra and they have shown their contempt and disgust for this province unmistakably, during the last general elections held in 1957 by flooring the Congress in this area as well as in Bombay city.

The hostility or animus harboured by the Congress High Command against Maharashtra was referred to by Mr. C. D. Deshmukh in his speech in Parliament which he made after his resignation in protest. In the foregoing paragraphs I have given historical

reasons for this hostility or animus. I will here attempt to bring it in bold relief by contrasting the attitude of the Congress High Command towards Maharashtra with its attitude towards other language groups. For instance, in the present India, i.e. Bharat, all the constituent units of the Indian Union are arranged on the linguistic principle of one language one province. I enumerate them here as follows :-

Punjab, U. P., Bihar, Assam, Orissa, Bengal, Rajastan. Madhya Pradesh, Mysore or Karnatak, Andhra, Madras or Tamilnad and Keral.

The citizens of India inhabiting these provinces enjoy the advantages of having their administration carried on in their mother tongue. This is denied to Maharashtra because it has been tagged on to the Gujarathi speaking area of Gujarat in the bilingual Bombay State. The agitation for linguistic provinces is an old plank of the Congress agitation against the British rule. But nobody at that time condemned this agitation as leading to separatism or disintegration of the country. Even now nobody charges the various linguistic groups like Andhra, Bengal and Bihar who agitated for a linguistic State with separatism or trying to disintegrate India. Only the Maharashtrians when they demand a linguistic State of Maharashtra, are condemned as disruptors and disintegrators of the country. Why? Nobody can answer, least of all the Congress High Command. The only answer is the distrust of Maharashtrians or animus against them harboured by the Congress High Command. No doubt, the Maharashtrians are in a great majority in the bilingual Bombay state and Gujaratis are in a minority. But Maharashtra is divided into Western Maharashtra including Poona and Bombay, and the 8 Districts from Nagpur to Buldana comprising Vidarbha, and Marathwada consisting of 5 districts which were formerly included in the Hyderabad State. The demand for one Maharashtra with Bombay city as capital is not so keen in Marathwada and Vidarbha on account of their former political history. The Gujaratis take advantage of this and form a majority in the Bombay Legislative Assembly

and rule over Western Maharashtra and Bombay City. On account of this situation the Chief Ministers ruling Bombay generally become puppets in the hands of Gujaratis and more money is directed towards development of Gujarat than that of Maharashtra which could be proved from budget figures.

Maharashtra has also suffered in other ways. For instance, the area of Belgaum, Karwar, Nipani having half a million population of Marathi-speaking people is compulsorily joined to Mysore or Karnatak against the expressed will of the people of that area and the Karnatak Government has already started the game of suppressing the Marathi language there, and enforcing the Kanarese or Karnataki language on the Marathi speaking people. Similarly, Burhanpur in Nimar district is also put into the Madhya Pradesh although it is a Marathi speaking area. In course of time, these Marathi speaking people would be assimilated by the Hindi people. So also, Sausar, Pandhurna, Teegaon in the Chhindwara district, although Marathi speaking, are put into the Madhya Pradesh and also the Multai and Bhainsdesh Tahsils of the Betul district. In Marathwada also the Marathi speaking areas like Santpur and Bhaiki have been consigned to the care of Karnatak or Mysore. The result of all these moves can be easily imagined. About border disputes when they arise, Pataskar, the present Governor of Madhya Pradesh has suggested the formula of village being taken as unit, for deciding these disputes. This has been accepted everywhere and recently also by the Andhra and Mysore States for their inter-provincial disputes about certain border areas. *But with regard to Maharashtra alone, the district is regarded as a unit so that large areas of Marathi speaking people could be consigned to the tender care of the adjoining language groups.* All this definitely shows the hostility of the Congress High Command towards Maharashtra. Is Maharashtra going to submit to it? I think not.

I have already mentioned before that Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, the Supply Minister of the Central Government resigned his job in the first week of April 1950 as a protest against the Nehru-Liaquat Pact. I am sure this ex-President of the Hindoo Mahasabha by his long association with Sardar Patel must have developed hostile feeling for the Hindoo Mahasabha,

because as soon as he resigned his job in the Ministry he tried to finish the Hindoo Mahasabha by forming a new party under his own leadership. I have got a personal experience of this. While I was on tour as the President of the Hindoo Mahasabha in the months of July-August 1950, I was staying in Delhi. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee invited me to see him on the 31st of July or 1st August 1950 in the house of Lala Jodhraj, the then Managing Director of the Punjab National Bank. During this interview, Mahant Digvijayanath, prof. V. G. Deshapande, Capt. Kesheochandra, Ashutosh Lahiri and one or two other leaders of the Hindoo Mahasabha were present. In this interview, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee requested me to wind up the Hindoo Mahasabha and join his new party which he was going to establish under his own leadership with the help of Mr. M.S.Golwalkar of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh. I was very much surprised at the suggestion of Dr. Mukherjee and I said to him, "Your new party is just in the air yet. Its programme also is not yet chalked out. How can I wind up an organised old party and join your new party under these conditions? It will be highly improper to do so. Moreover, at present, I am the leader of the Hindoo Mahasabha and I must know what will be my status after joining your party." On this Shyama Prasad said, "Your leadership of the Hindoo Mahasabha is an individual question and should have no importance over a national question." On this I replied, "I entirely agree with your proposition. Individual question should always be relegated to the background before national question. There cannot be two opinions about this. But you say, you are going to establish a new party under your own leadership. Is this also not your individual question because under deomocratic pratitce, a leader is elected and not self-appointed." On this, Shyama Prasad Mukherjee was a little confused and I at once told him point blanc, "I am not prepared to wind up an old party which has worked for the last 25 to 30 years and for which Pandit Malaviya, Lala Lajpatrai, Bhai Parmanand, Sawarkar, Dr. Munje, and you yourself have suffered. I emphatically tell you in the language of Churchill that I have not become the President of the Hindoo Maha-

sabha to liquidate the organisation." Thus the attack on Hindoo Mahasabha was warded off at this time.

I had not accepted the Presidentship of the Hindoo Mahasabha only for the sake of honour. As a President I toured U.P., Punjab, Patiala, twice or thrice, and carried on propaganda about the policy and programme of the Hindoo Mahasabha among the public. I was also elected President of the Annual Session of the Hindoo Mahasabha held in Poona in December 1950. This session was attended by Master Tara Singh and Seth Ramkrishna Dalmia on a special invitation. A few days before this, Sardar Patel had died. A resolution to condole his death moved in the Subjects Committee was rejected by a large majority; on account of this some top-ranking Hindoo Mahasabhites of Poona gave me a notice that they would move that condolence resolution in the open session. Thus a sort of a deadlock arose. But to solve this deadlock, I persuaded the oppositionists not to be so relentless and I told them that I would move that resolution of condolence myself as the President of the session. (It would be quite relevant to state here that a resolution of condolence on the death of Sayajirao Gaikwad, the progressive ruler of Baroda, moved in the Congress Session at that time was opposed by this very Sardar Patel).

Another serious dispute arose in the Poona session of the Hindoo Mahasabha. The Primary membership of the Hindoo Mahasabha is open to only Hindoos meaning those who regard this Bharat as the holy land and father land. This definition includes Sikhs, Jains, Lingayats, Budhists living in India, Aiyasamajists, Bramhosamajists, Prarthana Samajists, Sanatanis and all other sects of Hindoos. This definition excludes the Christians, Jews, Parsis, Mohamedans, and Budhists living outside India, who cannot become primary members of the Hindoo Mahasabha. Some high placed Hindoo Sabha workers seriously thought in Poona that after partition, the primary membership of the Hindoo Mahasabha should be thrown open to non-Hindoos also for the convenience of political and legislative work. Some other highly placed members equally seriously opposed this idea and there was passage at arms between the two opposing groups threatening to break the Hindoo Mahasabha. This was avoided

by deciding to hold a special session at Jaipur to discuss and to decide this important question.

As mentioned before, I toured the Punjab in August-September 1950 and propagated the ideal of Akhand Hindustan openly in public meetings even at the border of Pakistan. **Even the Congress while passing the resolution accepting the division of the country had expressed a wish that the country should be again united. But the resolutions of the Congress are only for the purpose of time-serving.** Pandit Nehru did not like this forthright propaganda for Akhand Bharat even at the borders of Pakistan, and he censured this propaganda as being against the terms of the Nehru-Liaquat Pact. He said it was not proper that Dr. Khare was carrying on this propaganda even on the border of Pakistan in his usual pugnacious and war-like manner. **On the 15th August 1950, while hoisting the national flag at the Red Fort, Pandit Nehru abused the Hindoo Mahasabha by calling it communal, treacherous and disruptor of the country and threatened to sweep away the Hindoo Mahasabha by a broomstick. What a dignified language and what manliness ! One month and five days after this, i. e. exactly on the 20th September 1950, Pandit Nehru in his speech at the Nasik Congress threatened the Hindoo Mahasabha with destruction and said, " We shall crush them even by causing blood-shed if necessary." What a parody of Mahatmaji's Ahimsa at the hands of his chief disciple ! And this Nehru is called a great protagonist of Panchshila. What an abuse of words !**

In my Presidential address at the Poona session of the Hindoo Mahasabha, I replied to Pandit Nehru and said, " we refuse to be cowed down by such threats and we refuse to attach any importance to such stupid pacts like the Nehru- Liaquat Pact. It is our birth-right to carry on propaganda in favour of Akhand Bharat. This right is granted to us by the first article of our constitution. This article describes the territory of India as consisting of A, B and C States, Andaman, Nicobar islands and any other territories attached to India hereafter from time to time. Obviously, these territories cannot be as distant as

Kamashatka or Timbaktu. These territories necessarily must be nearby to be attached to India. It is obvious that this definition is made to provide for the inclusion in India of Goa and Pondichery in future. Therefore, what is legal for Goa and Pondichery must be legal for Pakistan also. Law does not make any distinction." In my speech I also emphasised the fact that to prevent propaganda in favour of Akhand Bharat was against article 19 of the Constitution.

Further on, in my speech, I declared on the authority of Bluntschli and Grotius, the famous German and French thinkers that the partition of India was illegal. In their book 'Theory of State' they have said, "If a part of a country is alienated the consent of the inhabitants of that part must be given as well as that of the whole State." Lord Mountbatten also suggested plebiscite before partition. But the Congress High Command rejected the suggestion, as they were anxious to grab power. It is worthwhile noting here that the ex-Governor of Bengal, Mr. Cassey and ex-Under Secretary of State for India Mr. Butler, have both condemned the scheme of partition.

In my Poona speech, I also described how this Indian Republic which I call *Royal Republic*, came into existence. One should not be surprised that this republic is the result of the joint efforts of the Indian National Congress and British Imperialism, because the Congress was initially established by the Britishers to act as a safety valve to let off the steam generated by discontent. This is a historical fact. Wedderburn, Dufferin and Hume are the names of three famous Britishers who took prominent part in the establishment of the Indian National Congress.

By and large, the Congress has performed the task for which it was originally established by the British. In the beginning the Congress was in the hands of the Liberals who used to pass every year a resolution of loyalty to the British Emperor. It also used to pass resolutions demanding better education and a more liberal grant of services. The Congress began to change its complexion from the year 1905-06 when the influence of Lokmanya Tilak began to tell. Tilak gave the go-by to the British con-

dition of fitness for Swaraj and said that "Swaraj is our birth-right and we shall not rest content till we achieve it." After the death of Tilak, when the Gandhian epoch began, the language of change of heart of the rulers by self-suffering came into vogue. This was like a mendicant saint sitting on a spiked seat and obtaining a couple of annas for that exhibition. Without a doubt, the Liberals as well as the Gandhites were both beggars. The Liberals used to appeal to the intelligence of the rulers by submitting reasoned applications for their consideration, and the Gandhites used to appeal to the sentiments of the rulers and create Compassion in their mind by the exhibition of self-suffering. The Gandhites therefore could never think of driving out the British from the country by an armed revolt. Their demand for freedom therefore did not go beyond self-Government within the Empire. The Gandhites used to call it complete independence! This became evident in the Congress Session at Lahore in December 1929. In this session Mahatma Gandhi moved the resolution of full independence. To this resolution, revolutionary Subhash Chandra Bose suggested an amendment that full independence meant severance from the British connection. But this amendment of Subhash Chandra Bose was defeated as the Gandhian influence prevailed in the Congress. Later on, on the 9th of January 1930, Gandhi wrote an article in his paper 'Young India' and defended his Lahore resolution on full independence by saying that "colonial self-Government was equivalent to complete independence." It is therefore that Shri Indulal Yagnik, one time Secretary of Mahatma Gandhi has said in his book 'Gandhi as I know him' (mentioned in a previous chapter) that it was a sin to connect the sacred word independence with Gandhi's hypocritical resolution passed at Lahore. Gandhiji did not want revolutionaries believing in armed revolt in the Congress, either on account of his principle of *Ahimsa* or non-violence or on account of his friendliness towards the British. He weeded them out from the Congress in Bengal where many revolutionaries were members and office bearers of the Congress organisation. Gandhiji ordered one of his Secretaries Krishnadas to go to Bengal and to find out the names

of revolutionaries who were members of the Congress in Bengal, and inform them to him by letters. Naturally, these letters fell into the hands of the Government and thus the revolutionaries were automatically discovered to the Government. This fact was disclosed with some passion and displeasure by Shri. N. N. Sarkar, the then Law Member of the Government of India in the Central Assembly in 1935-36. It is well known that, later on, i. e. in 1939, Subhash Chandra Bose was expelled from the Congress on account of Gandhiji's 'machinations'. Therefore I emphatically say that the Gandhian Congress played the part of a safety valve as designed originally by the British.

Just as Rajgopalachariar, as mentioned before, met the then Governor of Madras, Lord Erskine, before forming ministries in the provinces under the Government of India Act 1935 Jawaharlal Nehru went to England in April 1949 to consult the British Government when it was decided by the Constituent Assembly that India would be a Republic. The Indian Independence Act passed by the British Parliament in July 1947 was based upon the Westminster Statute on Dominion Status. As suggested in this Statute, a Commonwealth Conference was held in London in April 1949 attended by the Prime Ministers or representatives of England, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan and Ceylon. The request made by India to allow her to remain in the Commonwealth inspite of being a republic, was considered by this Commonwealth Conference consisting of the abovementioned 8 nations of the Commonwealth. It recorded a resolution in which important points were as follows :-

(1) This Conference notes the desire of India communicated to it by India that India wants to remain as a member of the Commonwealth inspite of the fact that its Constitution is based on India being a Republic.

(2) *India has further informed this Conference that in order to enable her to remain in the Commonwealth, India is prepared to regard the British Sovereign as the head of the Commonwealth, and the centre round which all Commonwealth countries could gather.*

(3) The other nations of the Commonwealth whose membership of the Commonwealth continues as before, have allowed India to remain in the Commonwealth on the above conditions.

Prime Minister Nehru himself brought this about by going to England immediately before declaring India a Republic. To accept the British Sovereign even as a symbolic head of the Commonwealth and thus of India voluntarily, depreciates the very quality of the Indian Independence. It is regrettable that this very Nehru who had spent his whole life in ridiculing the Commonwealth should fall so low and decide to remain in it willingly. Therefore, the shrewd Sir Winston Churchill, ex-Prime Minister of Britain and leader of the opposition at that time welcomed this proposal at once and said that this proposal enhanced the prestige of the British monarch in the whole world.

The object of Britain to confer dominion status or colonial Self-Government on India was thus fulfilled with the co-operation of the Indian National Congress, which performed its function of a safety valve originally designed by the British. Mr. Clement Attlee who was the Prime Minister of Britain at this time had clearly said in one of his speeches delivered at the time, "England had conferred independence upon India, Burma, Pakistan and Ceylon to create a powerful front to fight communism". No Congress leader including Nehru has criticised or expressed his disagreement with this speech of Mr Attlee. On the contrary, as soon as the Russian leaders Bulganin and Khrushchev left India after being feted and flattered, Pandit Nehru in his tour in South India, towards the end of December 1955 bitterly criticised the Indian Communist Party in his speeches and unequivocally condemned foreign communism. On account of this, the British newspapers who expressed their serious displeasure against Nehru were pleased. Intelligent readers will thus realise the hidden meaning of the pronouncements of Attlee and Nehru.

From the speech of Mr. Attlee the British Prime Minister, mentioned in the last paragraph, it would be clear that although

India was fully independent in the matter of internal administration, in the matter of defence it was still aligned with the nations comprising the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth bond could have no other meaning. Prof. A. B. Keith, greatest authority on politics and constitution also holds the same view. *India cannot declare war or make peace with foreign nations without the consent of Great Britain. If India did it, it would be a breach of the Westminster Statute and it would mean seceding out of the Commonwealth.* Therefore, our Foreign Department is not called the Foreign Affairs Department, but it is called External Affairs Department as India is in the Commonwealth. The flag of our ships is also St. George's Cross with a small picture of the National Flag of India in the upper left corner.

For the reasons mentioned in the last paragraph, India's remaining a member of the British Commonwealth of nations is not very desirable. Hindoo Mahasabha is the only organisation which has unequivocally condemned India's remaining in the Commonwealth in a resolution as early as May 1949. Many other Congress and non-Congress politicians also do not like India's remaining in the Commonwealth. The names of some of them are as follows: Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, H. V. Kamath, Laxminarayan Sahu, Saratchandra Bose, Jai Prakash Narayan, Acharya Narendra Deo and Maulana Hasrat Mohani. But Saradar Patel and Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant were very happy by this decision of India to remain in the Commonwealth. Their joy was boundless so much so that Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant once said that India had not joined the Commonwealth, but the Commonwealth had joined India. A fly sitting on a moving wheel thinks that the wheel is moving by its Weight! Pandit Pant's contention is so ridiculous. It must be said to the credit of Pandit Nehru that he has frankly said, "If you talk above British Imperialism and the rest today. I do not think that you are 100 per cent wrong because there is a bit of it left".

In my Presidential speech at the Poona Session of the Hindoo Mahasabha I had bitterly criticised the Nehru-Liaquat Pact of 8th April 1950 I said, "This pact will never solve the question

of the Muslim Leaguers towards the Hindoos". Some of my friends were trying to form a ministry in the Central Provinces and Berar under my leadership after the resignation of the Congress Ministry in 1939 after the outbreak of the War. There were 9 or 10 Muslim League members in the C. P. Legislative Assembly. I contacted them to get their support for my leadership and I entered into correspondence with Mohammed Ali Jinnah also. In my correspondence, I tried to woo Jinnah with two objects, one of them being to get his support for my leadership and the second being to probe into his mind with regard to the Hindoos. This correspondence made it clear that Jinnah was an irreconcilable person and it was impossible to bring about a compromise with him. I therefore gave up the attempt in disgust. This correspondence was lying somewhere in old papers along with some correspondence made with some other leaders of the Congress and other parties from 1939-40. All this correspondence was seized by the C. P. Police after the assassination of Gandhi when my house in Nagpur was searched on the 13th February 1948. That correspondence with Jinnah and some correspondence about Gandhi and other Congress leaders has not yet been returned to me. This is very surprising because it had no concern with the assassination of Gandhi. It has not yet been returned to me because at the time of the search some of my enemies in the Congress were in high office. They must have destroyed it because it was derogatory to the Congress leaders, or they might have kept it. Who knows? This amounts to theft, but what can be done about this when high officers are concerned in it? I have learnt that my correspondence with Jinnah has fallen into the hands of some of my political adversaries who may publish some of it when convenient to their purpose, and try to establish that I also followed the policy of Mr. Jinnah's appeasement. But nobody should be carried away by this false propaganda.

In this chapter I have quoted some extracts from the correspondence that took place between Mr. Jinnah, the Governor-General of Pakistan, and Sir Francis Mudie, the Governor of West Punjab. That will show what sentiments the Muslim League harboured about the Hindoos and Sikhs. It is well known that

It is certain that the same is going to happen in East Pakistan also. I had therefore emphatically declared in my speech in Poona 8 years ago, that the Nehru-Liaquat pact could never solve the problem of East Bengal Hindoos. Pakistan would never follow the pact and the Hindoos would have to leave their ancestral homes in East Bengal. This is happening as every one will see from everyday news published in newspapers. This has also been admitted by Meherchand Khanna, the Rehabilitation Minister in the Central Government. It is regrettable that inspite of all these happenings the dope of secularism is still gripping the minds of Congressmen. Congressmen realise what is happening but they have no courage to apply the proper remedy. This would be clear by coating an extract from a speech in Parliament made by Pandit Nehru on the 17th March 1950 before the Nehru-Liaquat Pact was signed. Said Nehru,

"We agreed to the constitution of Pakistan by the partition of India because of a variety of things that had happen previously. We did not accept it at any time on the basis of a two-nation theory.It was clearly understood that those communities which became the minority communities on this side or that must have the fullest protection and the fullest security for their lives, otherwise the whole structure which we had built up collapsed, the whole basis of it went." Therefore, even Mahatma Gandhi the great protagonist of non-violence when he was alive had said, "If the Pakistan Government failed to protect the Hindoos in East Bengal, the Government of India must take up this question. If the Government of India declares war on Pakistan for its failure to protect the Hindoos in East Bengal, I shall give my blessings to it." In spite of all these facts, we are witnessing the miseries and insults to which our brethern are subjected in East Bengal with open eyes. Nay, even when they are slaughtered and their women outraged, we look on with complete impotence. Why? Because we are in the commonwealth. So, how can one member in the commonwealth fight with another member and that too without the permission of Great Britain? In a nutshell, we have tied our own hands and feet. *It is a great misfortune which will never end*

I had referred to the situation in Nepal also in my speech at Poona, because at this time the Congress organisation was interfering in the politics of Nepal, and Communist China had annexed Tibet to the Communist empire. Although India was bound by the policy of neutrality with regard to the internal administration of Nepal, Maulana Azad had bitterly criticised the administration in Nepal. It was remarkable that this self-same Maulana did not utter a word of disapproval about the atrocities committed on the Hindoos of East Bengal by Pakistani Musalmans, and on the Hindoos of Hyderabad by the Razakars. In my speech I had suggested to the Congress that the time to interfere in Nepal was not propitious then, although there was no democracy but the oppressive rule of the Ranas in Nepal. I made it clear in my speech that I was also a protagonist of democracy and did not favour the rule of the Ranas in Nepal. But it was not proper to interfere in Nepal at that time, because the instability created by such interference would facilitate the advent of communism in Nepal from Tibet. The congress press criticised me as reactionary and a protagonist of Ranasahi, on account of my speech. But this did not prevent the happening of what was apprehended by me, because the Nepalese Communist leader, Dr. K. Y. Singh who had fled into Tibet was allowed to enter into Nepal, Tibet had already become communist and communist China had begun to claim some part of India as a part of China. It is said that a new map prepared by communist China showed Nepal, Bhootan, Sikkim, Badrikedar, Darjeeling, and the Terai of Assam totalling a territory of about 57,000 square miles as territory of China. Questions were put about this in Parliament, but Nehru denied any knowledge. Who can say that if China actually demanded this territory from India, Nehru would not yield to the demand for the sake of world peace and *Panchshila*. Indians beware ?

. In this connection, it will be quite interesting to quote some relevant extracts from a book '*Nehru Unlimited*' written by A. N. Bali with apologies to him. Says A. N. Bali, "..... With strategic control over Sikkim and Bhootan, India might be

bring Nepal under its influence to complete the chain of defence in the north. Nehru is not capable of taking such a long view, and this criticism of his policy towards Nepal is not correct. The lively interest taken in Nepal affairs by Maulana Azad, Nehru's private adviser, points to another possible motive. Nepal is a Hindoo State where Christian Missionaries and Muslim Mullahs are not permitted to ply their trade of apostatising the unbelievers. Such a religious State on the northern boundary of a secular State can be a danger to the latter and must therefore be transformed into a new shape by hook or by crook." Two Committees, one in the old Madhya Pradesh headed by Justice Niyogi and the other in the Madhya Bharat headed by Justice Rege were appointed by the respective Government to enquire into the effect of conversions of Hindoos to the alien faiths of Christianity and Islam, upon their loyalty to India. Both these committees have submitted very reasoned and illuminating reports, throwing light on this question. But the Government of India is so blinded by secularism that it has consigned these reports to the waste paper basket. It is heartening to note however that the Government of India has very recently banned the entry of Foreign Missionaries into the backward Adiwasli areas. This shows the correctness of the Hindoo Sabha policy. Another quotation from the same book of A. N. Bali will justify the revelations made in these two important reports consigned to the waste-paper basket by the Government of India. Bali says in his book "Writing in the Statesman about India's eastern frontier, Mr. Shri Prakash, ex-Governor of Assam analysed Assam's manifold problems and made a revelation that the influence of Christianity had promoted political alienness of an almost anti-national nature and that this had created a problem *vis-a-vis* the non-Christians as well as the State and the country." This opinion based upon observations is expressed by a Congressman of high status and reputation and conforms to the findings given by these two Committees and also throws an oblique light upon why Maulana Azad interfered in Nepal. *The ideal of Maulana was Pan-Islamism, and Nepal was frankly a Hindoo State.* It appears that even the remarks made by Shri Prakash, a great friend of Nehru himself, carry no weight, because Nehru has love for everything non-Hindoo like Islam and Christianity and nothing but hatred for everything

Hindoo. Nehru has yielded to the demand of the Christian Nagas by giving them a Centrally-administered State under the supervision of not the Home Department of the Government of India but of the External Affairs Department, which in effect really amounts to setting up a separate Nagaland. The Nagas are taking advantage of this to create more difficulties for the Assam Government and to jeopardise the safety of that province. It is given out by the Assam Government itself that the Nagas are entering Pakistan to seek its help to create further troubles for India. The Muslims of East Pakistan are also infiltrating into the adjoining areas of Assam through the Sylhet district of East Pakistan, with a view to create a Muslim majority there and demand the attachment of that area to Pakistan. But with regard to such matters, howsoever distressing they may be, Nehru is impervious, and also impotent.

My apprehensions about Nepal expressed in my Poona speech have come out true as will be evident by a further quotation from A. N. Bali's book '*Nehru Unlimited*'.....

"The British Government defended India not at the foothills of the Himalays but at the high plateau of Tibet. That Tibet has now gone under Communist influence, and Pandit Nehru has been looking with folded hands and serene look on the whole situation as it has developed. The measures taken by India to rope in Sikkim and Bhutan into the country's defence system may have given pleasure to people, but their real military value is practically nil. Nepal was the one country which could prove a strong ally of India and keep watch on our northern frontiers. Her war-like population should have been trained to defend Nepal and indirectly India against communist invasion from the north. The hands of her rulers should have been strengthened and natural defence of the country made formidable by military engineers, but the way in which Pandit Nehru has proceeded to do so is just the wrong way. *He has unwittingly helped to create conditions of anarchy and chaos in Nepal.* His attempts to confer the benefits of democracy of the latest 1951 model to a people who have lived in utter ignorance and illiteracy for centuries will result in nothing but troubles. Trouble suppressed at one place breaks out at another and Pandit Nehru has now to use his army and police in

order to keep peace in an independent country which was able to suppress these troubles unaided before Pandit Nehru intervened in her affairs. The class of people Pandit Nehru is supporting is just the class which is inclined towards leftist and communist ideologies rather than towards the right. To strengthen elements which ideologically may be favourable to the possible invaders from the north, amounts to initiating a process of softening up the country which will facilitate her going under quickly. Lake Manas Sarovar, the holiest of the holies of the Hindoos is now occupied by the Communists. With new advances in aeronautical technology, the Russians can easily dominate the two countries, India and China, with their air power bases in Tibet. India has every reason to be disturbed by the prospect of a Russian base at her next door step."

The special session of the Hindoo Mahasabha was held at Jaipur in April 1951, about 4 months after the Poona session. I was elected to Preside over this session also. While going to attend this session by rail from Delhi to Jaipur, a funny incident took place at Alwar. The train stopped at the Alwar station at an unearthly hour about 3 or 4 A.M. But I saw about a thousand people collected on the station at that hour. As soon as the train stopped, two police sub-inspectors entered my compartment. The fellow travellers in my compartment naturally thought that I was to be arrested. I also thought the same way. Therefore, as soon as I saw the Sub-Inspectors, I welcomed them and said, "Here I am". The police officers laughed a little and said, "No Sir, there is nothing like what you are imagining. We have come here to return your pistol which was seized from your bungalow in Alwar during the search that took place after the assassination of Gandhi." I immediately said, "I will not take possession of this pistol here, because I have no licence. You are policemen. Who can trust you? You will hand over the pistol to me here and later on arrest me for carrying a pistol without licence." The police officer replied, "How can that happen. We are returning" this pistol to you under the orders of the Government of India. I said, "If so, you sign such a statement and give it to me. Then I may be able to take possession of the pistol." The policemen agreed and I took possession of the pistol. The crowds also felt

very much relieved and the station resounded with cries of *Jai i. e. victory.*

After I returned to Nagpur from Jaipur, I informed the District Magistrate, all that happened at Alwar, and formally applied for a licence for the pistol. The District Magistrate not only rejected my application, but asked me to deposit the pistol with the Nazar, and informed me that an enquiry was being held whether I was a fit person for granting a licence or not, as if the enquiry held against me from 1948 to 1951 was not enough. What autocracy and what insult not mine alone, but under the special circumstances, even of the Government of India. I immediately realised that this must have happened at the instance of the then Home Minister Pandit Dwarka Prasad Mishra. After this, one day, I accidentally met him in the Hitavada office at a tea party where I took him to task, but it was of no avail. Therefore I wrote to Shri C. Rajgopalachariar, the then Home Minister of the Government of India and acquainted him with all that had happened about the pistol and complained to him that the C. P. Government was ignoring even the orders of the Government of India. This letter had the desired effect. I believe the Central Government must have taken the C. P. Government to task, because after this letter to Rajgopalachariar, I was immediately given the licence and the pistol also. *This illustrates how congressmen in authority take revenge upon or insult their political adversaries.*

The speciality about the Jaipur session was that the President of the session was taken in a procession in the chariot of the Deity of Jaipur and the procession was accompanied by many noblemen on foot. This session had been called to decide the question of admitting non-Hindoo as primary members in the Hindoo Mahasabha. In the Poona session the Mahasabha was on the breaking point due to this vexed question. But at Jaipur, the opposing parties arrived amicably at a compromise. It was decided that non-Hindoo could not be admitted as primary members in the Hindoo Mahasabha organisation, but as they were citizens of Bharat, Hindoo Sabha would give and take their co-operation in civic and political institutions. That meant that non-Hindoo could become members of the Legislative and Municipal parties formed

by the Hindoo Mahasabha members. Thus the danger to the Hindoo Mahasabha was averted at Jaipur. But unfortunately, later on in October 1951 the Bharatiya Jana Sangh by deciding to admit non-Hindoo as primary members into its organisation created a split among the Hindoo nationalists.

Many people of Alwar attended the Jaipur session and they rewarded my services at Alwar as Prime Minister by presenting me with a fine sword. In the Poona session, it had been decided to present me with a purse of 70,000 rupees on the occasion of my 70th birthday which fell in the Jaipur session. But I had to be satisfied only with 17,000 rupees instead of 70,000. It must be said that there was great phonetic similarity between these two figures. This shows how the Hindoo community is yet backward in safeguarding its own interests. Even so, a real Hindoo should never get disappointed. Patience and perseverance are virtues which are necessary for success, and Hindoo nationalists must cultivate these virtues and should not be impatient to capture political power. Hindoo Mahasabha must be continued and strengthened because its idealism has after all some effect on the Congress. Moreover on account of the existence of the Hindoo Mahasabha, Muslim appeasement also is somewhat held in check. Hindoo Mahasabha also must continue for the ideal of united India, meaning undivided India or Akhand Bharat.

I want to remind all Hindoo nationalists here of what Savarkar said on the 12th of May 1952 on the occasion of the celebration of the establishment of the secret society named Abhinava Bharat established by him when he was yet in his teens to achieve freedom. He said, "Three-fourth of Bharat has become independent. Remember, when the Great Shivaji established an independent Hindoo Kingdom by fighting against the Moghuls, it consisted only of 5 or 6 districts. Today, you are ruling over a territory which was never under your influence for the last 1,000 years. Why should those who hold three-fourth of Bharat be afraid of those who hold only one-fourth of it. Learn to speak boldly and firmly, which will bring to their senses the people of the remaining one fourth of India. The new generation

must know who are friends and who are enemies. They also must know how the independence of three-fourth of India was achieved and how the remaining one fourth of India was lost. No Hindu patriot should be afraid to speak publicly his mind about partition and how it came into existence. In our religious functions, when we are enjoined to recite the sacred hymn containing the name of the Indus river, shall we desist from doing so merely because it would hurt the feelings of Pakistanis. The sacred history of Bharat is associated for thousands of years with the name of the Indus river. There could be no Hindoo without Sindhu. Our ancestors performed sacrifices, composed the Upanishadas on the banks of the Sindhu or Indus river. This Sindhu belongs to us. How can we forget it. It is well known that in his last days Shivaji Maharaj was thinking of capturing Banaras, the holy city of the Hindoos. His descendants took their horses from the banks of the Bhima, to drink water on the banks of the Sindhu. Sadashivrao Bhau Peshwa literally hammered the Moghul throne and broke it into pieces. It is regrettable that now a days, anti-national elements have got an upper hand. I declare here that even if the whole of India sleeps, Maharashtra will rise again and recapture Sindhu. Oh sacred Sindhu, how can we forget you."

It is clear from the foregoing paragraph that Veer Savarkar placed before the country, the ideal of Akhand Bharat in his forceful language. Some people might ridicule this ideal and call it fantastic and unattainable. It is quite relevant here to remember that Pandit Nehru also ridiculed the ideal of Pakistan as fantastic and emphatically declared in his speeches that, what of one Jinnah, a thousand Jinnahs could not take it from him. But ultimately what happened? Jinnah took Pakistan on a plate from Nehru and while doing so, even the crease of his trousers was not disturbed and Nehru consented to it, eating all his former words of boast and bravado. There is nothing stable or a settled fact in politics. As a result of the last war some new nations like Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia have been born in Europe. The Jews who roamed in wilderness for about two thousand years have established an independent Jewish State in Palestine of which nobody ever dreamt before. The course of history always changes. Who knows

that it will not do so in India and unite the two separated parts of India again !

Pandit Nehru the Prime Minister of India always describes the Hindoos as communal and reactionary and what not. He falsely blames the Hindoos for bringing about the establishment of Pakistan. It is well known that the Hindoos and the Hindoo Mahasabha never consented to the establishment of Pakistan. This was born, or brought into existence by the conspiracy of the trio, viz., the British Government, the Congress and the Muslim League. Because Nehru cannot disprove this historical truth, he is very much irritated at the mention of the name of the Hindoo Mahasabha or Hindoo nationalism. He begins to jump as if an ant has got into his pant, and begins to rave against the Hindoo Mahasabha almost like a mad man, and praises his policy of Muslim appeasement which ultimately led to the establishment of Pakistan. Recently, in pursuance of this policy of appeasement, he blamed the Provincial Governments for not pampering the Urdu language although Urdu is a State language in Kashmir and recognised in Andhra. But Pandit Nehru wants that the Urdu Language should be recognised all over India, in Delhi, in Bihar, and in Uttar Pradesh also. There are many people who speak Punjabi, Tamil and Marathi in Delhi. If Urdu must be compulsorily used in Delhi, why not these three languages ? They are also Indian languages. Pandit Nehru calls Urdu an Indian language. It may be so, but it has led to the division of India and if pampered will again lead to the same result. Pandit Nehru shows so much solicitude for the Urdu language, but does not allot a separate province each to the Marathi and Gujarathi languages.

Pandit Nehru wants that the minority meaning Muslims must be treated fairly and justly. Nobody not even the Hindu Mahasabha wants to do otherwise. But Pandit Nehru's ideas of a just treatment are very strange. He says that the Muslims must themselves express their feeling of being justly and fairly treated. This means giving the trump-card in their hands and will lead to Islamisation of the administration which nobody, not even the Congressmen, will like.

The Congress has begun to crack. Pandit Nehru is upset by this and recently has enacted the usual drama of threatening to

resign with the usual result. On the 12th of May 1958, a secret meeting of the All India Congress Committee was held in Delhi to consider the defects in the Congress. Up to now nobody could criticise Nehru at all about anything. He was looked upon as an infallible God. It is a heartening sign that in this secret meeting of the All India Congress Committee the Congress High Command was impeached by some members of the Congress. Even Nehru was not spared and had to hear criticism about himself. This had never happened before. It appears that the glamour of Nehru's name is fading away and will not help hereafter to keep the Congress together. The cheques on past sacrifices have now decayed and become obsolete. Even Congressmen, specially in Uttar Pradesh, Nehru's own province have begun to realise the danger of Pandit Nehru's policy of Muslim appeasement. It is rumoured that last year, when the Gita was burnt at the Aligarh University, the Prime Minister of Uttar Pradesh Sampurnanand threatened to destroy that University. At long last, the majority of Congressmen will be disillusioned and after Nehru, the Congress itself is likely to accept the ideology of the Hindoo Mahasabha. Mrs. Subhadra Joshi, the President of the Delhi Provincial Congress Committee disclosed in the A. I. C. C. meeting held about the 12th May 1958 in Delhi, that many Congressmen held views similar to those of the Bharatiya Jana Sangha. This is a pointer. Even the cry of Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai (Victory to Mahatma Gandhi) is not going to prevent this happening. Because true history is unfolding itself.

Pyarelal one of the Secretaries of Gandhi has recently published a book named 'Last Phase'. This book pertains to the last eight years of Gandhiji's life and throws a ray of light on many things shrouded in mystery and darkness. From this book it appears that Gandhiji had a presentiment of meeting his death by an assassin's bullet and he gave expression to this sentiment about 24 hours before he was actually shot. People may regard Gandhi as a seer or a saint on account of this but an inference could be legitimately drawn from this fact of Gandhi's presentiment disclosed in this book, that Gandhiji was conscious of his guilt in causing a tremendous harm to the interests of Bharat by his futile attempt to secure abiding Indo-Pakistan friendship by

the gift of Rs. 55 crores to Pakistan for which he undertook a fast unto death. This consciousness of his guilt must have led Gandhi to give expression to his presentiment. For instance, if a person approaches somebody who has committed theft, he is afraid that, that person may have come after him, perhaps to search him or arrest him. So people need not be obsessed with the idea that Gandhi was a man of God and had done great good to the country.

From page 766 of Volume II of this book 'Last Phase' it appears that to one of his attendants who was massaging his head about 24 hours before his death, Gandhi said, "If I die by a lingering illness, nay even by as much as a boil or a pimple, it will be your duty to proclaim to the world, even at the risk of making people angry with you that I was not a man of God that I claimed to be. If you do this, it will give my spirit peace." This frank admission of Gandhi just before his death shows that he posed all his life to be a man of God which he was really not. In common language this is what is called hypocrisy. But it must be said to the credit of Gandhiji that in his last days, he wanted to disabuse the public mind of any exalted notions formed there about him self. I have got the supreme satisfaction of having unconsciously done this duty enjoined by Gandhiji in his last words, and giving peace to his soul, by publishing my political memoirs or autobiography.

CHAPTER XVIII

ELECTIONS TO PARLIAMENT 1952 AND CASE AGAINST PANDIT NEHRU

Soon after the Jaipur Session of the Hindoo Mahasabha, general elections to the Parliament as well as the Provincial Legislative Assemblies came on the horizon. The Hindoo Mahasabha appointed a Parliamentary Board and announced its programme and manifesto. The Hindoo Mahasabha had no where any strong organisation and was absolutely lacking in funds. In this situation, it was decided to concentrate all the efforts in some area where the public opinion appeared to be somewhat favourable to the Hindoo Mahasabha. Madhya Bharat was such a place where General Secretary V. G. Deshpande was appointed to make arrangements for the elections. He created a favourable situation there with the help of the local Hindoo Mahasabha workers as well as Sardar Angre.

I also toured Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal, Punjab and addressed public meetings to propagate the ideology of the Hindoo Mahasabha. The meetings were very largely attended, but I found nowhere any strong organisation of the Hindoo Mahasabha. The same situation obtained also in Maharashtra and C. P. and Berar. Although I had visited Madras city for Hindoo Sabha work once or twice before, I had not toured that area. I therefore decided to tour the Tamilnad in October 1951. Probably I left Nagpur for this tour on or about the 1st of October 1951. Some people came to see me at my residence before I embarked on my tour. I just casually mentioned to them that Liaquat Ali Khan, the Prime Minister of Pakistan who used always to raise a closed fist against India in public meetings, now-a days appeared to have cooled down a bit. I would not be surprised therefore if a fanatic Muslim finished him. I went to Madras by plane and from there I went to Madura, Gopichettipalayam, Trichinapalli. Kumbhakonam and some other places, either by car or train. Thousands of people attended public meetings everywhere. I used to speak in English which was being immediately translated into Tamil by a Tamil friend. I stayed in Tanjore on the 16th of

October 1951 and heard on the radio there that Liaquat Ali Khan had been murdered.

I never thought that the casual prophecy made by me at Nagpur would be so soon fulfilled. Communists tried to create some trouble in that day's meeting in Tanjore. They asked me several questions before the meeting began. One of the questions was why Godse killed Gandhi. I replied, "Why do you ask me this question? You go to Godse and ask him". The questioners were silenced by this answer and the meeting went on smoothly. Towards the end of this tour, I addressed a meeting in Madras also on the Beach where some Congressmen tried to create some trouble but did not succeed.

After returning from this tour, to Nagpur, I decided as a President of the Hindoo Mahasabha to stand on the Hindoo Mahasabha ticket as a candidate for the election to the House of the People from Nagpur. Viewing the situation and the trend of public opinion I was certain that I would be defeated, but in spite of this, I decided to stand as not to do so would have amounted to running away from the contest. Nothing but a sense of duty compelled me to undergo this trouble and suffer the financial loss involved. In these circumstances, two or three prominent members of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh saw me at my residence and requested me not to contest the election. They said, "Doctorsaheb, you are sure to be defeated; please therefore do not involve yourself in this trouble. There is every likelihood of a Jana Sangh candidate being successful. Please therefore retire from the conflict." I said, "I am not at all under the delusion of being elected. I am sure that neither I nor the Janasangh candidate will be elected. I am the President of the All India Hindoo Mahasabha and ordinarily if I do not contest from this constituency of Nagpur, it will be harmful to the reputation of the Hindoo Mahasabha. It will therefore be proper for the Bharatiya Jana Sangh not to set up a candidate for this seat, and support me. But I may tell you that even if you set up a candidate against me, I will fight the election." Perhaps this appealed to the Janasanghites who saw me, and the Jana Sangh did not set up a candidate, and I was assured that the Jana Sangh would support me.

The constituency for the House of the People is very large from which 8 or 9 members for the Provincial Legislative Assembly are returned. Bharatiya Jana Sangh had set up its candidates for the Provincial Legislative Assembly for all these 8 or 9 constituencies. The Hindoo Mahasabha therefore did not set up any candidates from these constituencies to oppose the Jana Sangh candidates, but decided to give its support to the Jana Sangh candidates. During the hustle and bustle of the Election, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, the President of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh visited Nagpur for propaganda and he issued a statement in the press over his signature supporting my candidature, and asking the people to vote for me. But this did not happen. My experience about the Jana Sangh was quite the contrary.

The night before the polling day in a constituency, Shri Rambhau Manohar, my friend, and a candidate of Jana Sangh for election to the Provincial Assembly from the Dhantoli-Sitabuldi area came to my house along with a Jana Sangh worker and demanded from me a sum of Rs. 500 the half share of Rs. 1, 000 for polling expenses in the morning. I gladly handed over the amount but I was surprised in the morning not to see any posters of mine on the polling booth. When I expressed my displeasure about this, some Jana Sangh workers fixed my posters on the booth. But some others flatly refused to do so. After the polling in this constituency the polling in the Kamptee constituency was held, where I found that the Jana Sangh had done no propaganda for me. When I went to Kamptee in the evening before the polling day, I sent a reliable worker of mine to the meeting of the Jana Sangh workers held there at night. After attending the meeting, he came and told me that, it had decided to deceive me. The result was that I could not make any arrangements in the morning at Kamptee at the spur of the moment. After this experience, I called Mr. Rambhau Manohar, my friend, to my house and gave him the account of what happened at Kamptee, and told him to inform the Jana Sangh that I would not share the polling expenses thereafter at all. The sum of Rs. 500 spent to gain that experience was enough. Mr. Rambhau Manohar was a friend of mine and did not at all misunderstand. In spite of all this, he very sincerely rendered me all help in the polling in the Sitabuldi-Dhantoli constituency where he was standing for

the provincial assembly. Some Jana Sangh workers did not like this action of Rambhau Manohar, and they expressed to him their serious displeasure for helping me. Rambhau Manohar told them point-blanc, "I will never deceive Dr. Khare. If you like, you can cancel my candidature on behalf of the Jana Sangh. I do not care". Under such difficult circumstances, Pandit Nehru came to Nagpur for election propaganda and in a public lecture in the Kasturchand park on the 17th December 1951, said that the Hindoo Mahasabha had a hand in the assassination of Gandhi. Before this, he had made similar statements in public meetings at Bhopal, Gwalior and some other places, there was nothing surprising if these statements of Pandit Nehru had prejudiced the public against the Hindoo Mahasabha. On the 14th of December 1951, I visited a village Bela in Umrer tahsil for election propaganda. At Bela I heard the speech of one Shri Mahalle, an independent candidate for election to the Provincial Legislative Assembly from that constituency. Mahalle referred to the speeches of Pandit Nehru and said that Dr. Khare had a hand in the assassination of Gandhi. After this on the 5th of January 1952, Mr. Shankerrao Buit, a prominent worker of the Hindoo Mahasabha and my supporter went to village Pipri in Nagpur tahsil for election propaganda. There the people attacked my car with lathis and tore my posters. Fortunately it was good that I did not go to that village that day. Had I been in the car that day, perhaps I might have lost my life. The people told Mr. Buit not to bring the murderer, Dr. Khare to that village because something bad might happen. After my experience at Bela and the experience of my worker Mr. Buit at Pipri, it was not wise for me to go to villages for election propaganda. My friends and admirers also asked me not to take that risk, because it would have been folly to lose one's life for the sake of election propaganda. There is no wonder therefore that in this election a man like me also forfeited his deposit.

On account of the efforts made by Shri V. G. Deshpande, the General Secretary of the Hindoo Mahasabha and also by the local workers of the Hindoo Mahasabha in Madhya Bharat 10 or 12 members were elected on the Hindoo Mahasabha ticket to the Madhya Bharat Legislative Assembly, and the Hindoo Mahasabha could

form an authorised opposition party in Madhya Bharat according to rules. No political party anywhere in India in any province could form such an authorised opposition party by its own strength. Moreover, Mr. V. G. Deshpande got himself elected to the House of the People on the Hindoo Mahasabha ticket from two different constituencies in Madhya Bharat, viz., Gwalior and Guna. Nobody anywhere in India was able to obtain such resounding victory against the Congress. Under the rules, no one can represent two constituencies in any legislature. Therefore Deshpande resigned his membership of the House of the People from the Gwalior constituency. So a bye-election was announced to fill that vacancy.

As soon as this news was published in the press, many people suggested to me to stand for that seat from Gwalior. At that time, I was trying to get elected to the Council of States from the C. P. and Berar Legislative Assembly. Members of the opposition parties in the C. P. and Berar were in such numbers that they could have easily sent me to the Council of States, if they had so wished. I went to Raipur and other places to secure support for my election to the Council of States. Many members of the Legislative Assembly promised to support me, but in the end they did not keep their promise. Such is the world of elections.

As President of the Hindoo Mahasabha I had to go to Delhi to attend the meeting of the Working Committee which was attended by some Hindoo Sabha workers from Madhya Bharat. During my stay in Delhi for this meeting Shri Indra Prakash, the Editor of 'Hindoo Outlook' and some other friends, put pressure upon me to fight the Gwalior by-election to the House of the People. They did so in the presence of the workers of the Gwalior Hindoo Mahasabha. I did not want that the Gwalior friends of the Hindoo Mahasabha should be placed in a position of undue pressure by my being the President of the organisation. I therefore told them plainly, "You should not be obsessed by the fact of my official position as the President of the All India Hindoo Mahasabha. You need not attach any importance to it. You can select any candidate of your choice for this by-election from Gwalior. I have no desire to stand again for any election and to suffer financial loss. I have also no means.

I was never a rich man and physically, at present, I am suffering from blood pressure. If possible I shall take some little trouble to go to Gwalior for carrying on propaganda in favour of the candidate whom you will select." The matter appeared to have ended there at the time and I returned to Nagpur.

At Nagpur, many workers of the local Hindoo Mahasabha suggested that I should stand for the Gwalior by-election. The late Mr. Shankerrao Buit, a very staunch Hindoo Sabhite pursued me day and night. I made him quiet for a time by telling him about my physical ailment and financial difficulty. But he got hold of Shri Nilkanth Rao Raut, a local advocate and through him contacted Sardar Angre of Gwalior through a trunk call. Sardar Angre, an influential personality in Gwalior put pressure upon the Gwalior Hindoo Mahasabha and got a unanimous resolution passed in favour of my candidature for the Gwalior by-election. Meanwhile; Shri Indra Prakash continued to pursue me through letters. In the end, I received a telegram from the Madhya Bharat Hindoo Mahasabha requesting me to stand as a candidate from Gwalior, and the next day, I got the resolution also sent through post. All these efforts of the various friends compelled me to stand, for which my friends and not I are responsible.

The last day for filing nomination papers for this election was 11th or 12th of April 1952. Shri Shanker Rao Buit himself went to Gwalior taking the nomination form signed by me with him. I had given him a signed withdrawal form also, and instructed him to do as the Gwalior friends would direct him. At that time I was in such straitened circumstances that I had not the sum of Rs. 500 to be deposited with the nomination form. But Sardar Angre was kind enough to deposit Rs. 500. The scrutiny of the nomination papers was fixed on the 18th April 1952. Two days before this, I left Nagpur for Delhi with a sum of Rs. 100 in my pocket. Early morning Shanker Rao Buit met me on the Gwalior platform and I gave him Rs. 90 for his hotel and other expenses in Gwalior out of the Rs. 100 which I possessed at that time. I also instructed him to carry out the instructions he would receive from Delhi on the 18th about the withdrawal or otherwise of the nomination form. Thus I reached Delhi to fight

the by-election in Gwalior with the princely amount of Rs. 10 in my pocket. I informed the Hindoosabha workers in Delhi that I intended to withdraw my form on the 18th of April. I also told them plainly that I had no money and for this purpose I would not go to any body to beg for money and I was not prepared to take personal obligations in this matter at all from anybody. There was therefore no other alternative but to withdraw the nomination form. But Indra Prakash said, "Doctorsaheb we shall not allow you to withdraw at all. The question of your election is the question of the prestige of the All India Hindoo Mahasabha and we shall go from door to door to collect funds for the Hindoo Mahasabha with which you are individually not concerned." I immediately replied, "This position must be distinctly brought to the notice of those from whom you will raise funds." Shri Indra Prakash and other Hindoo sabha workers agreed to this and Gwalior was finally informed not to withdraw the nomination form.

After this, the campaign for raising funds began at Delhi. I would not disclose the amount paid and the names of the donors, because it would not be liked by them. About Rs. 3,000 were collected in five or six days and the first propaganda meeting was held at Gwalior on the 25th of April 1952 under the presidency of Shri N. C. Chatterjee. Many Hindoo Mahasabha workers from Gwalior and Madhya Bharat also contributed to the fund according to their capacity. Besides this, the Provincial Hindoo Sabhas of Bengal, Saurashtra, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and Maharashtra also contributed their mite. The contribution of Bengal was the highest, and next came that of Saurashtra. Besides this, all the workers worked strenuously and sincerely without caring for any inconvenience caused to them. It is impossible to give a list of all the workers here and if only 5 or 10 names are mentioned, it will be injustice towards the rest. I therefore do not want to mention any names here and I am proud that all the workers sincerely and diligently worked on account of their faith in the Hindoo Sabha ideology and love towards me. I must mention one name, the name of the Treasurer, Mr. Khemchanda Arya, the Proprietor of Shivaji Medical Stores Lashkar, who was very careful in sanctioning expenses and keeping the accounts. Moreover, Mr. V. G. Deshpande, who had been recently elected

from this constituency of Gwalior also maintained his influence over the constituency which was very useful in my election.

I have mentioned before that at this time, I was suffering from a little blood pressure. I had kept it under check by treatment. But the election was held in the months of April and May and Madhya Bharat is famous for its hot season. I had also to travel daily 80 or 100 miles by motor and give propaganda lectures at 3 or 4 places. I was therefore naturally afraid that my blood pressure would again rise on account of all this stress and strain, but I was determined not to give up my effort what ever happened. Either by this self-confidence or by the grace of God I came out of this ordeal of stress and strain without any harm. The Congress sent a Central Minister like Dr. Katju, and members of Parliament like Atmasingh, Joachim Alva and Mrs Alva and Mrs Anasuyabai Kale and others to carry on propaganda against me. Nehru had sent instructions to the Congressmen in Gwalior to see that Dr. Khare was defeated at any cost. This constituency extended from Jhansi to Shivpuri and Gwalior. This constituency begins from Karera a village 13 miles from Jhansi, and passes through Shivpuri, Pichhor, Lashkar, Gwalior and Morar. Mrs. Kale started her propaganda from Karera and ended with Morar. I had therefore to begin my propaganda from Morar and end at Karera. At this very time Congressmen in Delhi arranged to celebrate the marriage of Miss Raj Sharma, a Punjabi Brahmin refugee girl with one Muslim named Sikandar, a clerk in the office of Shri Brahma Prakash, the Chief Minister of Delhi. All arrangements to register the marriage were made. But the Delhi Hindoo Sabhites obtained an injunction from the Civil Court at the last minute and the marriage could not be celebrated. There was naturally a great agitation in Delhi and Shri V. G. Deshpande, Prof Ram Singh and some other Hindoo Sabha leaders were put behind prison bars. The polling in Shivpuri town was to take place at this very time. Middle class Hindoo ladies in Shivpuri became very much annoyed against the Congress on account of this, and practically voted for the Hindoo Mahasabha en bloc. The last polling in Shivpuri took place on the 30th of May 1952 and from the general atmosphere in Shivpuri and the way in which ladies voted, I thought that I would succeed in the election,

I left Shivpuri on this very day and reached Nagpur on the 31st May by the Grand Trunk Express. As arranged, Sardar Angre informed me by trunk call on the 4th of June 1952 that I defeated the Congress by about 4,000 votes. This victory was won at great cost. I had to suffer mental and physical troubles and much financial loss. Although friends in the various provinces and the local Hindoo Sabha workers had rendered great financial help, it ultimately proved insufficient and at the last moment I had to borrow money from a money-lender at Lashkar. This debt was ultimately repaid from the allowances and I had also to sell my agricultural field for the purpose. One does not like to suffer such financial loss at a declining age. But there was no help. Whatever it may be, the last chapter of my career was a chapter of success. I was before the Nagpur public for 36 years as a professional man and as a public man. But being doped by the Congress, Nagpur public did not recognise my merits. But I am very thankful to the people of Gwalior, Shivpuri and other places of that constituency for this success.

As soon as the result was announced, invitations of receptions for honouring me were received from Lashkar, Gwalior, Morar, Shivpuri, and Pichhor. After visiting these places, on the way, I reached Delhi on the 12th of June 1952. The people in Delhi did not allow me to get down at the New Delhi station, but asked me to go to old Delhi where a huge crowd had collected for my reception and welcome even on the platform, and it was very difficult for me to get down from the carriage. One tall and strong frontier Punjabi took me on his shoulders and carried me through the crowd from the carriage to the road, while slogans of Jai or victory were going on. There was great enthusiasm in the public of Delhi due to this unexpected victory, and they wanted to take me in a procession through the city of Delhi, but I gave an emphatic no to the suggestion.

Case against Pandit Nehru :

I have already mentioned before that Pandit Nehru, President of the Congress and the Prime Minister of India during his propaganda tours in this general election carried on wicked and false propaganda against the Hindoo

Mahasabha and myself. *This propaganda created danger to my life.* I have always regarded it as my sacred duty to fight injustice by constitutional means. I therefore sent a notice to Pandit Nehru through a lawyer asking him to stop that propaganda and express regret. But Pandit Nehru not only ignored this notice but repeated that mischievous propaganda in a public meeting held at Nagpur on the 17th December 1951 in the Kasturchand Park. I therefore filed a case against him in the High Court of Judicature at Nagpur on the 31st of January 1952 under Article 226 of the Constitution.

Main points in this case :

(1) The applicant is a citizen of Bharat and resides in Nagpur. He is the President of the All India Hindoo Mahasabha which is a registered political body.

(2) The All India Hindoo Mahasabha was participating in this years general election. The applicant was required to tour the country and acquaint the people with the work, policy and the programme of the All India Hindoo Mahasabha.

(3) Besides this, the applicant himself stood as a candidate for election to the House of the People from the Nagpur-Umrer constituency. He was therefore required to tour his constituency to contact his electors.

(4) The non-applicant, that is Pandit Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, issued an appeal dated Thursday the 23rd November 1951 in which he said, "In this general election many parties have set up their respective candidates. Besides this, there are many independent candidates also in the field. Every party and every candidate must get equal opportunity during these elections. No party has got a right to demand any special privileges from the Government even though it is formed by that party.

It is natural that people get excited during elections and their minds become highly sensitive, which leads unfortunately to many improper and unpleasant things. We must try to prevent these happenings. We may belong to any party,

but our behaviour must be just and fair. Our speeches must only refer to our programmes and policies. We must never indulge in personal criticism or abuse. This is our first election under adult franchise. We must therefore try to establish proper precedents.

It is natural to wish success to candidates belonging to our party, but we should never try and secure this success by improper means. There is no harm even if we get defeated by following proper means, as a victory won by improper means has no value.

In India, means and ends have been considerably discussed and it has been decided that the means used to secure the ends must always be proper and above board. If we apply this proposition we must realise that it is better that an unfit candidate be elected than a fit candidate be elected by the use of improper means.

I am emphasising this fact because it is generally understood that everything is fair during elections. I therefore hope that every candidate will behave in this election as if the prestige of the entire Bharat is in his hands."

(5) From the above, it will be evident that the non-applicant has exhorted every candidate to behave in this election as if the prestige of the whole of Bharat is in his hands. He has also deprecated any personal criticism or abuse during this election.

(6) The non-applicant has himself not followed the directives issued by him. In his speeches, he has showered personal abuse and criticism on candidates opposing the Congress. Not only that, he has himself arrogated the functions of the prosecutor, the judge and the jury and held the All India Hindoo Mahasabha guilty of the assassination of Gandhi. It should be remembered here that like some other organisations, the Hindoo Mahasabha has never been declared unconstitutional and banned. Moreover, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, an ex-President of the Hindoo Maha Sabha was a member of the

Central Cabinet headed by the non-applicant from 15th August 1947 to 8th April 1950.

(7) The non-applicant in his public speech delivered at Gwalior on the 1st December 1951 charged the Hindoo Maha Sabha with committing wicked deeds and being connected with the assassination of Gandhi. Further, he said that in spite of this, the Government of India treated the Hindoo Maha Sabha very liberally. Such a generous treatment would not have been meted out to such an organisation anywhere in the world. Still the Hindoo Maha Sabha has not come to its senses yet and continues to follow bad ways.

Again at Bhopal on the 3rd of December 1951 in a public speech, the non-applicant referred particularly to the Hindoo Maha Sabha and said, "The name of the Hindoo Maha Sabha stinks into my nostrils. This organisation was involved in the conspiracy of assassination of Gandhi. I am very much surprised that the candidates of Hindoo Maha Sabha talk of civil liberties which are more in evidence in India than in any other country in the world, and also enjoyed by the members of the Hindoo Mahasabha who feel delighted by the murder of Gandhi, a great world figure."

(8) I issued a statement in the press on the 4th of December 1951 in reply to the mean accusations made by the non-applicant in his speeches. I said, that it was deplorable that a responsible leader like Pandit Nehru should hit below the belt and make such baseless charges. Even the trial court had never in its judgment even indirectly made any accusations against the Hindoo Maha Sabha. Why should therefore Pandit Nehru parrot like repeat these accusations. Does he desire that the unfortunate incidents which occurred in the country just after Gandhi assassination should be repeated.

(9) Besides this, Shri P. R. Das the President of the Indian Civil Liberties Union had issued a statement in the press on the 9th of December 1951 in which he said, "The Advocate General of Bombay who is now the Solicitor General of India never made such charges during the course of the whole trial of Gandhi assassi-

nation. It is highly improper to make such baseless accusations against a political party just before the elections and thus to arouse passions against that party. I record my emphatic protest, as a President of the Civil Liberties Union against defaming any political party in this manner. It is true that truth becomes a casualty many times during elections, but we expect better and an ideal behaviour from a responsible leader like Pandit Nehru, the Prime Minister of India."

(10) On the 11th of December 1951, I sent a telegraphic notice to Pandit Nehru and requested him to withdraw the baseless accusations and express regret, but he has not done so up to now.

(11) On the contrary, in his speech made at Allahabad on the 12th of December 1951, Pandit Nehru has reiterated the accusations. He said, "I remember what I said at Gwalior. At that very place, the conspiracy was hatched which resulted in the assassination of Gandhi. Prominent members of the Hindoo Maha Sabha were connected with this conspiracy but I cannot say that the Hindoo Maha Sabha was responsible for the assassination of Gandhi. But in the conferences held on behalf of the Hindoo Maha Sabha, Godse's name is eulogised, and sometimes resolutions praising him also are passed. What can I say about the Hindoo Maha Sabha and its leaders. It is a downright rotten organisation. Look at the reasoning in Dr. Khare's published statement. On the one hand he asserts that the Hindoo Maha Sabha is not responsible for the assassination of Gandhi, and on the other hand threatens that if I (Nehru) continue the attack on the Hindoo Maha Sabha, incidents of 1948 will take place again. This shows the sense or lack of sense of the Maha Sabha leaders."

(12) By referring to the so called threat given by me, Pandit Nehru has deliberately drawn a perverted meaning from it which I never meant. My question was, "Does Pandit Nehru desire that the unfortunate incidents which occurred in the country just after the assassination of Gandhi should be repeated?"

(13) Therefore on the 16th of December 1951, I issued a statement to the press removing the misunderstanding spread

deliberately by Pandit Nehru. I said, "In my previous statement, I had asked Pandit Nehru what he wanted to achieve by reiterating the untrue accusations against the Hindoo Maha-sabha again and again? Does he wish that the unfortunate incidents which took place in some parts of the country after the assassination of Gandhi should take place again." It will be clear from this that I never intended to incite violence. I simply intended to ask Nehru whether he wanted that the unfortunate incidents which took place after the assassination of Gandhi in Bombay Poona, Kolhapur, Nagpur and other places should happen again.

(14) Still the non-applicant Pandit Nehru, did not remove the misunderstanding about me deliberately spread by him, but on the contrary in his speech at Nagpur on the 17th December 1951, he confirmed these misunderstandings. In this speech Pandit Nehru had said that he had made these accusations after full enquiry. Dr. Khare wants me to remember 1948. How can I forget it as long as Dr. Khare is alive.

(15) This meant that Pandit Nehru repeated the accusations against the Hindoo Maha Sabha of having a hand in the assassinations of Gandhi. Moreover, Pandit Nehru accused me of threatening to murder him. By this accusation he definitely encouraged violence against my person.

(16) Pandit Nehru made these speeches in both capacities, i. e. as President of the Congress, that is, the ruling party, and the Prime Minister of India. His intention therefore is clear. To point to the Hindoo Maha Sabha as solely responsible for Gandhi's assassination and also to point out that I was a man of the category of Godse. This implied that I was not fit to enjoy any civil liberties. This speech of Pandit Nehru has resulted in creating feelings of hostility against me in the public mind and also holding me responsible for Gandhi's murder. The following instances will support this contention.

(17) On the 14th of December 1951 at about 9 p. m. I along with Shanker Rao Buit and some other workers of the Hindoo Maha Sabha reached Bela a village near Nagpur to make propaganda in favour of my election.

(18) This was the Datta Jayanti day, on which day the birth of God Dattatraya is celebrated. Therefore 20,000 people belonging to surrounding villages had collected at Bela.

(19) When I reached the meeting place at Bela along with Shankerrao Buit and other workers, Rajaram Mahalle standing for C. P. and Barar Legislative Assembly was addressing the meeting from the loud-speaker.

(20) As soon as he saw me at the place of the meeting, he said, "Look Dr. Khare has come here to address the meeting. Pandit Nehru himself has said that Dr. Khare was involved in Gandhi's assassination. But some how or other he got away with it. Are you going to vote for such a candidate?"

(21) After this, I also spoke in the meeting and said, "I had no connection at all with Gandhi's assassination and when the assassination took place, I was not even a member of the Hindoo Maha Sabha. Government tried its level best to involve me in the assassination but failed in its efforts, because I had no concern with that bad deed. This propaganda is being carried on against me only to make it impossible for me to move among my voters."

(22) Again on the 5th January 1952 in the evening at about 5 P. M. Shri Shankerrao Buit reached Pipri in Nagpur Tahsil in my car, to which loud speaker was attached and posters were stuck to carry on propaganda in favour of my candidature.

(23) While Shankerrao Buit was announcing my candidature for the House of the People and distributing my leaflets, some people collected there said, "This car belongs to Dr. Khare who is responsible for Gandhi's murder. We shall never vote for him". So saying those people destroyed my posters which were stuck on the car and asked Shankerrao Buit not to bring Dr. Khare there. On this Shankerrao Buit said, "who told you that Dr. Khare was involved in the murder of Gandhi. This is all false." On this a man in the crowd said, "It cannot be false because our revered Prime Minister Pandit Nehru, a highly responsible person has said so recently in a public meeting at Nagpur. I attended that meeting and I heard it with my own ears."

(24) After returning to Nagpur from Pipri Shankerrao Buit told me what happened there and advised me not to visit any villages thereafter, as the atmosphere in the country side was infuriated against me on account of that false propaganda. He emphasised that if I did not carry out this advice, there was every possibility of my being attacked and injured.

(25) Thereafter, on account of this, my freedom of movement was affected and I had to cancel my tour in villages to carry on propaganda in support of my election. All this happened on account of the speeches of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, as on account of them people regarded me and the Hindoo Maha Sabha as involved in the murder of Gandhi.

(26) Therefore, I the applicant humbly submit that on account of the speeches of Pandit Nehru, I have been deprived of my fundamental rights of freedom of movement given to me under article 19(d) of our Constitution because these speeches have created feelings of hostility among the people against me and thus created danger to my life.

(27) I therefore humbly submit that if such speeches by Pandit Nehru are not restrained the ideal behaviour during elections advocated by Pandit Nehru on the 23rd November 1951 would be nowhere. It would also be held that Bharat placed before the world a vicious ideal during the elections.

In the end, I submit that I am not making these efforts, for the sake of myself alone. Such speeches by Pandit Nehru are likely to affect every citizen of Bharat in the same way. I therefore humbly request this Hon'ble Court to look at this problem from this view-point also, and make the citizens of Bharat free from fear and safeguard their fundamental right of freedom of movement. I have come before this Court because there is no other legal remedy to secure this objective.

Prayers to the Court

I the applicant therefore humbly request that :

(1) This Hon'ble Court should immediately ask Nehru to withdraw the allegations made by him, and not to make in future

such wicked and false allegations against the Hindu Maha Sabha and myself which encourage violence, create danger to my life and thus deprive me of my freedom of movement.

(2) Or in the alternative, I request the Hon'ble Court to ask Pandit Nehru to place before this court all the evidence which he has against me and the Hindoo Maha Sabha as he himself has said that he has made these allegations after full enquiry.

(3) Or this Hon'ble Court should declare that neither the Hindoo Maha Sabha nor Dr. Khare had any connection with the assassination of Gandhi either directly or indirectly.

(4) Also I request the Hon'ble Court to take all the steps necessary to fully carry out the orders given in this behalf.

Sd/- N. B. Khare,
APPLICANT.

Nagpur, 31st January 1952.

Attached to this complaint is an affidavit signed by me stating that all the statements made in this complaint are true. Besides this, there is an affidavit signed by Shankarrao Buit also, the President of the Nagpur Nagar Hindoo Maha Sabha in support of the complaint as follows :-

(1) On the 14th December 1951, I had been to Bela about 9 P.M. along with Dr. Khare and some other workers to make a speech in a public meeting there.

(2) There was a fair held there on that day on account of festival of Datta Jayanti and about 20,000 people had collected there from the neighbouring villages.

(3) When I reached the meeting along with Dr. Khare and others, an independent candidate named Rajaram Mahalle was addressing a meeting from the loud speaker.

(4) As soon as Dr. Khare took his seat in the meeting, Mr. Mahalle pointing towards Dr. Khare said, "See Dr. Khare has

also come here to address the meeting. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has said that Dr. Khare was involved in Gandhi assassination but some how or other, he got away with it. Shall we vote for such a man? ”

(5) After this Dr. Khare spoke. He told the meeting that he was not at all concerned with Gandhi assassination and that he was not even a member of the Hindoo Maha Sabha at that time and that although the Government tried its level best to involve him in that crime, it could not do him any harm as he had no concern with that bad deed. He told the audience that this wicked propaganda was being carried on against him only to make it impossible for him to approach his voters.

(6) Again on the 5th January 1952, along with some workers, I went to village Pipri near Nagpur at about 5 P. M. in a car. A loud speaker was fixed to this car.

(7) When I announced the candidature of Dr. Khare and was distributing leaflets among the people, some people collected there said that Dr. Khare was involved in Gandhi assassination and that the car belonged to him and that they would not vote for him at all. So saying people tore off the leaflets and asked me not to bring Dr. Khare there.

On this, I told them, “ What has been told to you about Dr. Khare’s connection with Gandhi assassination is all false. Who told it to you. ” On this a man said, “ It cannot be false because a leader like Pandit Nehru has said this in a public meeting. I have attended that meeting and have heard it with my own ears.

(8) On my return to Nagpur from Pipri, I advised Dr. Khare not to tour rural areas after that, because the atmosphere there was very much vitiated against him and he might be attacked and injured.

(9) On account of this Dr. Khare had to cancel his tours in the rural areas during this election.

Sd/- S. S. Buit

Over and above this my Counsel, Shri R. V. S. Mani also submitted to the Court over his signature, a list of papers in support of the case.

The Nagpur High Court fixed this case on the 11th of February 1952 for motion hearing. It was heard by a Bench consisting of Chief Justice, B.P.Sinha and Justice J.R.Mudholkar. The Court was crowded. Mrs. Anasuyabai Kale was present as well as myself. Mr. R. V. S. Mani, Advocate appeared for me. At the outset he submitted to the Court that on account of Nehru's speeches, Dr Khare's life was in danger and he had been deprived of his fundamental right of freedom of movement. The Court asked my Counsel whether it could issue a writ to a person who is outside its jurisdiction. Mani replied, " We have sued him in both the capacities, i.e. as the Prime Minister of India as well as the President of the Congress. It must be taken for granted that as a Prime Minister, he is present everywhere and therefore he falls within the jurisdiction of this Court. "

Chief Justice : We have nothing to do with Pandit Nehru as a Prime Minister.

R. V. S. Mani : The Hon'ble Court can take cognisance of Nehru's actions as Prime Minister. Pandit Nehru has said in his Nagpur speech distinctly that he has made those allegations after full enquiry. Pandit Nehru could get this knowledge of the enquiry only as a Prime Minister. He would never have got this information if he was not the Prime Minister. If Pandit Nehru has made these allegations as a leader of the party, or President of the Congress then he has definitely violated the Official Secrets Act. After this Mani read the oath of Secrecy prescribed under the constitution.

Justice Mudholkar : Is it not a fact that Pandit Nehru's speech was only concerning the elections ?

Advocate Mani : This speech has been delivered in the Kashi Chandra Park at Nagpur. If he has made this speech only in his capacity as the President of the Congress, then by violating the Official Secrets Act, he has made himself unfit to hold the office of the Prime Minister. It is clear that Pandit Nehru can defend himself only by saying that as a Prime Minister he made that speech in

public interest. He cannot defend himself by saying that he made that speech as a Congress President.

Chief Justice : But Pandit Nehru does not reside within the jurisdiction of this Court.

Advocate Muni : For the purposes of Article 226 of the Constitution, it is not necessary that the person concerned must be residing within the jurisdiction of the Court. Punjab High Court has recently decided that it can send a writ even to the Custodian General, Bombay. This case is reported in the A.I.R. January 1952.

Chief Justice : That case goes against you.

Advocate Mani : No sir, My intention in referring to that case was only to show that the question of residence is not necessary for the purposes of article 226 of the Constitution. The Punjab High Court has given a similar decision in another case also. In that case the Punjab High Court has served a writ on the Controllor General of Insurance, although he was residing in Bombay.

Justice Mudholkar : The Prime Minister of India is not like a District Magistrate or any other local officer.

Advocate Mani : Quite so, the Prime Minister does not go from street to street in a town like a District Magistrate and order dispersal of the crowds. The Prime Minister gets his orders carried out through officers serving under him. But this does not mean that the Prime Minister is not at all an authority or an officer in the Central Provinces.

Justice Mudholkar : Prime Minister simply advises the President of the Indian Union.

Advocate Mani : The President of the Indian Union appoints the Prime Minister. Therefore as an officer subordinate to the President of the Indian Union, the Prime Minister controls all the Departments of the Government of India. Therefore he must be held as an officer in the Central Provinces and Berar also. Moreover the speech which has been objected to by us and thus becomes the subject matter of this complaint, has been made by the Prime Minister in Nagpur itself on the 17th December 1951.

Therefore, wherever the Prime Minister may reside his action done at Nagpur falls within the jurisdiction of this High Court, which is thus entitled to serve a writ on Pandit Nehru.

After this, discussion was stopped for a little while and both the Judges consulted among themselves.

Justice Mudholkar : What is your demand.

Advocate Mani : Our submission is that Pandit Nehru should publicly withdraw all the allegations which he has publicly made against Dr. Khare and Hindoo Maha Sabha, and if Pandit Nehru does not want to do this, he should be asked in public interest to place before this Hon'ble Court all the evidence which he has got in support of his allegation.

Chief Justice : Why don't you go before the Supreme Court? We have not seen such a case in America or any other country.

Advocate Mani : The reason for it is obvious. The 14th Article of the American Constitution lays down that the Government cannot curtail the civil liberties of any citizen. But the Constitution of Bharat lays down that every citizen of India is entitled to seven kinds of civil liberties. This means that our constitution lays emphasis on the protection of the civil liberties of any citizen, either from the Government or any other citizen.

Further on, Advocate Mani said, " Pandit Nehru went about baiting the Hindoo Maha Sabha and Dr. Khare by making an allegation which was more diabolical than even the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi. This speech of Pandit Nehru has created a danger to Dr. Khare's life and has deprived him of his fundamental right of freedom of movement. It is obvious that Pandit Nehru has made his speeches against Dr. Khare out of malice, because he has deliberately misconstrued the statement of Dr. Khare. By doing this, Pandit Nehru has broken the oath before he took office, which says, " I will carry on the administration without fear or favour, affection or ill-will." Therefore, Pandit Nehru is unfit to remain as Prime Minister on account of the hatred and ill-will which he has shown about Dr. Khare.

Justice Mudholkar : Why don't you bring a suit of defamation against Pandit Nehru.

Advocate Mani : We cannot do so because before we do it, we shall have to get the sanction of the President of the Indian Union under Section 197 of the Criminal Procedure Code.

Chief Justice : You can bring a civil suit against Pandit Nehru for damages.

Advocate Mani : But a Civil suit cannot solve the question of civil liberties. We have appeared before this Hon'ble Court because the civil liberties guaranteed to us under the Constitution have been encroached upon. No lower Court can take any cognisance of this matter.

Chief Justice : We shall decide that Pandit Nehru has made these speeches not as a Prime Minister but only as President of the Congress.

Advocate Mani : If you do so you will have to take cognisance of the breach of the oath of secrecy made by Pandit Nehru.

After stopping a while, *Chief Justice* declared "The petition is dismissed *in limine*. We shall give the reasons later."

The Nagpur High Court delivered the judgment in this case after one month, i.e. on the 13th March 1952. Two reasons have been mentioned in this judgment for dismissing the complaint. The first is that the Prime Minister is not responsible to the Indian people and the second is that he does not reside in a territory within the jurisdiction of this High Court.

The Court says in the Judgment, "According to the Article 226 of the Constitution any High Court has got an authority to serve a writ on a person residing in its jurisdiction. This clearly means that the person on whom the writ is to be served must be always residing in a territory within the jurisdiction of the High Court. The authority given to the High Court under Article 226 is similar to the authority given to the Supreme Court in England in olden times and this authority can be used only *in Personam*."

"However the learned Counsel of the applicant says that it is not necessary that the person to whom the writ is to be served

must be residing within the jurisdiction of the High Court. In support of his contention he has quoted the case A. I. R. Punjab 1 of 1952, but the decision in this case goes against the learned counsel."

"The Learned Counsel however contends that since Pandit Nehru is the Prime Minister of India, it must be held that he works and resides in every part of India. This opinion is based on the hypothesis that the Prime Minister is responsible to the people of India. In our view, there is no authority to hold this view under the Constitution or any other law. It is true that under Article 74(1) of the Constitution, the Prime Minister is the head of the Cabinet and does his duty to advise the President of the Indian Union. But along with this, it must also be noted that the administration of India is carried on in the name of the President of the Union and the Prime Minister can remain in office only during the pleasure of the President of the Indian Union and the Cabinet headed by the Prime Minister is jointly responsible only to the House of the People. Therefore under the Constitution, the Prime Minister is responsible for his action only to the President of the Indian Union and the House of the People and none else and there is no law to hold that the Prime Minister is responsible for his actions to the general public. The Prime Minister is not therefore responsible to the people."

"Since the Prime Minister is not responsible to the people, it is difficult to hold that he is present everywhere. It is true that the Prime Minister goes everywhere in India and advises the President of the Indian Union in the matter of administration. Still, it cannot be held that he is an officer at a particular place where he is working on any particular day. It must be held that his connection at that particular place is only with the President of the Union and with the House of the People. It is also clear that any action done by the Prime Minister outside his administrative duties, is not the concern of the President of the Union or the House of the People."

"There is another reason also to dismiss this complaint. Pandit Nehru although he is a Prime Minister, he is also the head

of a political party and his public speeches made by him are made only concerning the general elections. We therefore hold that the speeches made by him have been made by him as President of the Congress and not as Prime Minister . Even if it is admitted that under Article 226, we can issue a writ even to a private individual we are not prepared to use that authority because we think that if any other legal remedies are available, the High Court should not use the authority provided under article 226. If High Court does this, it will amount to depriving the lower courts of their authority. In our view, other remedies are open to the applicant and there is no special reason why we should use the authority under Article 226. We therefore dismiss this complaint."

The foregoing account will show that the Hon'ble court did not take any cognisance of the two points raised on my behalf, that Pandit Nehru made his speech at Nagpur and while doing so, he broke the oath of secrecy. The High Court has not issued any directive on this point. But I have got the satisfaction of publicly ventilating my grievance. I close this chapter, after expressing my gratitude to my learned Counsel Shri R. V. S. Mani and the English Daily Hitavada of Nagpur and Atom of Bombay with whose courtesy I have been enabled to give this account in such detail.

CHAPTER XIX

SOME FUN IN PARLIAMENT.

I have enjoyed legislative life for a pretty long time from 1923 to 1957 with one or two small breaks. During this period, I have been a member of the Provincial as well as Central Legislatures and I sat on the Treasury Benches as well as on the opposition benches. In spite of this long period, I must admit that I have not at all developed into a good parliamentarian, because, I am lacking in industry and application and being a lazy happy-go-lucky sort of a chap I have not been able to deliver prepared speeches in Parliament. Besides, during the period from 1952 to 1957, I was a member of the House of the People on behalf of the Hindoo Mahasabha, and the Congress had a brute majority impervious to any argument. It was therefore useless or a waste of energy to deliver any long prepared speeches. I therefore always spoke *extempore* and on the spur of the moment, and naturally indulged in *ridicule* and *satire* which created some fun. I will quote some instances below :

(1) Hundreds of thousands of Hindoo, Sikh refugees from Pakistan came to India after partition leaving behind them their property worth crores of rupees. Compared to this, the Muslims who migrated from India to Pakistan, left behind them their property in India which was less than one-fourth of the property of the Hindoos and Sikhs left in Pakistan. The policy of the Government of India and Pakistan with regard to this refugee property was diametrically opposite. The policy of the Pakistan Government was to swallow the property of the Hindoos left behind, and the policy of the Government of India was quite the opposite, in consonance with their love of Muslims and their appeasement. On account of this, passages-at-arms always took place in Parliament between the members of the ruling party and the opposition. On one such occasion, Shri C. C. Biswas, Minister for Law and Minorities, detailed the purport of all the correspondence that he had with the Pakistan Government on this question. It is well known that Pakistan always throws such correspondence into the waste paper basket. Therefore Mr. Biswas told the House in a tone of utter helplessness that

although they requested Pakistan in so many ways, Pakistan did not care even to reply. What should they do now under such circumstances? Would any one show them the way? As soon as these words fell from his lips, I raised my closed fist over my head in the air while sitting on my seat in the House, which astounded the House, the Press Gallery and Mr. Biswas; and Mr. Biswas remained silent for a while. Immediately, Pandit Nehru, the Prime Minister prompted him and Biswas said, "we do not approve the way suggested by this Hon'ble Member". Pandit Nehru did not relish this insipid reply of Biswas. Therefore, he got up himself and said, "I am surprised that this Hon'ble member has imitated the Prime Minister of Pakistan, late Nawab Zada Liaquat Ali Khan. But why should I be surprised at all. Dr. Khare and Liaquat Ali Khan are birds of the same feather, and therefore they flock together. It is improper to imitate Liaquat Ali and we will never do it." Immediately I rose and retorted, "there is nothing improper in it. Tit for tat is the only policy towards Pakistan."

(2) When the Government of India passed the Preventive Detention Act, I spoke in Parliament and told Pandit Nehru on his face that the Government was passing such an Act only to detain their opponents behind the prison bars. Such a law did not exist anywhere in the world, not even in Russia. But I want to tell the Prime Minister that by partitioning the country, the Congress had committed such a sin and such a treachery against the country, that had the people of India been educated, the Congress leaders, instead of forming the Government, would have found themselves behind the prison bars or in such an unknown place where they would not have been visible to anybody.

(3) In October 1952, A cricket team from Pakistan was invited to play cricket in India. At this very time, Shri Vijaya Sen, Minister of West Bengal published a statement in the press that evidence of atrocities committed in Pakistan on Hindoo women was in his possession. To play cricket with the Pakistani team in such circumstances was highly improper and insulting to womanhood. When this team came to Nagpur, I proclaimed boycott against it and some Hindoo Sabha volunteers were

arrested for picketing the play ground. I was also arrested in the morning of the 31st October 1952 under the Preventive Detention Act. On this very day, Pandit Nehru, the Prime Minister happened to visit Nagpur and made a speech in the Kasturchand Park in the evening and called me childish for boycotting the cricket play. Perhaps as the session of Parliament was to meet on or about the 4th of November, I was released at mid-night on 31st October 1952 to enable me to attend the session. At the very first opportunity, I criticised Pandit Nehru on his face—I said, “One who always shows mercy to the enemy and forgives him for the atrocities committed by him is neither a man nor a woman.” I quoted a Sanskrit *shloka* from *Mahabharat* in support of this. Further I said, “if somebody asks me as to what sort of a human being is one who is neither a man nor a woman, I will reply that such a person is either devoid of a soul or has a dead soul. If somebody puts me a further question as to whether such a person is in existence in the world, I will emphatically say that such a person is in this House and has got the undeserved honour of leading this House.” And thus, I took revenge on Pandit Nehru for his calling me names in his Nagpur speech and I concluded my speech by saying that Pandit Nehru might not feel anything for the atrocities on women, but I did not belong to that category and I was proud of having proclaimed boycott on the Pakistani cricket team.

(4) Once upon a time, in the Lok Sabha, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee while making a speech spoke on communalism, and said that his party, Bharatiya Jana Sangha was not a communalist party at all because people of all religions could be admitted to that party. Nehru intervened in the debate and said, “There is no question about you, but what about the member who is sitting near you? Can you convert him to your views?” Obviously this reference was to me. I therefore got up immediately and said, “Nobody can convert me, I am a communalist and I am not ashamed of it, because my communalism consists only in protecting the interests of my own community and not encroaching upon the interests of any other community. There can be nothing objectionable in this. Therefore my communalism

is of the right type" Pandit Nehru retorted, "Not only right but rightest". (In the modern world it is a fashion that right means reactionary and left means progressive.) Therefore Pandit Nehru called my communalism rightest. I said, "Not rightest but righteous."

(5) Generally, in every session of the House of the People, Government's foreign policy is endorsed. On one such occasion, Pandit Nehru said, "China is represented in the U. N. O. by the Government of Formosa, which is only a small Island. The Communist China which forms nearly one fourth part of the world is not at all represented in the U. N. O. Therefore the position of China in the U. N. O. is unreal." As soon as Pandit Nehru uttered this sentence, I got up and asked Nehru a question, "If as you say, the position of China in U. N. O. is unreal, for the same reason, is it not a fact that U. N. O. itself is unreal." On hearing my question, Pandit Nehru appeared to be a bit confused and baffled and said, "I do not know what is real or unreal, but the Hon'ble Member's nimble wit is very real."

(6) In a session, of the House of People in 1953, when discussions were going on, on the five year plan, some Congressmen said, "we have saved the country in a grave crisis". On hearing this, I immediately got up and said, "You have not saved the country but shaved the country." The house naturally roared with laughter.

(7) In this very session of the Lok Sabha, I criticised the perpetual impotence of the Congress Government displayed by it towards Pakistan Government. I said, "If the Congress Government is not prepared to use either a small or a big stick against Pakistan, let them at least use lipstick." This went home and some Congressmen in the lobby told me "By your speech you draw blood."

(8) A session of the House of the People was held during the months of August-September 1953. On the 5th of August I gave a statement to the press for publication. In this statement I had suggested that to save Kashmir, it was necessary to dismiss Sheikh Abdullah the Premier of Kashmir and detain

him in jail, because the situation in Kashmir was very dangerous. In the end, I had expressed my doubt in that statement as to whether our Hamlet, i. e. Pandit Nehru would have the requisite courage to take the requisite action. The pressmen from the Press Gallery did not publish this statement and blamed me for issuing it, as they held it to be irresponsible and designed to weaken the hands of Pandit Nehru. The only paper which published the purport of this statement on the 6th August 1953 was the *Times of India*. On the 7th August Sheikh Abdullah referred to this statement and said in a public speech, "A sinister politician in India has suggested my dismissal and arrest. Let me see who dares do it. Bharat is not concerned with it. Kashmir is independent and every Kashmiri will fight for it to the last drop of his blood." This speech of Sheikh Abdullah was published in Indian papers like the *Statesman* on the 9th of August 1953 on which date Sheikh Abdullah was also arrested. After this, some pressmen who called my statement irresponsible, came to me to express their regret and to congratulate me for being so bold as to issue such a statement which had to be acted upon by the Government of India. I also issued a statement to the press thanking the Government of India for following my lead.

(9) Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, the opposition member of the House of the People died in detention in Kashmir on the 23rd of June 1953. The House of the People discussed this unfortunate death of Dr. Mukherjee on the 18th September 1953. In my speech I said, "Dr. Mukherjee's death is a politico-medical murder of a determined opposition leader. For the Political part of it, Delhi is responsible and for the medical part, Shrinagar is responsible. It is a confirmed policy of this Government to destroy its opponents by any means whatsoever. I say so emphatically, because the police of this Government tried to destroy me by trying to involve me in the assassination of Gandhi.

^ A Member : This is irrelevant.

Myself : It is quite relevant and the Hon'ble Member has no right to interfere. It is the duty of the Speaker to decide

whether it is relevant, or irrelevant. Dr. Mukherjee's arrest was published in the Press on the 11th May 1953. On the 13th May 1953, I had made a political prediction that Dr. Mukherjee might not come alive from jail because the Government was always hostile to its opponents. This was my own experience after the assassination of Gandhi. I could make this political prophecy because Dr. Mukherjee fell into the hands of an inveterate enemy at Shrinagar. I am not telling this to the House for the first time. I had expressed this fear of mine to my friends, on the 13th of May.

(10) A session of the Lok Sabha was held in the month of December 1953 and as usual there was a debate on the foreign policy of the Government of India. In his speech, Pandit Nehru referred to three principal subjects, viz. Korea, Colonialism and the pact between Pakistan and America. In my speech, I said, "Government of India has not done anything in Korea to be proud of. India simply acted there as a pall-bearer. Prime Minister Nehru has expressed great contempt in his speech about colonialism. His face was brightened at the time with righteous indignation. But the next moment he came down because perhaps he remembered that India is still in the British Commonwealth of nations. A member nation of the Commonwealth, viz., South Africa is oppressing Indians there, but we cannot do anything and the British Government also does not say a word to South Africa. In East Africa, the British Government there is committing mass massacre of the Kikuyus, the original inhabitants there. Still we are associating with the Commonwealth. So what is the use of this talk to condemn colonialism. If we are really and sincerely opposed to it, it is our duty to immediately secede from the British Commonwealth. But I am afraid, we cannot do so because although we are free citizens of the Indian Republic, we are still British subjects under the British law."

M. V. Krishnappa, Deputy Minister of the Department of Food and Agriculture : Do you really think so ?

I replied : Yes, definitely and since I am challenged I would place before the house a very fresh piece of evidence. Don't be

impatient. That evidence consists of a letter No. 21-69/51. U.K. of 10th November 1953 signed by R. P. Menon, Under Secretary to the External Affairs Department. It runs as follows:—

“I am asked to say that according to the first Clause of the British Nationality Act of 1949, a citizen of India is a British subject. The position continues even after India became a Republic.”

Now swallow this and keep quiet. On account of this, our department dealing with foreign affairs is not called Foreign Department, but External Affairs Department.” Pandit Nehru was present in the House at this time, but he did not contradict me.

(11) An interesting correspondence took place between me and Mr. G. V. Mavalankar, the Speaker of the House of People in the first week of September 1954 which is given below :—

Hindu Sabha Bhavan,
New Delhi
8th September 1954

Dear Mr. Mavalankar,

You told me in the House day before yesterday, i. e. on the 6th that if I wanted to draw the attention of the Government to any important subject, I should write to you. You expressed your readiness to convey to the Government the contents of such a letter seeking information. I therefore will be highly obliged if you kindly bring to the notice of the Prime Minister the following facts :

(1) The Prime Minister has given a donation of Rs. 10,000 to the Jamia Milia Islamia. But he has not given any such donation so far to either a Hindoo or a Sikh institution.

(2) When the President of Indonesia visited Delhi, the Prime Minister accompanied him to the Jumma mosque, but when king Tribhuwan of Nepal visited Delhi, the Prime Minister did not go with him to the Laxminarayan Mandir popularly known as Birla Mandir.

(3) It is well known that Khwaja Moinuddin, whose grave is in Ajmer had come to India to Islamise Hindoos. Recently, Pandit Nehru paid a visit to this Muslim shrine at Ajmer and followed all the etiquettes there, so much so that he also put on the head gear offered to him. But no one knows if Pandit Nehru has ever followed the etiquettes in a Hindoo temple. His conduct was criticised when he visited the temple at Pandharpur and Tuljapur. This is my information. Is it not a fact that such a differential treatment shown towards different religions by a responsible person like the Prime Minister, results in creating feelings of bitterness between the two communities and becomes an impediment in the achievement of Hindoo-Muslim unity. I shall be thankful if clarification on these points is made available to me.

Yours
N. B. Khare.

The Speaker Mr. Mavalankar sent me a reply to this letter the same day which was as follows :—

20, Akbar Road,
New Delhi,
8th September 1954.

Dear Dr. Khare,

I have received your letter of today. The things referred to by you in your letter pertain to the personal behaviour of Pandit Nehru. The suggestion I made to you in the House was about his public behaviour as a Prime Minister about which questions could be legitimately asked in the House.

Your present letter is quite different. I am returning it to you because I cannot communicate the contents in it to the Prime Minister. I regret that my suggestion caused some misunderstanding.

Yours
G. V. Mavalankar.

I have only to remark here that the actions done by the Prime Minister described in my letter cannot be held to be merely personal

(12) The Government of India moved a Bill in the House of the People on the 18th November 1954 to amend the Criminal Procedure Code. In my speech on this Bill I said, "This Bill is unjust and mischievous and intended to suppress the oppositionists. This is a design to use the whole administrative machinery against the accused. If this Bill is passed any Minister can commit any offence under the Indian Penal Code and go scot-free as if a minister is a superman descended from heaven. By this Bill, you are creating a separate class of Ministers who will be immune from any danger of being prosecuted. This will not simplify justice but only create a police Government. It appears that the oppression which was being carried on during the regime of the British Government under sedition, i. e. Section 124(a) will now be carried on during the regime of the Congress Government under the law of defamation. Verily, it can be said that law grinds non-congressmen and congressmen rule the law. There are some ministers who have endeared themselves to the highest authorities on account of their nepotism and corruption.

Shri Gurupad Swami : Just like in Madhya Pradesh.

Myself : I cannot say. There are some ministers who regard themselves as indispensable and they threaten to resign their office and then their admirers say, to them, "Oh, don't go. What will happen to us if you go. Please remain in office because you are our Indra, Chandra, Warun, Mata, Pita, Bhrata, Suta, Vanita.

(13) On the 14th December 1953, the Law Minister, Shri C. C. Biswas, said that the House of the People should appoint a Select Committee to consider the Special Marriage Bill which is being discussed in the Council of States. The suggestion of the Law Minister was bitterly opposed by congressmen themselves. They said, how can a Select Committee be appointed by the House to consider a Bill which has not been moved in the

House itself? The Congress members did not allow the Law Minister even to speak. They compelled him to sit down by creating terrible noise. The Leader of the House, Pandit Nehru, was absent. He was in Calcutta on that day. Therefore, the Deputy Leader, Maulana Azad, suggested the postponement of this question, which was accepted by the House.

On the 16th December 1953, the same suggestion of appointing a Select Committee was again placed before the House. Pandit Nehru was present in the House on that day. I spoke on the suggestion and said, "Today, the suggestion will be accepted by the House because Pandit Nehru wants it to be passed." It was surprising that the Congress members did not raise any objection that day. They were quite quiet. Seeing this, I said further in my speech, "Today I am reminded of *Krishna* and *Gopies* mentioned in the *Hindu Puranas*. In *Gokul* there were so many *Gopies* and Cows and there was one *Gopivallabha* or *Krishna* to control them. Whenever these *Gopies* and Cows used to go astray, *Krishna* used to play upon his flute, hypnotise them and bring them to the proper path. The same situation obtains here today in this House. One individual who was absent day before yesterday is present today. Therefore all *Gopies* and *cows* will now come to the proper path.

D. C. Sharma : Is Hon'ble Member him elf a Gopi ?

Myself : If the cap fits the questioner he can wear it. I do not dance to anybody's tune. I can therefore never be a Gopi. Great commotion occurred in the House on account of my speech and the Speaker requested the House not to incite me. After this, I continued my speech and said, "This Special Marriage Bill is in favour of monogamy. I am also in favour of monogamy and I support the Bill. But I must say, in this House, complete polygamy prevails, because there is one *Gopivallabh* and hundreds of *Gopis* in this House dancing to his tunes.

(18) A vote of no confidence was moved against Shri G. V. Mavalankar, the Speaker of the House of the People on the 18th December 1954. I spoke on it as follows :

“The Leader of the House spoke very angrily this morning on this resolution and made the atmosphere of the House very hot. I will not follow the example of the Leader of the House and create more heat. I am going to express myself very calmly and quietly as I like coolness in consonance with the present atmosphere.

On the 15th of this month, I asked the Speaker on the floor of the House as to what happened to the notice of motion of adjournment of the House given by me. This motion of adjournment was regarding the foreign interference in the management of Christian churches. On my asking the question, without giving any reason, the Speaker told me that he was not prepared to listen to anything coming from me, and he was going to ignore the very existence in this House of this Hon'ble Member. The Speaker dared to be so insolent and impudent on the strength of the thoughtless brute majority behind him. His ignoring my very presence in the House amounts to a mental murder of a member of the House, or shall I say, non-violent murder. This is also insulting to the Constituency which sent me to this House. The Speaker is entitled to take any decision he likes in his room or in his office, about adjournment motions, but I insist that this decision, whatever it may be, must be communicated to me on the floor of the House. He cannot compel me to go to his room or office to find out that decision.

I emphatically say here that the questions given notice of in the House are dealt with in a most arbitrary and unconstitutional manner. Look at these death warrants of the questions put by me.” So saying, I raised up in the air about 25 slips informing me that my questions were disallowed. In this way, my right to put questions had been encroached upon. I accuse the Speaker that he deliberately did this to prevent exposure on the floor of the House of certain things unpalatable to the Government.

CHAPTER XX

SOME CORRESPONDENCE AND VIEWS

ALL INDIA CORRUPTION AND COWARDICE ABBREVIATION—A. I. C. C.

Impeach Pandit Shukla :

(A)

Blitz

Dated 30-10-1954

During the past four or five years, some official actions of the *Chief Minister, Madhya Pradesh*, have been severely criticised and latterly, grave and serious allegations have been repeatedly made against him in the Press, Public Platform, Legislature and the Law Courts.

Being zealous of purity of administration, I entered into confidential correspondence with the Prime Minister of India from 15th February 1954. We have exchanged between ourselves, half a dozen letters upto August 30, 1954. I would not publish the correspondence because it is confidential. But a few days ago, I saw published in the Press, a letter from Shri M. S. Gurupadswamy, Member of Parliament, to the Prime Minister of India and his reply.

From this correspondence, it is clear that Shri Gurupadswamy demanded a probe into the allegations against Shukla and the Prime Minister promised that enquiry. Against this background, I can safely disclose that I hold two letters in which the Prime Minister of India has committed himself to hold an enquiry into the allegations made against *Shri Shukla*. I was therefore confident that the enquiry would be held and purity of administration which is a matter of supreme public importance and interest will be vindicated.

Nehru committed to hold enquiry :

But it is now 9 months from February to October and so far no enquiry has been held; and it is rumoured in reliable circles in touch with the Government of India in Delhi that the Prime

Minister is satisfied with the explanation given by Shukla and that the question of an enquiry now does not arise. This rumour is confirmed from circles close to the Chief Minister in Nagpur. In the meantime, I tried to raise this question of enquiry in the Lok Sabha through an adjournment motion; but the Speaker ruled it out and while doing so advised me to approach the highest organs in the administration or any other proper forum, obviously meaning the law courts.

Deplorable Legal Position :

The result of an approach to the highest organ in the administration is disappointing, as described in the previous paragraph. A formal criminal case was filed against Shukla in the court of a Magistrate, by the Joint Secretary of the Praja Socialist Party of Madhya Pradesh. But it was dismissed and all the courts, i. e. the Magistrate, the Sessions Court and the High Court have held that no prosecution could be launched against a public servant like a Chief Minister without the previous sanction of the Governor.

Ordinarily, no Congress Governor is expected to be bold enough to accord sanction to the prosecution of a Chief Minister, although there is a provision in the Constitution enabling the Governor to use his individual discretion and such a discretion once exercised cannot be challenged.

When one fails to get redress anywhere he should approach the citizens of Bharat who are sovereign in this Republican State. In this spirit of humility, I approach the public through this communication and place before them certain facts which I have gathered in the matter of the Gondvana Paints and Minerals Ltd., to enable the public to judge for themselves about the necessity of a probe into the allegations made against the Chief Minister in this connection. I have no intention to defame anybody and I do not bear any malice towards anyone. I have done this wholly and solely in public interest. The facts about Gondvana Paints and Minerals Ltd., according to my information are as follows :

Mr. R. C. Shrivastava, a man possessing some technical qualifications floated this Company and got a permission from

the Controller of Capital Issues in 1945, long before the Congress Ministry came into existence. He got the certificate of business from the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies, C. P. and Berar in 1946. This Company was managed by R. C. Shrivastava and Company, a private limited firm with a nominal capital. Shukla's sons invested Rs. 500 in the Company.

The Gondavana Paints and Minerals Limited, did not get a satisfactory response from the public and R. C. Shrivastava applied to the Madhya Pradesh Government for Governmental aid to the Company. While the case for Government aid was pending with the Government for orders, G. C. Shukla and B. C. Shukla, the sons of the Chief Minister managed to acquire between them a half share in the managing agency company, entitling each of them to a monthly salary of Rs.250 plus a share in the profits of the main company for a period of 18 years.

The total investment of these two sons of the Chief Minister, Shri Shukla in the public and private companies was less than Rs. 500. Yet they stood to earn at least that much, i. e. Rs. 500 every month for 18 years for this paltry investment.

Obviously, the consideration for their half share in the managing agency was not their monetary investment of less than Rs. 500 in the Companies, but the making available to Mr. R. C. Shrivastava, the managing Director, the vast power and influence of their father Shri Ravishankar Shukla, Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh in collecting share capital and generally in building up the industry of Messrs. Gondavana Paints and Minerals, Ltd.

20 per cent Government aid sanctioned :

It is significant to note that Mr. G. C. Shukla became a partner in the Managing Agency Company on October 23, 1947, and Mr. B. C. Shukla became a partner on December 20, 1947. It is also important to note that within three months after the finalisation of the position of both the sons of the Chief Minister, orders sanctioning Government aid to the

Company were issued on 4th March 1948 and aid sanctioned was 20 per cent of the capital realised in contrast to the usual 10 per cent to other Companies.

A loan of about Rs. 1 lakh was advanced to this Company from an estate under the Court of Wards to overcome the financial difficulties and substantial help was given to raise the capital through the agency of Government officials and also from the Maharajas and Rajas of Eastern States Agency who had at the time important problems financial and others to be solved by the Chief Minister.

I have personally seen all the documents which substantiate the above mentioned facts. I have also shown these documents to a retired high judicial officer, who after close study, opined that there was a *prima facie* case against the Chief Minister. It is only after securing this legal opinion that I ventured to send copies of all these documents to Shri Nehru including 3 or 4 photostat copies to convince him of the authenticity but to no purpose.

Shri Nehru should not hesitate to order an independent judicial enquiry into the allegations.

N. B. Khare.

From Nagpur Times dated 4-11-1954

Sanction to proceed against Shukla

Dr. Khare applies to Governor.

In a statement to the press, Dr. N. B. Khare, M. P., today revealed that he had applied for the sanction of the Governor of Madhya Pradesh for lodging a complaint against Pandit R. S. Shukla, Chief Minister. Dr. Khare said that he had sent an application to this effect to the Secretary to the Law Department, Madhya Pradesh, to secure from him the necessary sanction of the Governor under Section 197 of the Criminal Procedure Code, so that he can lodge his complaint. Also as such a sanction is to be given expressly in the name of the Governor, he has directly addressed a similar application to the Governor.

Dr. Khare said that as Pandit Shukla had been held to be a public servant, he had informed the Governor of Madhya Pradesh that he wanted to lodge a complaint against him under Section 161 and 163 of the Indian Penal Code.

He had applied for the sanction of the Governor because the recent ruling of the Nagpur High Court said that Pandit Shukla as a Chief Minister of the State was a Public servant within the meaning of Section 21 of the Indian Penal Code and therefore the previous sanction of the Governor was necessary before lodging a prosecution against him—H.S.

Application to Governor :

To

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramaya, Governor,
Madhya Pradesh.

Dated, Nagpur,
the 1st November 1954.

Subject :— Dismissal of Ravi Shankar Shukla, Chief
Minister, Madhya Pradesh.

Sir,

I have the honour to submit this representation of mine urging you to take action under the power vested in you exclusively by Article 164 (I) of the Constitution of India and dismiss Shri Ravi Shanker Shukla from the office of the Chief Minister in the Council of Ministers of Madhya Pradesh which he holds.

I find it necessary to give two reasons for my requesting you to act under the powers vested in you by Article 164(I) of the Constitution of India.

Firstly, you can act entirely in your discretion and independently of any advice from the Council of Ministers, when

you choose to act under Article 164 (I) of the Constitution of India. This discretion once exercised cannot be challenged. The present Congress Assembly party as also the present Council of Ministers in Madhya Pradesh is wholly subservient to the dictatorial rule of Shri R. S. Shukla, the Chief Minister. It is impossible therefore to expect that the Council of Ministers of Madhya Pradesh will advise you to grant sanction to prosecute Shri R. S. Shukla.

In this connection, I want to draw your particular attention to the back ground of the incorporation of Article 164(I) in the Constitution of India, giving powers to the Governor to act wholly in his discretion without having to wait for or seek the advice of the Council of Ministers. Dr. Ambedkar, when he was the Union Minister and Member-in-charge for the framing of the Constitution of India gave a special justification in the commentary in the Constituent Assembly for the Constitution, for the incorporation of Article 75 (2) in the Constitution of India. To quote from Basu's commentary on the Constitution of India (page 297, 1952 Edition), "As Dr. Ambedkar explained in the Constituent Assembly, the normal mode of dismissal of a Minister or Ministry is by a vote of no confidence in the House of the People. But it may sometimes happen that even though a Minister's administration be corrupt, he may still command the confidence of the majority of the House. In such a case, the President is given the power to dismiss a corrupt or otherwise undesirable Minister notwithstanding that he is not thought undesirable by the majority in the House of the People."

This quotation specially refers to the Union Ministers and President's powers regarding them. Article 164 (I) of the Constitution of India is analogous and corresponds to Article 75 (2) and refers to State Ministers and the Governor's powers regarding them.

There is therefore none in the land except you as Governor to take such action as is necessary to maintain purity in public morals and State administration. The duty cast on you by

Article 164(I) of the Constitution of India is one of great urgency though it is at the same time most onerous.

I request you therefore humbly, though earnestly, to take such action in the interest of purity of administration and democracy.

Thanking you,

Yours,
N. B. Khare.

Nagpur Times dated 4th December 1954.

Dr. Khare's request to Governor filed.

Matters against Shukla sub-judice.

Nagpur, Friday,

The Governor, Dr. Pattabhi has filed the papers with regard to Dr. N. B. Khare's request to him for sanction under Section 197 Criminal Procedure Code to prosecute R. S. Shukla under Section 161 and 163 of the Indian Penal Code.

The matters involved in the proposed prosecution, Navasamaj and Gondvana Paints affairs being *sub judice*, the Governor, "does not think it advisable and proper to consider the matters at this stage."

The Governor's order dated November 23rd, says: "After the dismissal of his revision petition by the High Court, on the ground that sanction by the Governor, under Section 197, Criminal Procedure Code, was an essential prerequisite to the institution of criminal proceedings against Pandit R. S. Shukla, Chief Minister, Madhya Pradesh, Faruqui, applied for a certificate of fitness to appeal to the Supreme Court of India against the said order of dismissal.

I have been reliably informed that the request for certificate of fitness has been granted by the High Court accordingly.

In these circumstances, the question as to the necessity of sanction under Section 197, Criminal Procedure Code, being

common to both Navasamaj as well as Gondvana Paints, and that being now sub-judice, the Governor does not think it advisable and proper to consider the matter at this stage until the point at issue shall have been finally decided by the highest tribunal of the country. The papers are therefore filed.

Dr. Khare's reply :

Dr. Khare in his reply to the Governor dated 2nd December among other things says :—

“However, I thank you for your kind reply and hereby intimate to you my intention to renew my request for your sanction when the matter ceases to *sub-judice*. The papers therefore should kindly be preserved.

Responsibility of the Central Cabinet :

I hold the Central Cabinet responsible for this corruption, and my authority for doing so is the Prime Minister himself, of course when he was not the Prime Minister. In October 1945, Pandit Nehru who was not then Prime Minister, made some speeches which were reported in the Press in which he charged the then members of the Viceroy's Executive Council with corruption. The matter was discussed in a meeting of the Executive Council of the Viceroy at that time, and I sought permission of the Viceroy, as a member of the Executive Council, to prosecute Nehru for defamation. I was helpless as the Viceroy refused to give the permission sought for, as according to him, it was *infra dig* for an Executive Councillor to descend so low. In this very meeting of the Executive Council Sir Jogender Singh, the then member in charge of Education, Health and Lands, disclosed that he entered into correspondence with Pandit Nehru on this matter demanding explanation from him. I requested my colleague Sir Jogender Singh to supply me a copy of that correspondence which he did. I quote an extract from a letter dated 10th October 1945 written by Sir Jogender Singh to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

My dear Jawaharlalji,

"The newspapers report you to have said that the Indian members of the Executive Council have filled their pockets with gold and may some day be charged as criminals."

In reply to the above, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru sent a letter to Sir Jogender Singh dated 16th October 1945, from which the following passage is quoted:—

"... .. Further I have said that seldom, if ever, has there been so much bribery and corruption in India as during the past few years and today. That this is amazingly widespread and extends from the highest officials to the lowest and even some members of the Executive Council have not kept themselves untainted, that in any event the highest administrative and executive organs must bear the responsibility for this utter degradation of the administration. There was no reference to you, nor indeed were you meant in any way, except in the sense that the whole Executive Council must bear responsibility."

What is sauce to the Gander is sauce to the Goose. By the same reasoning, I hold the present Central cabinet responsible for bribery and corruption in the administration which has multiplied many times since 1946. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was not the Prime Minister then, when he laid the charge in writing against the Executive Councillors. Now he has blossomed forth into the Prime Minister but that fact need not detract from the force of his argument made by him when he was not the Prime Minister.

Congress High Command to blame :

I am sure, the corruption will continue in administration as long as the Congress rule lasts, because I know that the Congress High Command, when I was Premier of C. P. and Berar, used to connive at it. Not only that, the High Command was in those days disposed to make low demands on Premiers. After my expulsion from the Congress in 1938, I made public accusations of nepotism against the Congress High Command. When the President challenged me publicly to tender proof of the

nepotism of the High Command, I published in the press, facsimile photographs of letters received by me as Prime Minister of C. P. and Berar from some members of the Congress High Command in which they made low nepotistic demands upon me to give a huge contract to one person, to appoint a certain lawyer as Advocate General, and to release a prisoner convicted of man slaughter, before the expiry of his term of imprisonment. Of course I did not accede to any of these demands and that may be one of the reasons for my dismissal. Even in the regime of the present High Command, 17 charges were preferred by the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee itself against the Bengal Ministry, but nothing happened. In Madras also charges were made against the Madras Ministry and a member of the Working Committee was sent there to enquire into them, but nothing came out except white-washing. The Congress High Command is afraid that if any exposure is made of any of their members, the Congress prestige which is already waning will go down like an avalanche. I therefore do not expect any result out of the papers which I have handed over to the Prime Minister personally on the 15th February 1954 on the floor of the House.

OPEN LETTER ADDRESSED TO SHRI JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA, DATED 20TH MAY 1955 BY DR. N. B. KHARE, MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT AND VICE PRESIDENT, OF THE ALL INDIA HINDOO MAHA SABHA.

Dear Shri Nehruji,

You are probably aware that on the 16th March 1955, I was struck down in the Parliament by severe coronary heart attack after my budget speech, which according to the report of the Speaker to the Civil Surgeon was rather spirited. I would have joined my friend Dr. Shyma Prasad Mukherjee in heaven but the care and the attention bestowed by the Doctors of the Willingdon Nursing Home saved my life, although even now I am so weak that I cannot walk slowly even 10 steps at a time.

The doctors have directed me to eschew all politics for some time, but the situation as it has developed in Goa for all these months, has compelled me to cast to the winds the benevolent directions of the doctors and my own discretion and made me pen these few lines to you.

Frankly speaking, the situation in Goa is such that the cup of insult, dishonour and injury to India is full to the brim. It is unfortunate that at this juncture, you are going on a trip to Russia and Yugoslavia. Future historians will interpret this as a desertion from the post of duty on your part. Kindly therefore, before you leave for Russia, show enough courage and candour to admit publicly the utter failure of your methods of peace and peaceful negotiations in the matter of Goa and decide to use some other methods to solve the Goa problem. The other method is only a police action as was taken in Hyderabad. Please do not be afraid of any intervention by NATO powers, because Britain, France and America also have abjured colonialism and they would not come forward to defend the tottering colonialism in little Goa. Please therefore take this firm decision and give an ultimatum to Goa allowing them sufficient period to quit before police action is taken. I will earnestly request you to take this decision before you leave for Russia and give the necessary ultimatum to Goa.

In case you fight shy of this violent action. I would humbly suggest that you should give a directive to the Indian National Congress through its President to take up non-violent Satyagraha against Goa. In the past Congress has always indulged in such non-violent Satyagraha before negotiations. The Congress has dared to defy the British lion with its Quit India movement. I do not understand why the Congress should be afraid of the *Portuguese mosquito* especially when all other parties have formed a Joint Action Committee and already started Satyagraha. I do not understand why the Progressive Congress should lag behind, even when the reactionary Hindoo Mahasabha has joined this Joint Action Committee. I am afraid, the future historians will describe this aloofness of the Congress from the movement at this juncture as rank cowardice. I remember, once you said, that

you felt like leading non-violent Satyagrahis into Goa. What may be nobler and braver than this? Perhaps, you feel hampered because you are a Minister, but that should not be so because I may remind you that the late Dr, Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, when he was a Minister in undivided Bengal had taken part in Bhagalpur Satyagraha. If you take such a step for the liberation of Goa I will join you knowing full well that this step at this time on my part will surely lead to my physical death on account of my present infirmity. But this sacrifice is worth making if it could enthuse some courage and manliness into the office of the Prime Minister of India.

With all due regards, and fraternal affection.

N. B. Khare.

I received a reply to this open letter from Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, with regard to Goa, which was as follows :—

New Delhi,
Mah 23, 1955.

Dear Dr. Khare,

I have received your letter of May 20th, which you call an open letter.

I was grieved to learn of your heart attack in Parliament. I am glad, you have recovered.

I am fully aware of the situation in Goa and naturally we are much concerned at recent happenings. But I do not think the misbehaviour of some policemen in Goa or the Portuguese authorities there, is a dishonour to India. Surely, India cannot be insulted or dishonoured by the misbehaviour of some people like this. We shall take such action as we consider proper in this matter. A great country should not allow itself to be coerced into thoughtless action.

I am afraid, I disagree with you about your policy in Goa. I think that, our policy has been a right one and has yielded results though it has not settled this question. I have no doubt, it will lead to the objective we aim at.

Jawaharlal Nehru.

(B)

MY VIEWS ON PAKISTAN—U. S. A. MILITARY
ALLIANCE EXPRESSED ON NOVEMBER, 21, 1953.

Although Mr. Dulles has denied any military agreement between U. S. A. and Pakistan, and Mr. Eisenhower has cleverly said that in the development of its relations with Pakistan, U. S. A. must do nothing to cause unrest or hysteria in nations neighbouring Pakistan; so much news has come out in the Press both in U. S. A. and Pakistan in the past several weeks, that it is easy to infer that a military alliance between U. S. A. and Pakistan is in the offing in the near future. There are very valid and compelling reasons for both the countries to bring about such an alliance. The internal conditions in Pakistan, both political and economical, have been deteriorating for quite a long time as evidenced by the murder of its Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan, the anti-Ahmadia agitation, and its failure to evolve a constitution which is long over due. Pakistan therefore should naturally try to divert the public mind from these grave questions and seek external aid to solve them. Apparently, the British carpet manufacturers who were early on the scene failed to attract Pakistan and were jilted perhaps as broken reeds. Dame Pakistan wanted a more powerful and more profitable companion and she found one such in America. If this alliance between them materialises, as it is sure to do, Pakistan will get millions of dollars which will be a great help to relieve her economic distress and she will be buttressed by the American armed might in her designs on Kashmir and also India, because her dream has always been and will always be to convert India into Dinia. There should be no doubt about this in anybody's mind, because while accepting, accord-

ing to them, a truncated and moth-eaten Pakistan, Pakistan leaders have openly proclaimed that they have accepted it to use it as a spring-board to pounce upon India. Viewed in this context, the recent Aligarh Muslim convention which has synchronised with these Pakistani activities appears to be more sinister than ever. There is every likelihood of some of its sponsors being Pakistani fifth columnists.

After discussing briefly the reasons compelling Pakistan to bring about such an alliance, let us now briefly refer to the reasons which have inclined the U.S. A. towards this game. For a long time past, U. S. A., has been trying to bring into existence a Middle East Defence Organisation. But it failed because Egypt and other Mid-East Arab countries refused to be inveigled into it. But U. S. A. has succeeded in arming Greece and Turkey and it wants to give a similar treatment to Pakistan. It has therefore informally advised India, that U. S. Government is considering a military agreement with Pakistan and this deal will be of a standard type, providing that the equipment supplied will be used for strengthening the free world and not for attacking a neighbouring country. That these assurances are not worth the paper on which they are written, is exemplified by the antics of Syngman Rhee of South Korea fame, connived at, if not actually encouraged or inspired by America. It will not be surprising therefore if after this alliance comes into action, a Syngman Rhee is found in Pakistan to threaten and tease India. (In Pakistan General Ayub Khan is doing it.) It is evident that by this alliance with Pakistan, U. S. A. wants to by-pass the middle East Arabian countries and to nullify their non-co-operation with the proposed MEDO and also teach India a lesson for deposing and detaining its protege in Kashmir.

It is not therefore in vain that the Prime Minister of India has been touched to the quick by this Pakistan-America manoeuvres and has reacted strongly. He has emphatically declared that India is gravely concerned with this action of Pakistan and U. S. A. and the consequences that may follow it. To say the least, this act is an unfriendly act towards

India, and I heartily congratulate our Prime Minister for openly saying so. Pakistan is not coming out with any categorical statement about this alliance for reasons best known to her. But one need not infer from her silence that it is not in the offing. Her Governor General and Commander-in-Chief have not recently visited Washington just for holidaying or sight seeing. The purpose of their visit obviously is as deep as can be.

Let us now briefly mention the possible consequences of this alliance. They are :

- (1) Cold war will be brought to the very door of India.
- (2) Commotion in the Indo-Pak sub-continent.
- (3) Uneasiness in Afghanistan, Burma and other Asiatic countries.
- (4) Increase in international tension if American bases are to be established in Pakistan.
- (5) Security of India will be very gravely imperilled by this alliance, and as a consequence:—

(a) She may be tempted to throw herself into the arms of America to be a favourite wife to keep Pakistan at bay.

(b) She may feel like making common cause with China and Russia who may coerce her threatening her neutrality, as neutrality of a weak country howsoever inspired by high ideals is difficult, if not impossible to maintain.

(c) Russia and America both may be displeased and both may be united in dividing her into spheres of influence just like Germany.

To avoid all these possible catastrophes, people of Pakistan should be awakened to this danger to both countries inherent in this alliance, so that they may prevent their rulers from thus bartering away their freedom by entering into this alliance. Pakistan also should be told not to indulge in this

unfriendly act because the basis of partition was that it would once for all put a stop to the communal trouble and the two countries will settle down to a peaceful and friendly attitude towards each other. If Pakistan does not listen, then the very basis of partition will disappear. India then should feel free to act swiftly in the best interests of her rights and security. India has a legal right to the Azad Kashmir territory at present illegally occupied by Pakistan. U. N. O. has failed to persuade Pakistan to relinquish it. After due notice to U. N. O., India should take police action against Azad Kashmir to recover what rightfully and legally belongs to her. If Indian Government fails to take such a step, the entire course of politics in this country, may be convulsively changed.

(C)

MY VIEWS ON PROSELYTISATION AND SHUDDHI
OR CONVERSION TO HINDUISM IN INDIA
AS EXPRESSED WHILE INAUGURATING THE
SHUDDHI CONFERENCE HELD AT GONDA ON
THE 27TH FEBRUARY 1955.

“ If the people of one country succeed in establishing their rule over the people of another country by the use of superior force or diplomacy or fraud, they devise ways and means to perpetuate their rule in the conquered country. By such a conquest, although conquerors conquer the bodies of the vanquished, this itself is not sufficient to perpetuate their rule for any length of time. They therefore naturally devise ways and means to conquer the minds of the subject people and make all efforts to make themselves not only physically but mentally also. For this purpose, the victors use the time honoured and recognised way which consists in converting the vanquished to the faith of the victors and this is done by the abuse of political power, by offering temptations, and also by taking advantage of the social defects of the vanquished.

The Muslims first invaded this country about 700 A. D. and conquered Sind and established their rule there. Mohamed Kasim's name is famous on this account in Indian history. From that time onwards, the conversion of Hindoos to Islam is going

on unimpeded even today. Witness the Allopanishad and Vedic Islam propagated by the Aga Khan who calls himself the Avatar of Krishna. The Khoja community in Gujerat entirely consists of Hindoos converted to Agakhan faith. The Agakhan also had promised Maulana Mohamed Ali, the Congress leader to convert all Harijans to Islam. One need not blame the Muslims for this because conversion of the Kafir is a duty enjoined upon every true Muslim. The Hindoos did not make any attempt to halt this process of Islamisation, on account of their ideas of so-called purity and social superiority. This led to widespread Islamisation which resulted ultimately in the establishment of Pakistan. There is no doubt that our dear motherland was trisected on the basis of religion, although congressmen are never tired of propagating falsely that this is only a territorial division. The Pakistan Muslims are so intolerant of the Hindoos that they have almost completely eliminated the Hindoos from West Pakistan. The same process is being carried on in East Pakistan to this day as can be gathered from newspapers even of the Congress variety. I had given a warning about this in my speech as the President of the Hindoo Mahasabha at Calcutta towards the end of December 1949, and the Congress press called me all sorts of names and condemned me as a worst communalist; but all their abuses showered on me did not help in stopping the exodus of the Hindoos from East Pakistan.

The Portugese came to this county about the beginning of the 16th century A. D. and occupied some portions of the western coast of India. They also followed the example of the Muslims and carried on large scale conversion of the Hindoos in that area by all detestable means involving fraud and force. To day also, the Portugese are claiming Goa as an integral part of Portugal on account of those conversions although there are 6,000 miles of ocean in between; and our Government is not raising its little finger against this activity of Portugal, although it is crying hoarse that Formosa is a part of China. The Portugese were followed by the French and the English who succeeded in establishing their Empire over this country. After this, they also began to devise ways and means to perpetuate thir rule, and therefore

began to connive at or encourage conversion of the Hindoos to Christianity. But they were clever and wise people and took a lesson from the downfall of the Portugese and the Muslims and used subtle methods only, to carry out their object of conversion. These methods included use of political power, temptations, education and giving undue concessions to the foreign Christian missionaries and conniving at their unlawful acts like kidnapping minors etc. This encouraged all manner of foregin missionaries who flocked to India to propagate their gospel, being assured of subtle and secret support from the British rulers. In this connection, it is worthwhile quoting what the greatest British Missionary, Alexandar Duff says in his letter written to the Free Chruch of Scotland. Says he, "The Hindoo converts to Christianity in India are very loyal to the British rule. They even do not hesitate to discard their own good customs and adopt everything that the Christian faith tells them to do. It is therefore necessary to create in India a Christian community of this type to strengthen British rule." This Alexandar Duff was in India about the period of 1857 and this kind Christian has condemned the punishment given to the fighters for freedom by the then British Government as too mild, although every one knows that the British were extremely brutal in giving punishments at that time.

The British were cautious and they countermanded any religious propaganda in favour of the Christian faith in their schools. But the missionaries did not care for it. At that time one Prof. Henderson even stressed the necessity of strenuous exertion in opposition to this cautiousness of the British by all who had at their heart the enlargement of Messiah's Kingdom, or even the tranquillity of India and the safety of the British Empire. In fact "*in this sign of the Cross, we conquer*" was their slogan. Mahatma Gandhi was not against any conscientious conversion brought about by a comparative study of religions, as no reasonable person would ever be. But he also objected (let the Congress Government note) to this sort of conversion brought about by temptations. He argued on this point with a missionary and told him point-blanc to carry on any amount of social service in India but not to indulge in such conversions. The missionary promptly

replied to him in these terms “ *We have not come here for any philanthropical work. Our schools, our colleges, hostels, maternity homes are weapons for converting the overwhelming Indian majority.*”

This is politics of numbers, the very basis of democracy. The Christians and the Muslims have recognised it. Will the Hindoos lag behind and be destroyed? No, the Hindoo faith, has of necessity to be aggressive just as Islam and Christianity are. Therefore, the Shuddhi movement is necessary.

Along with this propaganda of the gospel, the foreign missionaries indulged in abusing the Hindoo Incarnations and Heroes like Rama, Krishna etc.; and they did not hesitate to take advantage even of famines and other misfortunes. I cannot avoid the temptation of quoting my own experience in this connection in the year 1899 when a great famine had overtaken this country. I was a student then in the Government College at Jabalpur, Madhya Pradesh. At that time taking advantage of this famine, the foreign missionaries used to give their lectures on the Bible at many street corners in the town. I heard these lectures full of vile abuse of Rama and Krishna. I was touched to the quick and became very uneasy in my mind and thought of exposing the missionary. I therefore conveyed to him my desire to be converted to the Christian faith. He was very glad and enquired about my caste. On my replying that I was a Chitpawan Brahmin, and that I have faith in Jesus Christ, he was very happy and told me, “Since you have faith in Jesus Christ, who is saviour of humanity, your soul will be saved.” Then I asked him, “what will be the ritual of conversion?” He told me that I would have to drink the sacramental water and eat loaf of bread. I readily agreed to do so, and asked him whether anything further would have to be done. He said that I would have to remove my sacred thread and *choti* (tuft of hair) to which I objected. He said, that that practice was against the Christian religion and therefore a Christian could not have a sacred thread and a tuft of hair. I challenged him then and there to show any authority in the Bible in support of his contention, which of course, I was confident, that he would never do. Then he began to abuse and call me a cynic. I argued with him and told him at least

to explain how the existence of sacred thread and *choti* caused obstruction to one's faith in Jesus Christ. He could not satisfy me and became very angry. I told him, that in such serious matters there was no point in getting angry and asked him to explain why this *Zulf* i. e. elongated tuft of hair on the forehead which he had, did not cause an obstruction or impediment in his faith in Jesus Christ and why should my elongated tuft of hair which was about six inches behind, should cause such an impediment. I also asked him whether he was wearing a cotton shirt and why did it not cause an impediment in having faith in Jesus Christ, and why my three cotton threads which constituted my sacred thread was a cause of such an impediment. He was non-plussed. The whole audience clapped and from that day, he never came to preach. I quote this example to show that *conversion does not mean only a change of faith but means disassociation or separation of the converted from his Society and his Nation.*

The Hindoo faith is very liberal. It does not insist in absolute faith in any one book or any one prophet. But the Christian and the Islamic faiths are quite the opposite. They regard the followers of other faiths as Heathens and Kafirs, and also believe that the followers of other faiths are doomed to eternal hell. Naturally, therefore, such narrow faiths are intolerant and almost inimical to other faiths. Therefore, any Hindoo who adopts any of these faiths is not only estranged from Society, but becomes hostile to his Society and also naturally to his country. That is why it is a fact that in the movements for liberation of this country, the followers of these alien faiths have not taken any large part. On the contrary, by and large, they remained loyal to the foreign rule. At the time of the War of Independence in 1857, it is well known that the Indian Christians were not only loyal to the British rule, but had organised a Christian battalion to help the Government.

In 1947 also at the time of partition, some Muslims, taking advantage of the unsettled conditions then prevailing round Delhi, dreamt of hoisting the Pakistani flag on the Red Fort at Delhi; and the Muslims in Alwar State also had at that time

rebelled against the State with the object of joining that State to Pakistan. But that rebellion was firmly suppressed by that State. Therefore, the Muslims could not join their conferers at Delhi. Thousands of Muslims volunteered themselves to get converted to Hinduism. Similarly, in that area around Alwar, hundreds of Hindoos also in those turbulent times might have been converted to Islam. Three or four years after this event, Gandhi's great disciple, Vinoba Bhave, went to Alwar and advised the Muslims converted to Hinduism to become Muslims again. But he had not the courage to advise the Hindoos converted to Islam to become Hindoos again. This over-liberalism is the curse of Hinduism, and *Shuddhi* is necessary to banish this over-liberalism from the Hindoo mind. It is necessary also to welcome our estranged brothers back to our faith and to strengthen our nationalism. Even the Government of India realised this and purified the Hyderabad State of Muslim anti-nationalism by taking police action at the appropriate time. This is nothing but *Shuddhi* and I say so emphatically. There are 3 to 4 crores of Muslims in Bharat out of whom a large majority is still Pakistan-minded, which is proved by the hoisting of Pakistani flag on various occasions and at various places in the past year, the last occasion being at Nagpur on the 26th January 1955 at the time of the celebration of the Republic Day. The Pakistani flag was being carried in the procession sponsored by the Government. I wonder whether the Government was blind or had not the courage to stop this exhibition of anti-nationalism then and there, perhaps to win the votes of the Muslims. Whatever it may be, the fact remains that it is a national necessity to purify the hearts of such Muslims. This is also *Shuddhi*. It is very necessary.

How the net of the foreign Christian missionaries has been spread far and wide can be gathered from the following figures. In 1941, there were only 53 lakhs of Indian Christians in Bharat. In 10 years, i.e. in 1951, that number has gone up to 82 lakhs. There are 3,503 centres for spreading the gospel in Bharat in which 9719 missionaries and their assistants are working. Out of this number, 4683 are Europeans or Americans. Out of this number again, 5884 are males and 3835 are females. There are 40 colleges run by foreign missionaries in which there are

22,000 students. There are 448 High Schools which are teaching 150,000 students and there are also 13,991 primary schools run by the missionaries. Besides this, they are conducting 274 hospitals and 278 dispensaries and publishing 185 periodicals. For the conversion propaganda, they spend about Rs. 5 crores per year out of which about Rs. 3 crores are obtained from foreign countries and about Rs. 2 crores collected in India. The Christians may not be so blatantly anti-national as the majority of Muslims but they have also developed the tendency of separating like the Muslims. In Travancore Cochin, the percentage of Christians in the population is about 35. Therefore, Congress has made a compact with them and they are pampered by the Congress. They could dare to destroy hundreds of Hindoo temples including the famous Sabrimalai Temple and the Government has failed to find out the culprits and to punish them. If one brick is dislodged from a Muslim grave this very same Government will move heaven and earth. This is their *secularism*. If such things go on there is no doubt that in the very near future Travancore-Cochin will become a Christian area. *Shuddhi* is necessary to prevent this happening. It is necessary here to draw attention to the fact that *Karens* in Burma who are Burmese Christians have successfully established a separate State in that Country. In the North East Frontier of Assam bordering on Burma the same tendency of demanding a separate State has developed in the *Naga* people. I brought this to the notice of Parliament on or about the 18th of March, 1953, and Pandit Nehru must have been disagreeably surprised in the first week of April of the same year by the open insult offered to him in the Naga land by the Nagas who are mostly Christians. Therefore, it is very necessary to carry on the *Shuddhi* movement. But it is strange that our Government appreciates conversion but decries *Shuddhi* as narrow and communal. This is nothing but perverted logic. It must be remembered that all the pretensions of foreign missionaries for humanity and kindness are only a thin veneer, which hides their vile self-interest under it, of lessening the numbers of Hindoos and increasing their numbers and thus creating fifth columnists disloyal to this country. Therefore all the activities of foreign missionaries of conducting hospitals colleges, schools, are according to me suspect and we should not be carried away

by these manifestations of their humanism. They are nothing but instruments of subtle seduction. We should therefore give up praising these missionaries. Our Government is spending thousands of crores of rupees on their five year plan. It is not difficult for it to spend half a dozen crores every year on these institutions run by the missionaries, and ours is a welfare State. The foreign missionaries in their propaganda tell the people that their Government is doing nothing for their amelioration and the missionaries are doing everything in their power. Therefore they should be loyal to them. It is therefore the duty of the Government to follow the good example of our neighbours China and Burma and banish these foreign missionaries. The Mahasabha will help the Government in this endeavour. **The Hindoo Mahasabha also must continue to carry on the Shuddhi movement at all costs. This Shuddhi movement should be regarded as a great constructive programme for strengthening and consolidating our nation. After all, Hindoo alone is the backbone of this country."**

The foregoing will convince any reasonable person that in the special circumstances of India change of religion of a Hindoo undermines his loyalty to his motherland and creates separatist tendencies. This very idea is expressed in a British Journal '*Free Thinker*' founded in 1881 and published in London by G. W. Foote and Company Limited, in an article entitled 'Views and Opinions—Christian Missions in India' written by E. A. Ridley and published on Friday, April 5th 1957. It is therefore worthwhile here to quote this article for the benefit of those who practise secularism of a wrong kind and are obviously unjust to the Hindoos.

" In the year 1947, there ended one of the strangest Governmental experiments in the recorded history; the two-century Raj of England's Indian Empire. During the past decade, India has become first Dominion then later, a federal Republic within the British Commonwealth. The present Indian regime is based upon the general assumptions of liberal democracy and majority rule, as such institutions are understood in the West. In one respect however, and that of particular interest to this journal, the Indian Constitution differs sharply from that of

Great Britain; whilst the overwhelming majority of citizens of the vast Indian Republic are Hindoos by religious persuasion, yet, India has no official religious denomination. By the terms of the fundamental constitution, India remains a *secular State* in which religion as such has no official association with the State. Indeed, Mr. Nehru, the present all-powerful Prime Minister of India who is reported to be agnostic in his personal approach to religious convictions, has publicly placed it on record that whilst he remained the head of affairs, India will never become a Hindoo theocracy.

Christianity in India :

During the 200 years of English rule in India, Christianity as well as the proverbial trade followed the flag. As the religion of the ruling race, Christianity, though never officially established in India by the British rulers, naturally derived certain prestige from its close association with the English King Emperor and his officials. When English rule ended in 1947, there was already a Christian Indian population of several millions. Though the departure of the 'White Sahibs' may be said to have deprived the Indian Christianity of the Governmental prestige formerly associated with it, in several respects, the change proved beneficial to Christianity. For, the 'Indian Christians' could no longer incur political suspicion as actual or potential agents of foreign rule; moreover the secular character of the new State opens up to Christian Missions Hindoo territories, in particular, the former 'Indian States' the former rulers of which often excluded Christian missionaries from their territories. According to the most recent figures in the 1956 edition of the Stateman's Year Book, there are now rather more than 8 million professing Christians in the Republic of India. These are divided into Catholic and Protestant Churches, in addition to a very ancient Syrian Church in Southern India traditionally dating from the Apostolic times and certainly older by several centuries than the forms of Christianity directly imported from Europe. This Christian minority appears to be increasing and both the Catholic and Protestant Missions are pursuing an aggressive strategy for the conversion of India, particularly among the more primitive races of the

vast sub-continent. In 1955, the foreign personnel engaged in missionary work in India was nearly 5,000.

A Commission of Enquiry

From the point of view of the Indian Republic and all its federated States, this aggressive Christian minority constitutes quite a problem. This was indicated when the Central Indian federated State of Madhya Pradesh set up a Committee of Enquiry to investigate the extent, methods and ambitions of Christian missions within its boundaries and throughout India. The report of this Committee published by the Government at Nagpur, is a mine of information, besides advancing considerations which are of universal, and not only of Indian interest. It is certainly 'required reading' for all students of Christian missions.

Advent of Christianity in India :

Historically, Christianity reached India in three successive waves, the oldest which claims Apostolic foundation, is represented by the Syrian Church in Malabar which, perhaps dates from Roman times, and has become largely assimilated to the Indian way of life, even to the point of adopting the ubiquitous Hindoo caste system. The remaining two waves came directly from Europe along with white conquerors. The Portuguese introduced Catholicism into Goa which they still hold as the only foreign enclave left on Indian soil. Both the Jesuits and the Holy Inquisition played a prominent part in its introduction. The great St. Francis Xavier made many converts amongst the depressed castes; and an Italian Jesuit Robert Da Nobili continued to ingratiate himself—and Catholicism—among the high caste Brahmins by passing off Christianity as a new Hindoo sect! Protestant Missions did not arrive until the end of the 18th century and were at first very unfavourably received by the exclusively commercial East India Company, the then ruler of British India. The British Government which took over the administration after the (so-called) Indian Mutiny here described as the Indian War of Liberation, never officially identified itself with the Christian Missions and the native Princes were often hostile. Nonetheless, Christianity succeeded in establishing itself with considerable success under British rule.

Christianity through Indian Eyes.

The Committee (we nearly slipped into writing 'for unIndian activities ') was presided over by a former Judge, Dr. M. B. Niyogi and approached its subject from a self-consciously nationalist point of view. It evidently held that Christianity was not just another religious cult in a land where religious cults have evolved in profusion. Dr. Niyogi and his colleagues viewed Christianity through Indian eyes as an exotic foreign plant, closely associated with foreign Imperialism in the past, and which may still constitute a menace to the integrity of the Indian Republic. We must not forget how large the Hindoo versus Muslim question looms in Indian history. Pakistan, constituted as its name implies, on a directly religious basis, stands as a permanent warning to Indian Statesmen, who, as the findings of this Committee demonstrate, evidently fear the future creation of a Christian minority question and perhaps, in time, even a Christian Pakistan. It is in the light of this assumption that the Committee views the past and, in particular the present missionary activities. The post-war strategy of the Christian Churches is closely examined and two interesting facts are noted ; the close connection between both the Catholic and Protestant missions and the current American anti-Communist drive. Readers of Mr. Manhattan's enlightening book, "The Dollar and the Vatican " may note with interest this reference to the subject in the Committee's report :

"In short, the situation seems to be that the Papacy, representing the Catholic Church, and the American democracy are united in their frantic drive for gathering proselytes to Christianity to combat communism ; the former to extend its religious empire and the latter to obtain world leadership. The often questionable methods by which such proselytes are won for Christ are minutely analysed.

Church and State

An important chapter analyses the relation of Church and the State in the contemporary world and a sharp distinction is noted between the totalitarian religions, Rome, Islam, which entirely deny religious liberty, and more liberal cults like Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism and some

form of Protestantism. Lutheranism, as here revealed is much the most powerful of the Protestant Churches with nearly 70 million adherents but also as nearly totalitarian as Rome. (Christian figures quoted give between 600 and 700 million for the Catholic and Protestant but not Orthodox Churches. This seems much too high.) Excerpts are given of Catholic (in Spain and Italy) and of Muslim intolerance in Afghanistan and Arabia, where heretics have been stoned to death in recent years. Christianity with its dogma of exclusive salvation is denounced as the historic enemy of the liberal religious tradition which the Committee associates with Indian religions. The presence and growth of Christian missions is regarded as a danger to both national unity and freedom of thought.

A revealing report

The Government of Madhya Pradesh and its Committee which modestly described itself as merely a fact finding Committee are to be congratulated on this masterly document. It will, we are sure, prove invaluable to future Indian administrators faced with the same problem. It is equally valuable for students of Christian missions and of comparative religions.

(D) The following correspondence reveals an unsuccessful attempt made by me to create sentiments of liberalism and gratitude in the Government of India.

Open letter to Rashtrapati.

**Dhantoli, Nagpur.
1-10-1956.**

Dear Shri Rajendraprasadji,

Some time ago, you were kind enough to invite me along with some other members of Parliament for a formal tea at the Rashtrapati Bhawan. I believe that my presence must have revived your memory of our past association as co-workers in the Congress organisation. Therefore, although the function was merely formal, you were extra cordial towards me and insisted that I

should stand close to you in the photograph that was taken after the tea was over.

This recollection of mine has emboldened me to write to you this letter on two important topics. If you think that this is an intrusion on my part I will at the very outset crave your forgiveness in advance for writing such venturesome letter: but I cannot refrain from writing it, because I consider the topics of vital public importance.

I am regarded as a rank anti-national communalist, although I do not contemplate or advocate any harm to any legitimate interests of any community in India, I only advocate resistance by all peaceful and legitimate means to any attack on any legitimate interest of the Hindoo community. Although you are not regarded as a communalist and you are also respected as an ardent secular Congress patriot and nationalist, you have given expression to your legitimate fear in your book "India Divided" that if anti-national activities of Muslims continued as before, "India will be converted to Dinia". I am afraid, this prophecy of yours may be ultimately fulfilled, as evidenced by a press cutting of news circulated by the United Press of India from Nagpur Times, an English daily dated the 28th September 1956. I have enclosed this cutting for ready reference. It shows that the Muslim League of Pakistan has requested the American Ambassador in Karachi to secure the help of the American Government for carving out another Pakistan for the four crores of Muslims residing in Bharat. The American Ambassador has agreed to convey this request of the Muslim League to the Government of the United States of America. In view of the present relations between Pakistan and America, this piece of news is not only interesting and intriguing but dangerous to India or Bharat.

The policy of the Government of Bharat is the policy of secularism. If secularism means the policy of equal regard or equal indifference to all the religions, I have no quarrel with it. But unfortunately, in the present regime secularism in Bharat connotes pro-Islam and anti-Hindoo mentality. If this self-same policy continues, I am sure, a second Pakistan with all the dangerous consequences will be established in India. The synchronism between this

activity in Pakistan and the Muslim agitation inspired by Aligarh, the primordial and perpetual source of Muslim anti-national communalism in India, is highly suggestive and significant. I am afraid, if this policy is not revised, it will be easy for Pakistani Muslims residing in India to establish a second Pakistan and those who under threats and on account of timidity gave consent to the establishment of first Pakistan will not hesitate to consent to a second one under the name of Panchshila and for the sake of world peace.

You as a President of the Indian Republic have neither personal politics nor party politics and under the Constitution also you cannot interfere in politics or even in the working of your ministry, but on account of your exalted position and high-souled personality you can wield vast power for the good of the country from patriotic motives. Therefore, even if you informally speak a word or two to your important ministers in private interviews, and suggest to them the necessity of the change of policy, it will be useful. I appeal to you therefore not from any point of any personal pique, but on account of patriotic motives and in the interest of safety and integrity of residual India, that is Bharat, to use all your good offices on the lines humbly suggested by me. This ends my first topic.

The second topic concerns the celebration of the centenary of the 1857 Indian War of Independence which falls in May next. I congratulate your Government for this move which is at once very patriotic and conducive to the strength of our nation. I also congratulate the Governments of Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Bharat for their decision to erect suitable memorials to commemorate the memories of heroes and patriots of 1857 like Nanasahab Peshwa, Tatya Tope, Rani of Jhansi, Mangal Pande and others at suitable places. These heroes made supreme sacrifices for India's freedom and deserve all recognition and all honour at the hands of the Indian people. Although the Congress creed is that of non-violence, in these decisions taken by the various Governments, the principle of non-violence has been brushed aside and rightly so, because there can never be any difference of opinion in any country about the ideal of independence and the sacrifices undergone for

it. The British when they were ruling this country, propagated in their own interest that the 1857 rising was merely a Sepoy Mutiny. It was Veer Savarkar who for the first time exploded this myth propagated by the British and proved to the hilt from the British records in London that the 1857 rising was a war of Independence. Not only this, but Veer Savarkar was one of the early pioneers for complete Independence of India. He propagated this ideal when many a patriot of today had not even dreamt of it. His brave plunge into the ocean with a view to touch the French soil at Marseilles to escape from British custody, was not only marvellous but was the first thing which gave international status to the problem of India's Independence, when his adventure was referred to the International Court. Above all, no one can deny his sufferings and sacrifices in the cause of India's freedom and there is none in the living patriots of India to match him. In view of all these facts, I suggest to you most humbly and respectfully to confer upon him the honour of 'Bharat Ratna' on the occasion of the celebration of the ensuing centenary of India's War of Independence.

No one can deny that Veer Savarkar is also one of the Jewels of Bharat. I realise that the Congress may be harbouring prejudices against him on account of his association in the Gandhi assassination trial. But the association was not of his seeking and was forced upon him by the Congress Government. Besides this, it must not be forgotten that he was declared innocent by the Court and acquitted. Democracy and respect for law demand that even Government should recognise and respect the decisions of their own courts. Unless they do so, they have no right to expect respect for law from the citizens. I therefore request you to brush aside any prejudices and honour the deserving hero and patriot. This is necessary if the Indian people are not to be dubbed as ungrateful by the world at large.

I once belonged to the Congress. But I do not now belong to it as I am opposed to the present anti-Hindoo policy. No one can deny the fact that high Congress personalities regard me as an enemy of the Congress. Yet, when I was in the Viceroy's Council, I got the members of the Congress Working Committee released from Ahmednagar jail in June 1945, a month before

the Simla Conference which was held in July 1945, because I regarded the Simla Conference as a device to side-track the question of India's independence.

The Simla Conference was the outcome of the efforts of Bhulabhai Desai and Liaquat Ali Khan to form a Viceroy's Executive Council on the basis of parity between the caste Hindoos and Muslims. These efforts were publicly blessed by Mahatma Gandhi, and secretly helped by one of my colleagues in the Executive Council, viz. , Sir Francis Mudie, the then Home Member who approached Shri B.G.Kher in January 1945 to sound him whether he was willing to come as a member of Viceroy's Council keeping the Congress Working Committee members in Jail. Although I was not in the Congress, I regarded this move to ignore the members of the Working Committee who were front rank fighters for India's freedom as insult and treachery to the Congress. Even as a member of Viceroy's Council, I ridiculed this Bhulabhai Liaquat move in my speech in the Central Legislative Assembly on the 22nd March 1945 *vide* pages 417 to 422 of my biography in Marathi by Shri J.R.Joshi, Sub-Editor of *Maharashtra*, sent for your perusal under registered book-post. I therefore strained every nerve and got them released before the Simla conference to save the prestige of the Congress. For this purpose, I entered into correspondence with Sir John Colville, the then officiating Viceroy, in the month of May 1945. His letter to me dated the 12th May 1945 should convince you. The facsimile photograph of this letter has been published on pages 124 and 125, of my biography mentioned before.

As a matter of reciprocity, therefore, I have got the right to request you to be generous, not to be affected by party politics, and honour Veer Savarkar as suggested by me as he was also a front rank fighter for India's freedom. That he does not belong to the Congress and holds Mahasabha views should not weigh with you. The ideal of independence and the tremendous sacrifices undergone for it, should transcend all petty and party considerations.

Thanking you and requesting a reply at convenience and with best regards.

Yours sincerely,
N.B.Khare.

Copy to:

1. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister, and
2. Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, Home Minister.

The President's reply to this letter is given below:-

President's Camp.,
India

Bangalore, 1st November 1956.

Dear Dr. Khare,

I am sorry your letter dated 1st October 1956 was not acknowledged earlier. My office waited for the book mentioned on page 5 of your letter.

In the first part of your letter, you have referred to certain aspects of Muslim communalism and its more recent trends. As you are well aware, our Constitution proclaims the primacy of the State; no social or religious group has any rights or privileges to challenge this primacy. Subject to this overall consideration, the secularism which we are consciously pursuing is in the best interests of the composite nature of our Society. So long as we steadfastly pursue our ideal, we need not be unduly worried by the misguided manifestations of some people who today do not share our ideal.

In the second part of your letter, you have made a suggestion for honouring Veer Savarkar. I notice that you have sent a copy of your letter to the Prime Minister and the Home Minister. I expect, your suggestion will be considered at the appropriate time.

Wishing you well and with kind regards.

Yours sincerely,

RAJENDRAPRASAD

(E)

CONGRESS PRESIDENT U. N. DHEBAR PULLED UP FOR HIS IGNORANCE.

Early in the month of March 1957, the Congress President Shri U. N. Dhebar, visited Nagpur and addressed a public meeting. In this meeting he had a dig at me, the place of meeting being Nagpur, my residence,. During his speech, he passed some insulting and disparaging remarks about me. I am not able to quote his remarks verbatim, but I will attempt to give a gist of his remarks. He said that while in the Congress Dr. Khare rose to high eminence, but he was reduced to dust after he rebelled against the Congress and nobody now remembered him in his home town. When I happened to read the gist of his speech in the Press, I sent him a letter protesting against his remarks and expressing surprise at the colossal ignorance shown by him. I pointed out how and in what manner the Congress leaders secured advantages from my position as a member of the Viceroy's Council. In the end I remarked that it was most deplorable that a person who occupied the responsible position of the President of the Indian National Congress should be so ignorant of political events even concerning his own organisation. This letter had the desired effect and Mr. U. N. Dhebar was kind enough to send me a reply No. GE. 16/4582 dated the 22nd March 1957 from Jantar Mantar Road, New Delhi. The letter is quoted below :

My dear Khare Sahab,

I am in receipt of your letter dated 8th March. Two mistakes do not make one right. (Apparently, the second mistake committed by me referred to in this letter by Mr. Dhebar is accepting the membership of the Viceroy's Council, the first one being quitting the Congress). If I have offended you by what I said in the Nagpur meeting, it could not be to disparage you in any way. What I said was only to emphasise that, individuals, however great they may be, organisations and institutions are greater. I am sorry, however, to note that you have taken it as

a personal insult. I can assure you that it was not my intention nor is it my habit to do so.

With all regards,

Yours sincerely,

Sd. U. N. Dhebar.

(F)

“ An Open Letter to the Prime Minister ”

Dated, Nagpur, the 12th Nov. 1958.

Dear Shri Nehruji,

On the 1st of August 1956, that is on the Tilak Anniversay Day in your Speech in Poona you unequivocally expressed, that you also had begun to realise the propriety behind the demand of Samyukta Maharashtra Province with Bombay City as Capital, and that you would yourself try to bring that about when a proper opportunity offered itself. Yet about four or five days afterwards, when a conspiracy to form a bilingual Bombay was hatched by some members of the Lok-Sabha backed by the huge majority of members coming from Linguistic provinces of their own, you not only did not scotch that unholy conspiracy but connived at it. This proved that the words you uttered in your speech in Poona about the formation of Samyukta Maharashtra, were hollow meaningless, and insincere. You connived at this conspiracy only to deprive Maharashtra Province of the City of Bombay. By doing this you did grave injustice to the Gujrati people also. Hence the agitation for a separate Mahagujrat Province was superadded to the already existing agitation for a separate Maharashtra Province, causing bitterness among the people and unnecessary difficulties for the Administration.

You know that there is a great popular support behind the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and the Mahagujrat Janata Parishad; as is evidenced by election results in Bombay City, Western Maharashtra, and some results in Gujrat also. Therefore to wean away the popular support from these organisations,

you dubbed them as Fascist Organisations. This charge can be levelled at Gandhi's Dandi March also, which was organised to raid Government Salt Depots. So your Master Gandhi and you yourself also cannot escape this charge of Fascism. In fact you are the greatest authoritarian or Fascist in the world today enjoying greatest absolute power but passing off as a great democrat. Your dubbing the opposing organisations as Fascists, illustrates your policy of damning a dog before shooting it.

I am not alone in levelling this criticism against your policy. Your admiring biographer Frank Moraes has also criticised you in the same strain, says he in his book, "But in India today there is no one to restrain or guide Nehru. He is Caesar, and from Caesar one can appeal only to Caesar." Further on in his book Frank Moraes says, ".....As Prime Minister the President was no more than his dutiful nominee. Today Nehru is in Supreme Control of both the party and the State." That is why the alleged advice given by the President to break up bilingual Bombay and form separate Provinces of Maharashtra and Madhagujarat, was unceremoniously brushed aside at the A. I. C. C. Session held recently at Hyderabad.

You harbour special prejudices against Maharashtrians, which you have inherited from the British along with political power, for which you were groomed by them by sending you to Malaya, to be brought under the influence of Mountbatten before being appointed as Vice-President in the Viceroy's Council. Frank Moraes in his book says, "Nehru had admitted to an acquaintance that Mountbatten and he did a bit of mutual indoctrination."

I am aware of all these facts because I happened to be your predecessor in the Viceroy's Council in charge of Commonwealth Relations Department. The present Satyagraha for Border Areas like Belgaum, brings into bold relief your prejudices against Maharashtrians. The Pataskar decision of holding village as a Unit in settling border disputes, is accepted by the Government of India in settling the disputes between Andhra and Tamilnad, and also between Mysore and Kerala but not between Mysore and Maharashtra. This is the outcome of prejudices against

Maharashtrians If the Uniform principle of accepting the village as a unit, is accepted to settle the disputes between Mysore and bilingual Bombay, there will be no Satyagraha which is going on at present in the disputed areas like Belgaum, Karwar, Bhalki etc. If you declare the acceptance of village as a unit in this dispute I guarantee the Satyagraha will be immediately given up. It will also preclude the possibility of a future Satyagraha for Marathi areas like Saunsar, Pandhurna Teegaon, Multai, Bhaisdehi, Burhanpur and a part of Bastar, at present included in the new Madhya Pradesh. So it is upto you to prove that you harbour no prejudices against Maharashtrians. Will you do it and end the trouble? I fear you will not.

Recently in your speech at Baroda a few days ago you said that, you would be glad if separate provinces of Samyukta Maharashtra with Bombay city, and Mahagujrat were formed. This remark of yours was applauded in that meeting also, which was supposed to consist of supporters of Bilingual Bombay. That unmistakably shows which way the wind blows in Gujrat also. Will you now take this hint and take the initiative to form two separate linguistic provinces of Maharashtra and Gujrat just like the other thirteen, to gladden your own heart? If you do this no one will oppose you. So do not hide behind the decision of Parliament. It is a lame excuse and does not convince anybody; because people are cognisant of the fact that you wield absolute power over the Indian masses. Your admiring bio-grapher Frank Moraes says in his book, "Like Krishna who lured the Gopis with his flute, Nehru lures India's masses with the magic of his name."

In the end I may frankly tell you that if you do not do this, people in Maharashtra will be justified in regarding you as the sole and bitter enemy of their legitimate aspirations, even worse than Morarji Desai.

. With Diwali Greetings,

Yours Sincerely,
N. B. KHARE

This open letter was sent for publication to prominent English dailies and Marathi papers also but it was blacked out. It was published by *Maratha* and *Manvantar* of Nagpur and *Alamgir* of Bombay. It appears that in the Congress regime, by and large the Press has given up ventilating public grievances, and has adopted the policy of singing hallelujahs to the Prime Minister and securing Government patronage.

(G)

**Address of Dr. N. B. Khare, President
of the Akhil Bharat Hindu Mahasabha to
the Press Conference at Calcutta on 22-3-1950**

I came to Calcutta to visit some of the East Bengal refugees camps near about to gain first hand knowledge about the atrocities perpetrated on East Bengal Hindus and also to consult the West Bengal Hindu Mahasabha in this matter of grave national importance, which has harmed the prestige and the fair name of India in the world. From the information thus gained by me I am constrained to say that the information supplied by the Government from time to time, minimises the gravity and extent of the outrages in East Bengal and thus indirectly helps the iron curtain imposed by the Pakistan Government.

The orgy of massacre of Hindus broke out practically throughout East Pakistan towards the end of the first week of February '50. East Bengal Prime Minister very conveniently ascribes these happenings to my Presidential speech delivered at the Calcutta Session of the Hindoo Mahasabha held in the last week of December, 1949, and also to a speech subsequently made by Sardar Patel. To knock out this fanciful theory, it is sufficient only to mention the Bagerhat outrages on Hindus in December 1949 before the Hindu Mahasabha Session. I am glad that a Congressman of high eminence, an ex-President of the Congress viz., Acharya Kripalani says that it should be now clear to the meanest political intellect what this game is, Pakistan wants to rid its territories of the Hindu minority any-how. Further more he emphasises the fact that in this matter the

Government and the people of Pakistan are one. In my presidential address at the Calcutta Session of the Mahasabha held in December '49, I had categorically mentioned that Pakistan was conceived in hatred, was established on hatred and was functioning on hatred of Hindus: and its policy was to get rid of the Hindus by genocide. My speech was then severely criticised and ridiculed, but now at least wisdom is dawning upon some Congressmen: though the Government still appears to be purblind.

This I think is due to its policy of over-secularism. This is evident from the recent statement made by the Prime Minister of India in the Indian Parliament. He has exaggerated what happened in West Bengal and tried to minimise the atrocities in East Bengal. He says that most of the difficulties in the way of people coming away from East Bengal have now been removed. I visited Indo-Pakistan border near Bongaon yesterday and met about four or five hundred refugees who crossed the border on foot into West Bengal. I saw that none of them carried any utensils, trunk or quantity of luggage; they came completely denuded except for the cloth covering their person and small bundle of rags. I accosted some of them and each one told me that every thing was taken away by the so-called Ansars: some of them described what happened two or three days ago in their locality. From this I gather that although there are now no mass-killings, individual killing still takes place. Assurances conveyed by the Prime Minister's statement are thus belied.

By referring to some incidents and giving approximate figures of migrations from each side, the Prime Minister's statement tries to equate West Bengal with East Bengal. This is simply amazing. I was at the Indo-Pakistan Border yesterday for about an hour. During this period while I saw about four or five hundred refugees coming away from Pakistan side, I saw about 15 or 20 Muslims leaving West Bengal with their belongings. So there cannot be any comparison between West Bengal and East Bengal situation.

The proposal of joint declaration by the Prime Minister of India with the Prime Minister of Pakistan for the protection of

minorities is an insult to India and is unfair to the West Bengal Government, because by implication it suggests that the situation of minorities in both the dominions is same or similar. Every one knows that this is not correct. Minorities in India are fully protected and minorities in Pakistan are always in danger of their life, honour and property. Nothing has happened in Calcutta as compared to what has happened in East Bengal. People of Calcutta ought to be praised for their restraint under the gravest provocation. Prime Minister's statement complains that Pakistan is following an Islamic policy: therefore there is no equality of treatment to minorities there. Nobody has prevented the Prime Minister from changing his policy. On the other hand, there is a demand from a large section of the public for a change in the policy to suit the circumstances. From the Government's own statements made from time to time it is patent to everybody that agreements or declarations made by Pakistan Government are not worth the paper on which these are made. Indeed the faith of our Prime Minister is as pathetic as the faith of Chamberlain in Hitler. It is significant that even in the statement made by the Pakistan Prime Minister a couple of days ago, after his long over-due visit to Dacca in which he has shed crocodile tears, he has referred to his anxiety about the Muslims in India. So Pakistan will be always at this game; and the Hindu minority in East Bengal will never be safe; the apparent lull is only a lull before another storm of communal frenzy. Everything there is well-planned and the apparent calm is only a strategy.

It is worth-while here to give approximate figures of casualties in the recent holocaust in East Bengal. This is a conservative estimate supplied to me by the West Bengal Hindu Mahasabha which is rendering valuable services in giving relief to the distressed and whole heartedly co-operating with the West Bengal Government in this matter. The total number of Hindus killed in East Bengal during this recent holocaust comes to about 31,000; the number of wounded and maimed must be very much larger. At a modest estimate more than 10,000 Hindu women have been dishonoured and abducted. The money value of property of Hindus looted and destroyed comes to about Rs. 200 crores of rupees. But this is not the whole picture. The entire property of

the derelict refugees is now practically at the mercy of Muslims and its value is likely to exceed a thousand crores of rupees.

The situation is awful. The cup is full to the brim. The Prime Minister has himself said that it brooks no delay. An outrage upon humanity has been and is still being perpetrated. Civilisation and culture demand protection of women and vindication of their honour. For one Miss Ellis kidnapped by trans border of Pathans, the whole of the British Government was moved, but our Government is looking on with helpless impotence.

The Prime Minister is apparently against exchange of population. But I may remind him that during the holocaust in the Punjab in 1947, he said in the 3rd week of August 1947 that situation had now arisen that a large scale exchange of population had become necessary; and migration of five to six million people on either side was arranged at Government level. There is nothing sacrosanct in a particular remedy to meet a particular evil. The question is that action drastic and immediate is necessary. For instance the *Mridula* Policy to recover abducted women is futile; *Kathor* Policy is needed in this matter at least. Viewed in this contest the Prime Minister's statement is at once unsatisfactory and disappointing. It betrays a Hamlet mentality. He should give up his diffidence and be self-confident. He should ask his foreign Embassies to bring it to the notice of the world, that Pakistan is not a civilised State, and immediately order an armed intervention in Pakistan at least to protect the honour of women. If Pakistan resents and there is a war he should go ahead and incorporate East Bengal with the Indian Union and secularise it. Instead of Hamlet he should behave like Arjun, *Janata Janardan* is behind him. If he cannot do that he should stand down from the chariot.

(H)

Critical Analysis of Aney's Politics.

During the bi-election to the House of the People from the Nagpur-Umrer Constituency caused by the death of Mrs. Anasuvabai Kale the sitting member, Mr. M. S. Aney was set up as a Congress candidate to fill in the vacancy. I issued a statement which has appeared in the *Nagpur Times* dated 25th December

1958, under the caption '*Aney must be defeated*', which contained a critical analysis of Aney's political career and somersaults. During the whole course of the election propaganda, neither Mr. Aney himself, nor any Congress leader on his behalf, has challenged any of the statements of fact made in the critical analysis published in the *Nagpur Times*. Yet Mr. Aney was elected with overwhelming majority. This is the measure of the degree of mental slavery inculcated by the Congress in the Indian masses. The statement is quoted here in full with the courtesy of *Nagpur Times*.

Aney Must Be Defeated

Sir,—In the issue of your popular paper dated 22-12-58, my friend Shri B. R. Mandlekar has advocated the cause of Bapuji Aney, and asked the people to allow him to be elected unopposed in the ensuing bi-election for the Nagpur-Umrer Lok Sabha seat. Aney is my friend also, and I have respect for him as one of the old guards of Lokmanya Tilak's party. But his qualifications end here, and I join issue with Mandlekar on many points raised by him in favour of Aney.

The Congress Organisation has acknowledged defeat, and shown a complete bankruptcy of principle and statemanship in setting up Aney as a Congress candidate because Aney has almost always acted independently of the Congress, and has never been a Congressman bound to the Congress Chariot. Even when there was no individual liberty to differ from the Congress, Aney has acted against the Congress, when he felt like it.

He was one of the stalwarts of the Swaraj Party, which was a party of rebels against the Congress formed after the session of the Gaya Congress held in 1922. Then he rebelled against the Swaraj Party also on the issue of office acceptance after the Tambe episode, when Tambe accepted the Home-Membership of the then C. P. Government against the Swarajist discipline. As a consequence of this revolt the responsivist party was formed, and as every one knows Aney was its leader along with Kelkar, Jaykar and Moonje. At the Kanpur session of the Congress held in 1925, the Congress itself accepted the Swarajist programme of contesting the elections. But Aney was not in it; he joined the so-called nationalist party under Pandit Malaviya's leadership.

No doubt after the Lahore session of the Congress held in 1929 Aney joined the Satyagraha movement of the Congress of 1930-32, and came in the lime-light by becoming its President and being arrested in Calcutta. But after the Patna decision of 1934 when the congress contested the general elections to provincial assemblies in 1936, he broke all Congress discipline and issued a statement opposing Barrister Barlinge, the Congress candidate for the University seat, and supporting his friend B. G. Khaparde on personal and narrow grounds.

The Second World War broke out in 1939. Mahatma Gandhi carried on the Congress individual Civil Disobedience movement in 1940-41, but Aney accepted a seat on the Viceroy's Executive Council in October 1941 and thus acted glaringly against the then All-India policy of the Congress. Congress started the 'Quit India' Movement in August 1942 and all Congress leaders were arrested when Aney was a member of the Viceroy's Council and leader of the Central Legislative Assembly. In September 1942 as a leader of the Central Assembly and member of the Viceroy's Council, Aney made a speech criticising and condemning the Congress movement.

He turned down the request made by Professor Bhansali to enquire into the alleged outrages on women at Chimur by the Police and military. As a protest against this, Bhansali started a fast at Aney's bungalow at New Delhi, was arrested there and brought to Wardha. Apparently Aney was not affected by Bhansali's fast. But in February 1943 when Gandhi undertook a fast unto capacity in the Aga Khan Palace jail in Poona, Aney resigned his job in the Viceroy's Council perhaps in fear of the Mahatma's possible death and went to Poona and sat at his feet. But Aney soon after accepted the High Commissionership in Ceylon. No principle was involved in the acceptance of this office by Aney.

When the Indian Constituent Assembly was established, Aney was nominated to it by the Southern Maharashtrian Princes, as their representative to safeguard their interests. Southern Maratha country is a part of Maharashtra which Aney now detests and wants to separate from, as a staunch Vidarbhitc. But here also Aney soon gave up his responsibility of representing the

Southern Maratha states and accepted the Governorship of Bihar offered to him by the Congress in early January 1948.

From the political career of Bapuji Aney described in brief in the previous paragraphs, can any one hold him guilty of being steadfast and loyal to any party or any principle? Yet Mandlekar congratulates the Congress for its choice of a candidate full of merits. But I forget! The Congress itself is a bundle of contradictions and hypocracies.

Aney even in his old age, and condition of infirmity, has very strenuous by and zealously carried on single-handed, a propaganda in favour of separate Mahavidarbha during the recent months. It is well known that the Congress stands for bilingual Bombay yet Aney has accepted the Congress ticket. This proves his unreliability even for the cause of Maha-Vidarbha.

In spite of all those glaring blemishes in Aney's political career Mandlekar praises him to the skies and advises the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti to take an undertaking from him and withdraw in his favour. Says Mandlekar, "what may not be achieved by the flood and sweat of several Satyagrahis all over bilingual Bombay, may be achieved by the lead which Loknayak, Aney must give at this juncture." This is a hyperbole and a fine specimen of blind hero-worship.

Under these circumstances it is the duty of the electors to give Aney a crushing defeat.

Nagpur

(DR.) N. B. KHARE

(I)

**My Review of the English Biography of Pandit Nehru
written by Frank Moraes under the caption :**

**NEHRU AS I KNOW HIM
AND
AS DEPICTED IN HIS ENGLISH BIOGRAPHY BY
SHRI FRANK MORAES OF THE TIMES OF INDIA**

I read with great pleasure the Biography of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru written by Shri Frank Moraes, a noted Indian Journalist.

Having some knowledge of Contemporary Indian events, I was so enthralled by the book that I read it twice over. As the author himself points out in his preface this book is a political biography and therefore it is as much a history of modern India as a biography of Pandit Nehru.

As a narration of Historical events it is explanatory as well as critical. It is also revealing in some places and concealing in others and betrays signs of mental reservation and inhibition at many places. Therefore I must say it is not an un-biased and factual history and in some measure it is incomplete. As I have played some part in the Indian National Movement and have inside knowledge of many political events, I propose to review this book in that light in the following paragraphs.

In the first two introductory chapters the author says about his hero that he tries to conquer by delay and has a streak of femininity which occasionally finds vent in petulance; while describing his boy-hood the author says that the companion-less lad often sought the company of a Muslim who served as a major-domo in his household, and snuggling upto him, listened to the tales of the "Arabian Nights." This reveals reasons for Pandit Nehru's attitude in international politics and his approach to the Muslim World in general, and to Pakistan, Goa and Kashmir in particular.

The author has given rather a detailed description of Pandit Nehru's education in England from 1905 to 1912. During this period the author says that his hero was politically conscious of his own country. His Asian consciousness was aroused by the Russo-Japanese War and he followed political events in India, England and elsewhere with emotional interest and fervour. The author has mentioned Jawaharlal's Indian contemporaries in England like J. M. Sengupta, Shree Prakash, Dr. Syed Mahamud, Tasadduk Ahmed Khan Sherwani, Saif-ud-din Kitchlew, Dr. Khansahab and others. But he failed to mention some contemporaries like Veer Savarkar, Madanlal Dhingra and others. He has mentioned Muzaffarpore Bomb-incident of 1908 but he has not mentioned the first anniversary of the Indian War of Inde-

pendence of 1857 celebrated in England at the instance of Veer Savarkar although it raised a furore in the journalistic and political world of England. He has also failed to take any notice of the political murder of Sir Curzon Wylie committed in England in 1909 by Madanlal Dhingra, a close associate of Veer Savarkar. He has also failed to mention the murder of Jackson, Collector of Nasik in 1909 by Kanhere, a member of the Secret Society sponsored by Veer Savarkar. It is well-known that when Savarkar was arrested in this connection and was being taken to India, he plunged into the sea near Marseilles to escape from British custody and touched the French soil. This question was referred to the International Court and thus gave prominence for the first time in the International World to the question of India's Independence. Savarkar was ultimately sentenced to two terms of transportation for life by an Indian Court. All these political events must necessarily have made some impression on Nehru's emotional and impressionable young mind. But the author is silent about it even while giving a detailed account. This must appear to have been due to some sort of inhibition or prejudice either of the author or his hero. In this connection the author has specially mentioned Gandhi's Satyagraha in 1913 in South Africa. He has also mentioned the 'volatile extremism' of Tilak and somewhere else dubbed Subhashchandra Bose as 'volatile Subhash'. This can only be done by a prejudiced mind. Although Nehru was attracted by Gandhi, he was repelled by his fads and peculiarities, and as the author says Nehru and his colleagues while discussing Gandhi among themselves consoled themselves with the half-humorous resolve that when Swarajya came Gandhi's idiosyncrasies would not be encouraged but for the present they must be tolerated. This half-humorous resolve has now developed into a fully serious fact and all Gandhian fads with the exception of partiality to Muslims have disappeared in practice. In this connection it will be worth while mentioning Gandhi's definition of India's political goal which according to the author was, "A federation of friendly interdependent States rather than Independence". The author says that this did not inspire Nehru at all. Yet it is surprising to find that ultimately Nehru elected to remain in the Commonwealth which can be defined as a Federation of inter-dependent States not necessarily friendly.

Referring to the Swarajya Party Agitation and the fight between pro-changers and no-changers in the Congress the author says that Nehru was sick at heart and not interested in elections or electoral manoeuvres. In spite of all this Nehru has taken to election like fish takes to water and now is practising "The gentle art of getting votes from the poor and campaign funds from the rich by promising to protect each from the other." Nehru has great power of accommodation or adaptation to circumstances. Nehru was badly beaten by Police Lathis at the time of the boycott of the Simon Commission. About this incident Nehru says, "The bodily pain I felt was quite forgotten in a feeling of exhilaration that I was physically strong enough to face and bear lathi blows. Nehru has described these lathi charges as little short of monstrous; but he has so accommodated himself that his police now deliver such lathi blows on his subjects with great gusto, perhaps to create the same feelings of exhilaration in them.

After the Salt Satyagraha of 1930 there was the Gandhi-Irwin truce of 1931 the terms of which were not liked by many. As the author points out the Congress Working Committee was also disturbed by this settlement as there was no full amnesty to political prisoners; and the issue of the death-sentence on Bhagatsingh was most contentious and Public opinion demanded that it should be commuted. About this issue the author says, "On March 23rd despite Gandhiji's desperate pleading, Bhagatsingh was executed." This statement of the author is not true to facts. Gandhiji had an interview at Delhi with Emerson, the then Home Secretary of the Government of India about the middle of March 1931, while he was on his way to Karachi to attend the Congress Session held there towards the end of March. I can swear an affidavit that I have read an account of this interview given to me by E. Raghavendra Rao. From this account it would appear that Gandhiji agreed to water down the ideal of complete Independence. He also told Emerson that Bhagatsingh must be executed for his crime but suggested to Emerson that the Government could help him by postponing the execution till after the Karachi Congress was over so that the resolution electing Gandhi as the sole delegate to the 2nd Round Table Conference may be passed unanimously. Emerson replied that this could

easily be done but he was surprised at such a request from a high personage like Gandhi. At this Gandhi was non-plussed and said he had nothing more to say. As a result of all this Bhagatsingh was deliberately executed on the 23rd of March four or five days before the Karachi Congress to avoid any false notions at Karachi about Gandhi's intervention. This incident upset Nehru who had met Bhagatsingh and admired his spirit; therefore Nehru poignantly said, "The corpse of Bhagatsingh would stand between us and England." Future events show that these poignant sentiments of Nehru were evanescent. Nehru was so displeased with the terms of Gandhi-Irwin truce that he told Gandhi point-blanc that the Congress should cease to exist with the coming of freedom. On the day of Gandhi's death Gandhi also gave expression to the same view that Congress should be wound up as freedom has been attained but surprisingly enough Nehru has not followed this Gandhi's directive which was in consonance with his own views previously expressed.

About the second Round Table Conference which Gandhi attended the author says, "looking back at the conference it is impossible to absolve Gandhi entirely of blame for the subsequent deepening fissure between Hindus and Muslims.....politically his mission had failed, and Hindu-Muslim division on the constitutional plane had if any thing been intensified." The country should be grateful to the author for laying his finger on this true historical fact.

The second Civil Disobedience Campaign of 1932-34 also failed; and on the 7th April 1934 Gandhi issued a public statement calling off this movement and approving of the move to contest the election under the Govt. of India Act 1935. Nehru who was in jail was very indignant and outraged. He wrote in a burst of angry candour, "It seemed to me an insult to the intelligence and an amazing performance for the leader of a National Movement." Nehru also questioned the propriety of a National Movement being conducted on the basis of an individual's (Gandhi's) whim. Yet he continued meekly to follow Gandhi.

Pandit Nehru was elected President of the Faizpur Congress which was held in 1936, just before the elections to the Provincial

Assemblies. In his Presidential address Pandit Nehru said, "It (Congress) is anti imperialist and tries for great changes in our political and economic structure.....Congressmen were going to the Legislatures not to co-operate with the Government of India Act but to combat it." He emphasized his personal view that the only logical consequence of the policy of the Congress was to have nothing to do with the acceptance of office. But Gandhi and Rajaji held the contrary view and Rajaji with the full knowledge of Gandhiji and quite contrary to the Congress discipline then, had a secret interview with Lord Erskine, the then Governor of Madras and assured him that the Congress will not wreck or combat the Act but will work it just like the Liberals. When this was communicated to Lord Linlithgo, the then Viceroy, he issued a long statement in June, 1937, which resulted in acceptance of office by Congressmen. I was elected Prime Minister in C. P. and Berar in July 1937, and knowing nothing of the secret agreement between the Congress top-leaders and the Viceroy I tried for Government holiday on Independence Day i.e. 26th January 1938. Before doing so I sought the permission of the President of the Congress, Pandit Nehru. He gave it willingly in a short letter dated 22nd December 1937, which was as follows,

"I have your letter of the 19th of December. I am glad to learn that you are taking action about January 26th being declared a public holiday. I entirely agree with you that such action should be uniform in all the Congress Provinces. I am writing to the other Prime Ministers accordingly.".....

After much wrangling with Sir Hyde Gowan, the then Governor of C. P. and Berar I secured his consent for declaring such a holiday. But Lord Linlithgo opposed it. While communicating this fact to me Hyde Gowan read a letter received by him from Lord Sir Linlithgo which disclosed all the manoeuvres of Gandhiji and Rajaji for office acceptance and also disclosed how Pandit Nehru betrayed me by declaring that there would be no dead-lock on this issue in spite of his proclamation at Faizpur in favour of combating the Act. All these are public facts and in so far as the author has failed to make reference to these facts in his biography it is incomplete in material particulars.

During the II World War, came the 'Quit India' resolution of the Congress about which there are some fantastic ideas in the public mind ; but the author has done a great service by pointing out that Nehru and Gandhi both had the same feeling that there should not be any large scale embarrassment to the British War efforts. "The resolution" Nehru affirmed, "is in no sense a challenge to anyone." "If the British Government accepts the proposal (formation of Interim Government.) it will change the position for the better, both internal and international, from every point of view. You know that Gandhiji has agreed that British and other Armed Forces stationed in India might continue" Does it not strike out the very bottom of "Quit India?" This inference is further strengthened by the disclosure by the author of this book under review that after passing this 'Quit India' resolution on the 9th August 1942, Gandhi remarked to his Secretary, Mahadeo Desai, "After my speech of last night, they will never arrest me." Subsequent events were a satire on Gandhi's political acumen.

All Congress leaders including Gandhi were put behind prison bars on the 9th of August, 1942. Lord Linlithgo held that the Quit India resolution was responsible for the outbreak of popular violence. Gandhiji announced a fast unto capacity in answer to the Viceroy's charge. He commenced it in the Agakhan Palace Jail in Poona, on 9th February 1943. The author describes the purpose of the fast in the following words, "What the Mahatma possibly visualized (object of the fast) was the release of the Working Committee and himself." Lord Linlithgo called this move of the Mahatma "Political Blackmail". Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru although he had an intellectual antipathy to fast as a political weapon, said that Gandhi used a moral weapon and survived the ordeal. But actually it was hardly an ordeal as from the 9th day of the fast and onwards, Gandhi was being fed with Musambi (sweet lime) juice as required till the 21st day i. e. 2nd March 1943, on which date Gandhi broke his fast with the same Musambi juice offered by Kasturba. These facts can be ascertained from reports published in the Press by Dr. B. C. Roy, Devdas Gandhi and others. It is well-known that Devdas Gandhi refused to assess publicly the merits of the fast undergone by his father.

I must say therefore that this book is guilty of concealing these important facts.

This fast failed to achieve its object. On February 22nd 1944, Gandhi's wife Kasturba died in detention. Gandhi therefore must have felt frustrated and his health deteriorated resulting ultimately in a heart-attack. On the 5th of May, 1944, Gandhi was released from jail. The author does not at all mention why and how Gandhiji was released although politically to do so was very relevant. This silence of the author on this important topic is very surprising; because in describing elsewhere the relationship subsisting between Lady Mountbatten and Pandit Nehru the author has mentioned the fact of Lady Mountbatten's mother having been a class-fellow of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu in England; which obviously is a most irrelevant fact.

The author cannot be unaware of the circumstances that led to the release of Gandhi as they were described in detail by Shri Pyarelal a Secretary of Gandhi in a series of articles under the caption, 'Last Phase' published in the "Times of India" (author's own paper) itself, during January and February, 1956. From these articles it would be evident that during this heart-attack Gandhi's life was despaired of and the Govt. was so adamant and so cruel that it had determined not to release Gandhi at all and to allow him to die in jail. Pyarelal also disclosed that in the event of death Govt. had issued instructions to its officers in the matter of performing obsequies after death. Pyarelal attributed the sudden release of Gandhi under such heart-rending circumstances to the Grace of God. But this fact can be explained on a more rational hypothesis of cause and effect. It was rumoured in high political circles around the Viceroy then, that Gandhi conveyed to the Viceroy through a high Bombay Government official an assurance that, if released, he (Gandhi) would bring the Congress to the Constitutional path and keep it there. The fact that the Viceroy released Gandhi secretly without taking into confidence his Executive Council, supports this rumour. No Government in the world would be foolish enough to allow a person of Gandhi's eminence and importance to die in jail under those conditions.

Gandhi's release, while the Working Committee was still in jail, must have acted as an inferiority complex upon him. There is no wonder therefore that as the author says Gandhi outside jail realized that the first thing to do was to break the political stalemate. He therefore as was his wont requested Viceroy Wavell for an interview which was refused. Perhaps Wavell must have thought that it was wise to watch Gandhi's movements after release, for a time, to test the sincerity of the alleged assurance. But Gandhi was impatient. He therefore wrote a letter to Dr. Jaykar supplicating for his intervention as in 1931, and emphasizing the fact that Jaykar's intervention was very necessary as although he (Gandhi) was released from jail he felt that he was helpless in a blind alley and unable to find his way out. Jayakar did not intervene this time. This Gandhi's letter was published in *Vividh Vritta*, a powerful Marathi weekly whose editor Rambhau Tatkis was a friend of the author. Yet the author is mysteriously silent about this important Gandhi-Jayakar correspondence. I am prepared to swear an affidavit about this.

After this, Gandhi turned to Jinnah to break the political stalemate and expressed his willingness to discuss the partition of India. This interview on Gandhi's initiative took place at Jinnah's house in September, 1944. As the author says, "It pointed to the leeway which the League had made up while the Congress was immobilized."

By May-day 1945, Hitler was defeated and the War in Europe was over and V Day was to be celebrated in India. In this connection, the author says, "Lord Wavell meanwhile had been summoned to London for consultations." But the author is mysteriously silent about all the political events that happened in India which led to the summoning of Lord Wavell to London. These events were published in the Press and criticised as they were very important. The author therefore could not have been unaware of them.

Shortly after September, 1944 Dr. Syed Mahmud, a member of the Congress Working Committee, was released from Ahmednagar Jail because he had sent a letter of apology to the Viceroy which was read before the Executive Council. The Congress

Press criticized Dr. Syed Mahmud but Gandhi issued a press statement defending him. After release Syed Mahmud went to Sewagram to see Gandhiji who made him write a letter to Shri Bhulabhai Desai. The purport of this letter was that Gandhiji had heard that Nawab Zada Liaquat Ali Khan of the Muslim League Party in the Central Assembly was ready to form a Central Government in alliance with the Congress and that Bhulabhai Desai should meet him and enquire about the terms and conditions and enter into a pact with him. Bhulabhai ultimately met Liaquat Ali and the notorious Bhulabhai-Liyakat Ali formula was evolved, to which Gandhi also gave his consent. The principal terms of the formula were **parity between the Congress and the Muslim League in the Central Govt. and the immediate release of the Congress Working Committee members from Jail, as soon as this Government came into existence.** Viceroy Wavell was highly delighted at this conspiracy to surrender the Congress. He immediately communicated with the British Govt. in England and therefore was summoned there and Sir John Colville, the Governor of Bombay was appointed to officiate as Viceroy. About January 1945 one of my colleagues in the Viceroy's Council viz. Sir. Francis Mudie, the Home Member, approached Shri B.G.Kher in Bombay to sound him as to whether he was willing to join the Bhulabhai-Liyakat Cabinet keeping the Working Committee members in jail. (This fact has been disclosed by Pyarelal, Gandhiji's secretary, in the Times of India.) This conspiracy was given publicity in the press and Bhulabhai was bitterly criticized by the Congress Press as a traitor to the organisation. On this Gandhiji issued a Press Statement asking the people not to criticize Bhulabhai as "His efforts had my blessings"

I happened to be a member of the Viceroy's Council then, and criticized Bhulabhai in my speech in the Central Assembly on the 22nd March, 1945 describing the Bhulabhai-Liyakat conspiracy as a treachery to the Congress. A few days after this my friend Mr. Shri Prakash, the present Governor of Bombay came to my house and severely castigated me for bitterly criticizing my erstwhile leader, Bhulabhai, when I was a member of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly. Furthermore he asked me to give the benefit of my official position to the Congress by

trying to get the Working Committee Members released from Jail as they must have been tired and frustrated by their long confinement in Jail, for about 3 years. "Mayoos" was the Urdu word Mr. Shri Prakash used. I gave promise to Shri Prakash and wrote a letter to Sir John Colville, the officiating Viceroy, on the 9th May 1945 requesting him to release the Working Committee Members and other detainees and to commute the life sentences of the Chimur, Ashti and other similar prisoners on the occasion of the celebration of "V" Day for Victory against Germany. Sir John Colville sent a sympathetic reply dated 12th May 1945 saying that he would place the letter before the permanent incumbant that is, Lord Wavell, who returned to India on the 5th June, 1945. The letter must have been placed before him. I argued with him and also in the meeting of the Executive Council which took the decision of releasing the Congress Working Committee Members. All these facts about which I am prepared to swear an affidavit, had been published in an English biography of mine, published in Delhi in April 1951. I must say the author has not been very careful in choosing his bibliography.

About the I.N.A. trials held in December 1945 the author says, "The accused were convicted but were released almost immediately by order of the then Commander-in-Chief General Sir Claude Auchinleck. New Delhi was on the retreat." The author has described Nehru's reaction about I.N.A. trials. Nehru said, "It became a trial of strength between the Indian people and the will of those who held Power in India and it was the will of the people that triumphed in the end." In this matter also I must say, that the author had not taken care to inform himself fully and correctly. All the details and the detailed conversation that took place between me and Sir Claude Auchinleck was published in my English biography mentioned in the previous paragraph. From that it would be seen that I extracted a promise of pardon to the I. N. A. accused from Sir Claude Auchinleck before I gave up my opposition to the Scheme of the trials. And it was not the will of the Indian people but the will of the Army Personnel that did the trick; because in a Gallup poll taken on the question, 80 p. c. of the Indian Army personnel voted that the

I. N. A. trials should not be held. As Mr. Atlee, the then British Premier, has freely admitted in the British Parliament this proven disloyalty of the Indian Army and the Mutiny of the Royal Indian Navy in Bombay and other naval establishments like Karachi, Calcutta, Delhi and Madras and such other things were the cause of the British quitting India. Sardar Patel advised the Naval Mutineers in Bombay to surrender, which must have created a favourable impression about the Congress in the British mind. The author has referred to this Naval Mutiny in the following words, viz., "Now, by a queer irony, a Mutiny of the Navy was to signalize the transfer of India from foreign dependence to freedom. Britain was preparing to quit India. But before quitting she was to divide."

The author is correct in the above statement because it has been the British Imperial Policy to divide a country before quitting it e. g. Ireland, Egypt, Palestine and India. The British are manoeuvring even now to divide the little Island of Cyprus. In this connection of the manoeuvres to divide India, two incidents in Nehru's life are important, viz., his visit to Singapore and Malaya in the first quarter of 1946, which had been casually mentioned by the author on page 330; and his election to the Congress Presidentship after his return from Singapore which had also been casually mentioned by the author on page 318. Both these incidents had an intrigue behind them and had been conducive to the partition of India.

It is well-known that all prominent Indians in Malaya were charged with high treason and collaboration with the Japanese in the first quarter of 1946. As a Commonwealth Relations member I sent lawyers to Malaya to defend the Indian accused, and they were all acquitted. (This has been admitted in the official publication, 'Loksabha, who is who' published on the 1st March, 1956.) I, besides doing this, sent a medical mission to Malaya and enough money and material to mitigate the misery of our people there. All this was an official move of mine. At that time the Government of India was not liked by the public. I therefore thought that if I sent some top-ranking non-officials to tour Malaya and console our people there, it would be a move

liked by the public. I therefore proposed to the Viceroy to send Pandit H. N. Kunzru and P. Kodand Rao to Malaya, of course at Government expense. Viceroy Lord Wavell curtly turned down my proposal saying "Everything has been done in Malaya according to your choice and there is nothing left to be done now ; and I would not allow the Government to bear the expenses of the Malayan tour of these two Jonnies." I was nonplussed for the moment but argued and persevered. Ultimately, Wavell yielded when I told him that the two Jonnies were liberals and not dangerous and the expenses would be a mere flea-bite, and his name would go down in the History of India as the most humane Viceroy if he accepted my proposal. So Pandit Kunzru and Kodand Rao were sent to Malaya and they began their tour.

About a fortnight after this, I got a shock of my life during my interview with Wavell when he told me that he was sending Pandit Nehru to Malaya. It was most intriguing that Wavell who stoutly opposed the sending of harmless liberals like Kunzru and Kodand Rao to Malaya should want to send an extremist 'Quit India' politician like Nehru to Malaya. Obviously this must be regarded as an outcome of a secret confabulation between Nehru and Wavell either direct or through some intermediary. The reasons for this were not far to seek. Although Subhash Chandra Bose disappeared after the fall of the Atom bomb on Hiroshima about the middle of August 1945 pro-Subhash influence still persisted in Malaya. There could not have been any better antidote to counteract this pro-Subhash influence than Pandit Nehru, because when Subhash-invasion was threatening Bengal about July-August, 1945, Pandit Nehru went to Calcutta and in a public speech threatened to fight against Subhash with sword in hand. Against Subhash means obviously for the British. The significance of this was not lost on the acutely political-minded British. Therefore they must have decided to transfer power to Nehru's hands. Wavell, howsoever pro-Muslim, was not for partition of India. He was to be recalled and was to be succeeded by Mountbatten as Viceroy as the South East Asia Command was in its closing phases. Mountbatten as events proved was obviously in favour of furthering the policy of the partition of India. It

was therefore necessary to bring Nehru under the influence of Mountbatten so that with power in hand he might readily consent to partition, as soon as Mountbatten became the Viceroy. Nehru's nature was assessed by Cambell Johnson, the Press attache to Viceroy Mountbatten in the following words, viz., "Lord Louis Mountbatten soon found out that Pandit Nehru was amenable to flattery and fond of self-adulation." Therefore Pandit Nehru was sent to Singapore as the future Prime Minister of India and Mountbatten was asked to give him adequate reception. **Nehru had admitted to an acquaintance that Mountbatten and he did a bit of mutual indoctrination.** Being thus hypnotized, Nehru groomed for power returned to India. Democratically it was improper to give power in Nehru's hands unless he was either the President of the Congress or leader of the Congress party in the Central Assembly. He was neither. Therefore Moulana Azad who was the President of the Congress till then, was inspired to resign on the score of ill-health. Nehru was elected in his place and installed in power as the Vice-President of the Viceroy's Council on the 2nd September, 1946.

The great Calcutta Killing in pursuance of the 'direct action resolution' of the Muslim League began on the 16th of August, 1946. As the author says, Jinnah openly said that he would give the British and the Congress a demonstration of bloodshed and Civil War thereby black-mailing and bludgeoning both, into acceptance of Pakistan. But the Civil War was obviously only against Hindoos. Nehru declared at Meerut on 21st November 1946, "There is a mental alliance between the League and senior British officials." This is an evidence of Anglo-Muslim Conspiracy to divide the country. It was a fortuitous circumstance that the Muslim League did not join the Viceroy's Council on 2nd September 1946. It gave the Congress and pro-Congress Viceroy's council a golden opportunity in view of Jinnah's pronouncement mentioned before, to ban the League and impound Jinnah and Liyakat Ali and nip Pakistan in the bud. But alas! Instead of doing this the Congress and the Viceroy ran after the League and persuaded it to join the Executive Council. The Muslim League on account of this weak-kneed policy of Nehru had the

best in both the worlds. Thus their bloody direct action flourished and they could successfully disrupt the Central Government.

On page 328, the author has described in some detail the relationship that subsists between Pandit Nehru and Lady Mountbatten. Says the author, "On Nehru particularly Edwina Mountbatten (Lady Mountbatten) made an immediate impactshe sensed that what Nehru most wanted, and did not know how to achieve, was to relax. And in the coming months at the height of many tense grave crises, she was able to coax him into a few moments of relaxation, in company, or along with her husband or daughter, or by herself. More than any other person she was able to soothe his strained, tired and overwrought nerves, and Nehru soon found in her an understanding companion, able to re-inforce some of his views, and to persuade him away from others, and to take his mind momentarily from the things which obsessed him or irritated him, a companion always, willing to help but never to intrude." About the attitude of Nehru towards sex, the author says on page 37, that Nehru was rather timid.....' He had no religious inhibitions on the subject, and sex in his mind was not associated with sin, but natural shyness and diffidence prevented him from embarking on experience."

The foregoing paragraph explains why even after Independence Lady Mountbatten had visited India at the time of some crises and there is no reason why any mischief-monger should read between the lines and do injustice to the author, his hero and Lady Mountbatten.

Lastly about Nehru's politics and position in the country. I will quote some sayings of the author with approval.

- (1) Nehru is inclined to trade too much on the talisman of his name. "
- (2) "But in India today there is no one to restrain or guide Nehru. He is Caesar, And from Caesar one can appeal only to Caesar."

- (3) ".....As Prime Minister the President was no more than his dutiful nominee. Today he is in supreme control of both the party and the state."
- (4) "Like Krishna who lured the Gopis with his flute, Nehru lures India's masses with the magic of his name." This shows how some (great?) minds think alike. I had used this identical simile of Gopis and Gopiwallabh in my speech in Lok Sabha on 16th December 1953.

I heartily congratulate the author for bringing out such a brilliant book of 500 pages albeit with some short-comings, and omission of certain relevant and important historical facts.

Nagpur :
Date 27-9-57

(DR. N. B. KHARE)

(J-1)

Correspondence with Gandhi presented to
The Collected works of Mahatma Gandhi,
Bombay State Committee :

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI
BOMBAY STATE COMMITTEE

Chairman
Shri. NITENDRA DESAI
Member of the Committee

Secy Secretary
Shri. M. R. PALANDE

No. AP/165 of 56-59

File No. 259235
Collection Office
Old Secretariat Compound
BOMBAY 1
Date 31st October, 1958.

Dear Mr. Khare,

Thank you very much for your letter dated 27th October, 1958. The Committee is grateful for the prompt response you have given to our appeal. I have received the following papers which were enclosed with your letter.

1. A facsimile photograph of a draft which Mahatmaji wanted you to sign
2. A letter dated 12-12-45 written to you, in Mahatmaji's handwriting.
3. A copy of letter dated Sodpur, 23-12-45 written on behalf of Mahatmaji to Shri T.J. Kedar.
4. A letter dated 23-12-45 written to you, and signed by Mahatmaji
5. A press cutting from 'Hindu' dated 21-12-45.
6. A copy of letter dated 12-1-46 written by you to Mahatmaji
7. A letter dated 16-1-46 written to you and signed by Mahatmaji
8. A copy of letter dated 22-1-46 written by you to Mahatmaji

We will arrange to take photostat copies of Gandhiji's letters and I will write to you in this connection in the near future.

Thanking you.

Yours sincerely,



Dr. M. B. Khare,
Nagpur.

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI
BOMBAY STATE COMMITTEEOLD SECRETARIAT COMPOUND,
BOMBAY-1

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We will arrange to take photostat copies of Gandhiji's letters and I will write to you in this connection in the near future.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,

Sd/- (M. R. PALANDE)

Hon. Secretary.

(J-2)—

I corresponded with Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister in the matter of a memorial for Lokmanya Tilak in Mandalay Jail in Burma where he was detained for 6 years and where he wrote his famous book 'Gita Rahasya'. Shri Nehru's reply to my letter is given below :



No. 2137-PMH/56

New Delhi,
September 10, 1956

Dear Dr Khare,

Your letter of the 3rd September.

As regards a memorial for Lokmanya Tilak in Mandalay Jail, we have been in correspondence with Burma Government for some time past. In this matter, we have to have the approval of Burma Government to anything that we may do. That broad approval has come to us and the details are being worked out.

I am terribly full up during the next few days. But, should you wish to see me, I shall try to do so at 3 p.m. on the 14th September.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, which appears to read 'Jawaharlal Nehru'.

Dr. N. B. Khare, M.P.,
Maha Sabha Bhawan,
Reading Road,
New Delhi.



No. 2137—PMH/56

NEW DELHI
September 10, 1956

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Yours sincerely

(Sd/-) JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Dr. N. B. Khare, M. P.
Maha Sabha Bhavan,
Reading Road,
New Delhi

J-3)—

(In response to advertisement in leading papers given by the Director of Archives Government of India, I corresponded with him and offered to give him the correspondence exchanged between myself and Viceroys and members of Viceroy's Council and Congress Leaders like Sardar Patel and other public workers. I am glad to say that the Director of Archives has agreed to keep these letters as they are undoubtedly of the greatest historical importance. His letter is printed below :)

Grams : Archeson.

No. P.3/1/59-H-1



NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA.

New Delhi, the 30 JUN 1959
 Asadh 9, 1981 (Saka).

Dear Dr. Khare,

Many thanks for your letter dated 9th June 1959. We are extremely grateful to you for your free offer to this Department of the correspondence exchanged between yourself and Mahatma Gandhi, Viceroys, Members of the Viceroy's Council and the Congress leaders like Sardar Patel and others. These letters are undoubtedly of the greatest historical importance and will be a useful addition to our growing collection of private archival material.

We shall be thankful if you would kindly send us the correspondence at your earliest convenience. Kindly also let us know if you will agree to the materials being utilised by research scholars who visit this Department.

With renewed thanks and kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

S Roy

(S. Roy)

Asstt. Director of Archives,
 Government of India.

Dr N.B. Khare,
 B.A., M.D.,
 Consulting Physician,
NAGPUR.

Grams : Archeion



No. F.3/7/59-R-1

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA.
New Delhi, the 30 June 1959.
Asadh 9, 1881 (Saka)

Dear Dr. Khare,

Many thanks for your letter dated 9th June 1959. We are extremely grateful to you for your free offer to this Department of the correspondence exchanged between yourself and Mahatma Gandhi, Viceroys, Members of the Viceroy's Council and the Congress leaders like Sardar Patel and others. These letters are undoubtedly of the greatest historical importance and will be a useful addition to our growing collection of private archival material.

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With renewed thanks and kindest regards,

Yours sincerely

(Sd/-) S. Roy

Asstt. Director of Archives,
Government of India.

.Dr. N. B. Khare,

B. A., M. D.,

Consulting Physician
NAGPUR

(After the letter dated 30th June 1959 was acknowledged by me, another letter was received from the National Archives of India which is given below :)

No. F. 3-7/59-R-1

Grams : Archeion.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA
New Delhi, the 8th July 1959.

Dear Dr. Khare,

Please refer to your letter dated 29th June, 1959 relating to your private archival collection. As I have already told you in my letter No. F. 3-7/59R-1 dated the 30th June 1959, the Department will be very glad to receive these as a gift from you. We should be grateful if you would let us know when you expect to send the collection here.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/- S. Roy,
Asstt. Director of Archives,
Government of India.

Dr. N. B. Khare, B. A., M. D.
consulting Physician
NAGPUR

(In my reply to this letter I informed the Assistant Director of Archives that as the Archival material has to be searched out from a mass of correspondence it will take about a fortnight to despatch the material.

After the receipt of this letter of mine the National Archives sent me a letter dated 28th July 1959 which is given below :

Grams : ARCHEION.

No. F. 3/7/59-R-I.,

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA
JANPATHNew Delhi, the 28 July 1959.
(Sravana, 6, 1881).

Dear Dr. Khare,

Many thanks for your kind letter of 9th July. I am most grateful to you for your having kindly agreed to make over to this Department all the Gandhi documents in your possession. I note, however that these documents do not form an independent collection but are scattered among your personal papers of which they form an important part and that this has necessitated your taking steps to sort them out from the parent collection. This you will agree with me, will virtually amount to a dismemberment of your personal archives, and I wonder if you would not rather like to keep your collection intact and to consider the possibility of making it over in its entirety to the custody of this Department, retaining with you only the most recent ones and those still needed by you for your own use. The Gandhi documents are no doubt very important. But taken in isolation they may not reveal the story which they would most certainly do when read together with the papers, and correspondence with which they are integrally connected. To take them away from the parent collection is to violently sever them from the context in which they ought to be studied.

You will perhaps permit me to take this opportunity to invite your attention to the fact that an archive collection (by which is meant the whole ensemble of papers owing their origin to the same activity or the same series of activities and kept together in the order in which they came into being for the purpose of future reference) is an organic whole and cannot be dismembered without impairing their value as evidence of past activities or past transactions. The order in which the papers forming an archive collection came into being, has to be kept intact if we want to make them tell the story they are intended to tell. To disturb the order is to confuse that story. It is because of these consi-

derations that archivists all over the world are vehemently opposed to any partitioning or division of archives. Before you take steps to separate the Gandhi documents I would request you to consider this aspect of the question and also to judge if it would not be advisable to transfer the whole collection here. In case you want to put some restrictions on the use of the documents by scholars there will be no difficulty in the way of complying with your request. I need hardly tell you that your personal archives will be a most useful addition to this Department's growing collection of private archives.

So far as European countries are concerned the private papers of statemen and other distinguished personages are regarded as national heir-looms and are, as general rule, made over to Museums, Libraries or other national institutions. Many private collections in India have been irremediably lost owing to the unfortunate fact of there being no public institution to take them over or to look after them. I hope you will agree with me that it is most essential that steps should be taken to fill in this lacuna in our public life and a system should be evolved of depositing the papers of all our eminent leaders, of which you are one, with public institutions like the National Archives of India. I would therefore, request you to reconsider this question and let me have your views at an early date.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/- S. Roy,

Asstt. Director of Archives,
Government of India.

Dr. N. B. Khare, B. A., M. D.,
Consulting Physician
NAGPUR

(In response to this letter I sent them on 30th July 1959 my Archival material by registered post parcel the list of which is appended :)

S. No.	Date	Particulars
1.	13—10—1956	(A) Correspondence with Shri R. S. Shukla, Chief Minister, about Niyogi Report. (B) Reply of Shri R. S. Shukla, Chief Minister.
2.		Nepotism—
	8—11—1937	(A) A letter forwarded by Shri Jammalal by क. म. २८३६ म ८-११-१३७. received by him dated 5-11-1937 from Charlie Andrews.
	21— 6—1938	(B) A letter from Smt. Sarojini Naidu—Appointment of Walter Dutt as High Court Judge.
	21— 8—1937	(C) A letter from Sardar Patel—Contract be given to Shri Ratanchand Hira Chand of Hume Pipe co.
3.		Correspondence with Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Indian Union—
	23—12—1957	President's Secretary, Gyanvati Darbar's letter—Acknowledging the receipt of a Book-let 'Nehru as I know Him.'
4.	2— 1—1957 } 11—10—1956 }	Other letters received from Dr. Rajendra Prasad.
	16—10—1956 } 5—12—1957 }	
5.	1—11—1956	Dr. Rajendra Prasad's reply to my letter of 1-10-1956 about Honouring Veer Savarkar.

- | S. No. | Date | Particulars |
|--------|------------|---|
| 6. | | Correspondence with Maharaja of Gwalior—Sub.—His proposal of my appointment as Prime Minister of the State and his promised subscription about Maharashtra Kirti Mandir in Delhi— |
| | 8— 4—1946 | (A) Maharaja's reply to my letter dated 30-3-1946. |
| | 18—12—1945 | (B) Maharaja's reply to my letter dated 18-10-1945. |
| | 13— 7—1946 | (C) Letter from Maharaja Gwalior |
| 7. | | Some letters about Kirti Mandir in Delhi— |
| | 26—10—1945 | (A) Dewan Bahadur B. P. Jagtap, Irrigation Adviser to Holkar Government, Indore, —letter in reply to my letter dated 20-10-1945 which is not attached here. |
| | 20—10—1945 | (B) Dewan Bahadur V. L. Thube, M. L. A.—letter in reply to my letter dated 17-10-45 which is not attached here. |
| | 30—10—1945 | (C) My letter to Diwan Bahadur B. P. Jagtap in reply to his letter dated 26-10-1945. |
| 8. | | Congress President Shri Dhebar pulled up— |
| | 22— 3—1957 | Debhar's reply letter No. GE. 16/4582 to my letter dated 8-3-1957. |
| 9. | | A book-let named 'My Defence'. The contents of which are noted on its cover page. |
| 10. | | Correspondence with G. B. Pant—Sub.—Release of Veer Savarkar's Property— |
| | 15— 9—1956 | My letter to G. B. Pant, New Delhi,—His reply missing. In his reply he pleaded legal difficulties. |

Letters from different important personalities on different important topics—

- 3— 4—1943 (A) Shri G. Mishra, Minister, Orissa, Cuttack—To set up a Ministry in the then C. P. and Berar.
- 18—10—1944 (B) Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee—77th Ashutosh Mookerjee Road, Calcutta—A request to help Sarat Bose's family.
- 8—11—1944 (C) Dr. M. R. Jayakar—Winter Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay-6—Appreciation of my speech in Legislative Assembly regarding South Africa.
- 18— 4—1945 (D) Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerjee—77 Ashutosh Mookerjee Road, Calcutta—About Ministry in Bengal.
- 4—12—1945 (E) Dr. T. J. Kedar—Nagpur—Invitation from Mahatma Gandhi for an interview through him.
- 13— 2—1946 (F) Jannadas Mehta—Sneha Smriti, Rokey Hill, Bombay-6—Delegation to be sent to South Africa.
- 27— 5—1946 (G) A. Rowlands—the then Finance Minister—Description of Marathas.
- 30—11—1946 (H) Shri A. S. Bharatan—Associated Press of India, 357, Hornboy Road, Bombay—letter No. 5482 expressing regret in refusing my statement in reply to the statement of Raja Gaznafar Ali, Member of Health in Nehru's Cabinet, asking all Hindoos to accept Islam peacefully.
- 10—10—1947 (I) Shri Manlal Doshi—Minister of Home Affairs, Camp Rajkot—How Muslims are playing havoc at Rajkot.
- 9— 6—1951 (J) Shri N. V. Gadgil—Union Minister for Works Production and Supply, New Delhi—About Samyukta Maharashtra.
- 1— 8—1951 (K) Shri Maharaja Singh—Governor of Bombay—Private invitation.

S. No.	Date	Particulars
16—	8—1956	(L) Shri C. D. Deshmukh—Union Finance Minister, New Delhi—Acknowledgement of my Autobiography and a telegram.
28—	8—1954	(M) Shri C. D. Deshmukh, Union Finance Minister, New Delhi—Historical importance of my career. (Letter is in Marathi.)
21—11—	1944	(N) Polycarp Lobo, Advocate, The Lodge Commercial Road, Nagpur—A letter congratulating me upon my work as regards South Africa.

12. **Election of Shri G. V. Mavalankar as Speaker of Central Legislative Assembly in 1946 in which I had rendered great help.—**

- (A) M. N. Kaul, Secretary to Parliament, New Delhi—Letter No. Do. No. PSS—4/54
—In reply to my letter of 12-1-1954. (My letter is not attached here).
(B) Shri Durga Das, of Hindusthan Times, New Delhi—In reply to my letter dated 12-1-1954 (My letter is not attached here.)
(C) Shri G. V. Mavalankar, speaker Lok Sabha—Letter No. D. 1644/54.
(D) Shri G. V. Mavalankar, Speaker, Lok Sabha—Letter No. D. 2370/54.

13. **Correspondence with G. V. Mavalankar, Speaker, Lok Sabha, about the activities of the Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru—**

- 8— 9—1954 (A) My letter to Shri G. V. Mavalankar, New Delhi.
8— 9—1954 (B) His reply letter No. D. 1811/54.

S. No.

Date

Particulars

11—11—1945
15—11—1945
16—11—1945
22— 1—1945

(B) Lord Wavell, the Viceroy—Letter No. 139.
(C) My reply to the Viceroy's above letter.
(D) Mr. G. B. E. Abell, Secretary to the Governor-General—Letter No. 139.
(E) Viceroy's reply to my letter dated 15.11.45.

21.

Correspondence between the Viceroy and Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee about the free supply of news print—

27—10—1945
27—10—1945
20—10—1945
14—10—1945
20—10—1945

(A) My letter to the Viceroy.
(B) Reply No. 355/5 received from the Viceroy to my letter dated 27-10-1945.
(C) Dr. S. P. Mukerjee—A letter received from him.
(D) Secretary to the Viceroy—A letter No. 355/5 in reply to my letter dated 6-10-1945
(E) Dr. S. P. Mookerjee—A letter sent by him to Sir Evan Jenkins, Secretary to the Governor-General.

22— 9—1945
26— 9—1945
25— 9—1945

(F) A letter received from Dr. S. P. Mookerjee.
(G) A letter received from Dr. S. P. Mookerjee.
(H) A letter addressed to Sir Akbar Hydari by Dr. S. P. Mookerjee.

22. 17— 1—1946

Lady Wavell—A letter about the release of Civilian internees from Far East.

23.

(A) Sarat Chandra Bose—Letter recommending a lawyer to be sent to Malaya for defending accused there.
(B) A copy of the letter addressed to Sarat Bose by a lawyer.

20—12—1945

24.

Letters from the Viceroy, Lord Wavell and Home Member, Maxwell showing the British attitude of indifference towards or connivance at the activities of Muslim League.

9—10—1944

(A) Lord Wavell—Letter No. 670/5.

10—11—1944

(B) Mr. Maxwell, the then Home Member.

25.

Correspondence with Sir Francis Mudie, the Home Member, about the ban on the Satyarth Prakash in Sindh.

15—11—1944

(A) My letter to Sir Francis Mudie.

16/17.11.1944

(B) Sir Francis Mudie—His reply to my above letter.

18—11—1944

(C) My rejoinder to Sir Francis Mudie.

26.

My successful efforts of releasing Congress Prisoners from Jail during the Quit India Movement on receipt of letters received from their friends—

12—10—1943

(A) Eknath Patwardhan, Narkesari Press, 2nd Modi lane Buldi, Nagpur—About the releases of Shri Haribhau Mohoni, Anant Sheorey, Bholasingh and others.

9—11—1943

(B) M. B. Dadabhoy, 12 Queensway New Delhi—About the release of Suganchand Tapadia.

4—11—1943

(C) Deochand Rode—Wardha—About the release of Sheoraj Chudiwale.

19—11—1943

(D) Deochand Rode—Wardha—About the release of Sheoraj Chudiwale.

25—11—1943

(E) Radha Krishna Kulwal, ex-President of Municipal Committee, Movad, Katol—About the release of Shri Balmukund and Ramkisanji. Gupta.

3—12—1943

(F) My letter to Mr. Jayaratnam, the Chief Secretary to the then C. P. and Berar Government, suggesting him to release the detainees.

- | S No. | Date | Particulars |
|-------|--|---|
| 27. | 21-10-1945
16-11-1945
24-10-1945 | <p>Letters from ex-Minister Shri S. V. Gokhale, requesting supply of news print to 'Swatantra Hindusthan of Shri Veer Wamanrao Joshi and my reply to him—</p> <p>(A) Shri S. V. Gokhale—letter to me.
 (B) Shri S. V. Gokhale—letter to me.
 (C) Application from Veer Wamanrao Joshi.
 (D) My reply to Shri S. V. Gokhale.</p> |
| 28. | 24-2-1944 | <p>Stiff attitude of Home Member Maxwell about Mrs. Kirloskar a German wife of a Maharashtrian Doctor, when she was interned as an enemy alien.
 Mr. Maxwell, Home Member—Letter No. DO. No. 9/5/42—Poll (E.W.)</p> |
| 29. | | <p>My secret telegram about Constitutional Reforms to the Secretary of State with his acknowledgement—
 (A) A telegram to Secretary of State.
 (B) His acknowledgement.</p> |
| 30. | 9.-5-1945 | <p>Correspondence with Sir John Colville, the officiating Viceroy, showing successful efforts I made for the release of the Congress Working Committee Members from Jail and commutation of death sentences of Chimur and Ashti Prisoners. This correspondence is of great importance. The Working Committee Members were released in June 1945 and the death sentences of Chimur and Ashti Prisoners were commuted in August 1945 —
 (A) My letter to Sir John Colville the Acting Governor-General.</p> |

12— 5—1945
16— 5—1945

- (B) Sir John Colville's reply No. 423/7 to my letter of 9-5-1945.
(C) My reply to Sir John Colville's letter No. 427/7 of 12-5-1945.

31.

Correspondence with Lord Wavell about the speeches made by Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel just after their release showing soft attitude of Wavell towards both—

21— 6—1945
25— 6—1945
30— 6—1945
6— 7—1945

- (A) My letter to Lord Wavell.
(B) Lord Wavell—His reply No. 592/9/II to my above letter of 21-6-1945.
(C) My letter to Lord Wavell.
(D) Lord Wavell—His reply No. 592/9/II to my above letter of 30-6-1945.

32

Correspondence with Lord Wavell about Gandhi's quibbling with regard to responsibility of the Quit India Movement—

1— 7—1944
2/3—7—1944

- (A) My letter to Lord Wavell.
(B) Lord Wavell—letter No. DO. No. F. 125/16/GG/42—reply to my above letter.

33.

Letters from Governor of C. P. and Berar and Sir Claude Auchinleck—

5— 5—1943
26— 6—1946

- (A) Sir Henry Twynam, Governor of C. P. and Berar—Letter to me.
(B) Sir Claude Auchinleck Commander-in-Chief—Letter D. O. No. 80/E/1/46—Letter to me.

34.

Correspondence on Corruption—

7—11—1945

- (A) Sir Jogendra Singh, Member, Viceroy's Council—reply to my letter of 4-11-1945
(The copy of my letter is not attached here.)

10—10—1945

- (B) Sir Jogendra Singh, Member Viceroy's Council—Letter by him addressed to Pandit Nehru.

S. No.	Date	Particulars
	16-10-1945	(C) Pandit Nehru—Reply to the above letter.
	12-4-1954	(D) Pandit Nehru—reply to my letter of 10-4-1954 in which he has written about the enquiry in Shukla's case.
	10-4-1954	(E) My letter to Pandit Nehru.
	3-7-1954	(F) Pandit Nehru—Letter in reply to my letter dated 25-6-1954.
	25-6-1954	(G) My letter to Pandit Nehru.
	15-7-1954	(H) Pandit Nehru—Letter No. 345—PMO/54 in reply to my letter dated 9th July 1954
	9-7-1954	(I) My letter to Pandit Nehru.
	27-8-1954	(J) My letter to Pandit Nehru...
	23-11-1954	(K) B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Governor of the then Madhya Pradesh Letter No. 23/M.P.—About refusing permission to prosecute Pandit R. S. Shukla, Chief Minister, Madhya Pradesh.
35.	Correspondence about cowardice—	
	20-5-1955	(A) My letter to Pandit Nehru—About Goa Problem.
	22-5-1955	(B) Pandit Nehru—His reply letter No. 901-PMH/55 to my letter dated 20-5-1955.
36.	A Bunch of papers about South Africa.	
37.	Correspondence about United Kingdom and United States of America—	
	22-10-1944	(A) Ardeshir Dalal, Member of Council, Planning and Development—Letter to me
	27-10-1944	(B) G. S. Bajpai, Washington—Letter to me.
38.	13-10-1943	Dr. S. P. Mookerjee—A letter about food situation in Bengal in October 1943.

39. Copy of a Joint representation submitted to the Viceroy about the Secondary Education Bill in Bengal, signed by Sir J. P. Shrivastava, Sir Jogendra Singh, Sir A. Roy and myself.
40. 9— 5—1945 My opposition addressed to Sir Francis Mudie, to allow the Indian I. C. S. Officers to retire before a new Government under new Constitution takes office.
41. My opposition to Ordinance enabling the trial of Army Personnel.
42. 15— 1—1946 My letter to Shri J. R. Joshi, Sub-Editor, '*The Maharashtra*' Nagpur—expressing the reasons for not rejoining the Congress although requested by Gandhi to do so.
43. A bunch of correspondence about Indians Overseas.
44. About my appointment to the Executive Council by Lord Linlithgow.
45. A bunch of correspondence with Lord Wavell and his Secretaries.

After this the acknowledgement of documents received by Asstt. Director of Archives Government of India, New Delhi, is as follows :

“ Received documents as per list from Dr. N. B. Khare, Nagpur.

(Sd/-) V. C. JOSHI
Asstt. Director of Archives,
Government of India, New Delhi

10th August 1959.

(K)

My open letter to Dr. Rajendra Prasad on the situation in Kerala.

Nagpur

D/- 7-7-59

Dear Dr. Rajendra Prasad

The situation in Kerala is fraught with danger. The main cause for the agitation against the communist Government in Kerala is the Education Bill, to which you as President of the Indian Union, have given your consent before it became law. Doubtless you must have given your consent to the Bill, under the advice of the Govt. of India, which now under the role of the Congress Parliamentary Board advises the Kerala Govt. to suspend it, to assuage the agitation. This action of the Govt. of India which is nothing but Nehru Unlimited, is obviously an insult offered to the President of the Indian Union in view of the consent given to it previously.

I humbly suggest that a simple, sacrificing, and self-respecting person like you should not suffer this insult but should resign in protest. Besides this proverbial last straw, there are also other reasons for you to resign, because it is an open secret that you and Pt. Nehru do not see eye to eye in many important matters.

Difference :

Temperamentally you believe in Gandhian Philosophy; but Pt. Nehru is miles away from it although as a matter of form he gives lip sympathy to it. You believe in primacy of the State as provided in our Constitution, while Pt. Nehru openly pampers Muslim Communalism, which as feared by you in your book 'India Divided' may convert India into Dinia. You have a great regard for our Ancestral Hindu culture which believes in God; on the other hand Pt. Nehru takes pride in being a communist-minded materialist.

As a result Nehru has made the Congress adopt the policy of co-operative farming to which you are opposed as according

to you it will ruin the country. It is gathered from press-reports that you have expressed your opposition in a letter to Pt. Nehru to which he has refused to pay any attention.

If you believe that co-operative farming will lead the country to disaster, it is your duty to yourself and the country to resign your office. Your old colleague C. Rajgopalachari is honest enough to come out boldly to stand against the Congress on this very issue.

Appeal :

It appears from the resolution of the Congress Parliamentary Board, that you will soon be asked to declare President's Rule in Kerala. I would respectfully suggest that you should refuse to be a cat'spaw of the Congress in this matter. Self-respect demands it. Instead of declaring President's Rule in Kerala, you should suggest to Nehru unlimited to abolish the State of Kerala, align it with Madras, and make Madras a bilingual State just like Bilingual Bombay for the sake of national integration

I have penned this letter on account of my love for the country and respect towards you. I will conclude by begging to be excused for this temerity of an old though outcast co-worker. With deep regards,

yours Sincerely

N. B. Khare

(L)

A letter from South India in appreciation of my article "Avatar of Aurangzeb" about Mahatma Gandhi.

18 Musa Sait Street,
Thyagaraya Nagar,
Madras, 1-12-46.

Dear Sir,

I congratulate you on your article "Avatar of Aurangzeb" in a recent issue of "Mahratta". The same idea is contained in

my pamphlet "The Inner Voice", a copy of which I had sent you a few days ago.

I would invite your kind attention to the 4th Skanda 13th Chapter of the Devi Bhagavatam where in the story of Jayanti and Shukra, Gandhi is depicted as the false teacher who leads his followers to destruction by his doctrine of non-violence. The story is so remarkable, that one is lost in admiration over the wisdom and critical judgment of our ancestors, in contrast to the boundless credulity of modern times. I hope you could translate the story for the benefit of the readers of the "Mahratta".

yours faithfully
(Sd.) S. Srinivasa Iyer

(M)

Sardar Patel's complacency or mis-judgment about the attitude of Subhash Chandra Bose in the Khare episode and his hatred of Subhash Chandra Bose because he charged Sardar Patel and other members of the Gandhian group with entering into a conspiracy with the British Government.

Both the above quoted sentiments of Sardar Patel are reflected in a letter which he sent to Jawaharlal Nehru after Subhash Chandra Bose was elected President (a second time) of the Tripuri Congress, defeating Pattabhi Sitaramayya the Gandhian Candidate, I therefore quote below that letter from Nehru's book "Bunch of old letters" with apologies to the author.

Bombay
February 8, 1939

My dear Jawahar,

I got your last letter at Bardoli in reply to my request to you to sign that joint statement or to issue, an independent one. I made that suggestion to you at the instance of Bapu. I showed your reply to him and he asked me to write to you what I felt about it. He himself was displeased with that letter, but I did not think it worthwhile to trouble you any more. The

joint statement was also issued at his instance. In fact I told him that this will be one more pretext to hurl abuses against me, but he insisted and I obeyed him. Moulana withdrew at the last moment.

I am glad indeed that we are defeated. (Vide page 24 of this book). No effective work is possible without a homogeneous Working Committee and I have always prayed for such an opportunity.

What I hate most is the method adopted to achieve that end by those who claim to be Leftist and still more by the President (Subhash Chandra Bose) who charged us with having entered into a conspiracy with the British Government and also having provisionally formed a federation Cabinet. (Vide pages 55 and 57 of this book) Our enemies have also given credit for our honesty, but not our President (Subhash Chandra Bose). In any case we are no longer in doubt of what we have to do and I have written to Subhash (President) that we are ready to go out at his convenience. Jivat will show you a copy of that letter which I have sent him yesterday.

I do not know your mind, but I do hope that at least you will not blame us for what we propose to do.

I think it is my lot to be abused. Bengal press is furious and they blame me for Nariman and Khare episode, although all my Colleagues were also jointly responsible for these actions. In fact in Dr. Khare's matter Subhash was present from the beginning to the end and it was he who had handled the whole thing.

In Baroda also I have raised a storm and the Maharashtra press are full of venom and they are out for my blood.

The whole of Kathiawar is aflame on account of Rajkot. There is tremendous mass awakening and the princes would have yielded readily but for the tightening of the screw by the Residents.

Hope you are keeping fit.

yours Sincerely
Vallabhbhai.

This letter is very revealing. It shows the anti-Subhash manoeuvres of Gandhi and the differences which existed even then between Nehru and Sardar Patel. It also gives the background of Gandhi's fast at Rajkot to oust Subhash Chandra Bose. (Vide pages 53 and 54 of this book). All this has been made sufficiently clear in my narration in this book. Subhash Bose's suspicion about the Gandhite conspiracy with the British Government referred to with feelings of hatred by Sardar Patel appears to be well founded; (Vide page 55 of this book) because as is disclosed in my narration after the termination of his fast at Rajkot by the intervention of Sir Maurice Gwyer, chief Justice of Federal Court, Gandhi went to Delhi and interviewed the then Viceroy Lord Linlithgow several times. When Gandhi was criticised about these frequent interviews, he issued a press statement in which he admitted that he had entered into an alliance with the British Government. (Vide pages 57, 59 and 60 of this book).

In my narration I have quoted before from "a bunch of old letters", a portion of a letter sent by Subhash to Nehru, about Gandhi's Rajkot fast. In that letter Subhash had expressed his disapproval of the acceptance of the appointment of Sir Maurice Gwyer as an arbitrator in the Rajkot fast, because according to him it was tantamount to acceptance of Federation which was rejected by the Congress. (Vide page 59 of this book) This same attitude of Subhash Bose is also disclosed in this letter of Sardar Patel, as he complains of Subhash having charged the Gandhites with provisionally forming a Federation Cabinet. This suspicion of Subhash was correct because before my dismissal from the office of the Premier of the then Province of C. P. and Berar, Gandhi once in an interview had casually asked me, my opinion as to who should become the first Federal Prime minister.

It appears from this letter of Sardar Patel that he remembered Baroda very well, because after the Khare episode, he could not address a meeting there. People refused to listen to him and the meeting ended in a fiasco. The atmosphere in Baroda was so bitter at that time, that as reported in 'Maharashtra' of that period, even in a melee that ensued two days

after the incident, a Mahratta youth by name Surve was fatally stabbed by some goondas possibly connected with Gujrat Congress. While acting thus the goondas said to Surve 'Te divasno toonch ke' meaning thereby you were the mischief maker that day.

But Sardar Patel's complacency about the attitude of Subhash in the Khare episode is entirely wrong, because as disclosed in my narration, Subhash on that very night of 25th-26th July 1938, saw me at Wardha and told me that he was doing injustice to me as the President of the Congress, being coerced by majority of the Working Committee which was against me. But I told him on his face that he was doing it to gain favour of Gandhi as he was standing a second time for election as President of the Congress. (Refer to page 48 and 49 of this book.)

(N)

Request from the Times of India for a contribution in a book about Nehru to be published on the occasion of his completing 70 years.

THE TIMES OF INDIA, BOMBAY-1

22nd July 1959

Dear Dr. Khare,

Perhaps you are aware that our Prime Minister Mr. Nehru completes 70 years of his eventful life on November 14, 1959. On that occasion. "*The Times of India*" and its allied publications propose to bring out a volume about Mr. Nehru and his many-sided activities. For this purpose, we are approaching some of the world's greatest figures in different walks of life to honour us by their contributions; some of them have already agreed to do so.

I am enclosing herewith a folder, which will give you an idea of the proposed scheme of the book.

May I take the liberty of requesting to you to send us your valued contribution for this historical work? The subject on which we would very much like you to write is: NEHRU'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS HIS CRITICS. The article may be of about 2,500 words.

I may also inform you that so far we have received contributions from some of the greatest figures like—Atlee, Mountbatten, Pethick-Lawrence, Bertrand Russel, John Gunther, Ilya Ehrenburg, Sherman Cooper, Radhakrishnan etc.

I have, however, to ask for one more favour. As the time for sending the manuscript of the book to the press is extremely short, I shall feel much obliged if you will kindly let me have your article by the end of the second week of August.

With kind regards.

yours sincerely,
(J. C. Jain)
General Manager.

On receipt of this letter I wrote to the *Times of India* that I was prepared to write and send within time the article on Nehru as suggested, but my article will not be eulogy of Nehru but will be highly critical though factual and couched in un-abusive language; and that if the Times of India will be prepared to accept it they should let me know immediately.

The Times of India sent a reply to my above letter by the following telegram :

“Bombay, 25th July 1959.

RECEIVED LETTER CONTENTS NOTED. PLEASE SEND NEHRU ARTICLE EARLIEST.

JAIN TIMES OF INDIA.

(O)

**An open letter to Dr. K. N. Katju Chief Minister,
Bhopal Madhya Pradesh.**

Nagpur
1-8-59

My Dear Dr. Katju

As a result of reorganisation of States, Maharashtra has suffered very badly, on account of the deliberately adopted Congress policy of weakning and disintegrating the Marathi-speaking people. Formation of bilingual Bombay, and the inclusion of Belgaum, Karwar, Nipani, Bhalki etc., a large Marathi speaking area adjoining Maharashtra, in the Mysore State; and the inclusion of Saunsar, Multai, Burhanpur, etc. Marathi speaking tracts adjacent to Vidarbha, in the new Madhya Pradesh, are the results of this deliberate anti-Maharashtra policy of the Congress.

Our constitution guarantees the right of a citizen to get at least primary education in his mother-tongue. Inspite of this the Mysore Government is forcing Kannad language on the Marathi people living in the border areas like Belgaum, Karwar, etc. You as a public man are doubtless aware of the agitation going on there, against this injustice perpetrated on the Marathi people.

It is deplorable that the same injustice is being perpetrated on the Marathi people living in Saunsar Tehsil now included in the new Madhya Pradesh of which you are the Chief Minister. The population of this Tehsil is about two lakhs. This Tehsil is overwhelmingly Marathi speaking and adjoining the Nagpur district of the Bombay State. There are about 400 villages in this Tehsil and 115 Primary schools, out of which only 10 are for teaching in Hindi, and 105 are for teaching in Marathi. Inspite of this, the Education Authorities of Jabalpur have issued a fatwa to stop teaching in Marathi in all Primary schools in Saunsar Tehsil and commence teaching in Hindi, apparently to 'Hindise' the Maharashtrians and in the end to swallow them and thus weaken the Marathi race.

I have recently read in papers, a purport of your public speech in which you have praised Dnyaneshwari, Marathi culture, and Marathi language, and expressed your pleasure that so many Marathas are included in the new Madhya Pradesh. Should we expect the quick removal of this deliberate injustice perpetrated on the Marathas in Saunsar, from a person like you, who gave public expression to such sentiments eulogising the Marathas ?

A reply at your early convenience is expected.

Yours sincerely

N. B. Khare

(P) Nagpur leads again.

following statement of mine published in the press about middle of January 1958 happens to be the precursor of the Swatantra Party launched by C. Rajgopalachariar in Bombay on 1st August 1959 :

Need for a Surajya Party :

Ten years have elapsed after Independence. Foreign rule has gone and Power has come into the hands of our own people. The Congress Party is installed in Power. *Swarajya* has come; but not *Surajya*. It is nowhere on the horizon and is as distant as ever. The people are getting more and more unhappy. The claim of the Ruling party - a false one - of having won freedom and their glib talk of *Ramrajya* fail to evoke enthusiasm. People have now begun to think, they are inquiring what patriotism really consists of; what it demands. The old concept of 'Nationalism' or the old ideology of opposition to British Imperialism cease to satisfy them.

All classes of people—the rich, the middle and the poor—are now thirsty for *Surajya* which, by the way, means a just and a good Government not blinded by party politics and guaranteeing to the people, food, clothing, shelter, education and medical relief.

No Government can achieve this without imposing taxes but since the advent of the Congress Government, heavy and unbearable taxes have been imposed for their 5 Year Plans.

Some of the taxes are quite novel and are unheard of in the World e. g. the expenditure tax. People are groaning under these taxes. Our Rulers pay no heed to this and are busy enforcing new and expensive Plans which do not seem to benefit the People in the least. These plans may well be called a long term Budget—a clever device to keep the present Ruling party in power for as long a period as possible.

That Party's overbearing conduct in Parliament and the sum total of its work there, lamentably betray its utter indifference for the welfare of the masses.

The rule of the party in power has now become 'a one party democracy'. This is a complete negation of a really Democratic Parliamentary Government. The party in power has mostly proved unsuccessful, in urgently securing an all round progress for the weal of the masses in general. The Congress policy now appears to be to impose heavy unbearable taxes and under the pretext of distributing wealth equally, to level down or flatten all.

This, however, prejudicially affects Society and all layers of it become disgruntled and miserable. The Ruling party takes no heed of these miseries. There is great need now as never before of a new Party to put up a powerful opposition to the Party in power. It should be called the *Surajya* Party. It may shortly be defined as a Party which will ceaselessly endeavour to turn *Swarajya* into *Surajya*, by drawing attention to and removing the sufferings and miseries of the people on their march to Progress, Prosperity, Happiness.

A review of the ten years' period after Independence reveals that the once powerful Congress Organisation is getting weaker. Self sacrifice, high ideals, spirit of service and power of unity are fast disappearing and individual gain, mutual jealousies, greed for wealth, *himsa* or force, untruth, cruelty, fraud, insolence

and terrible corruption now infest that Body. It is not now possible for that Party to remove these defects; nor is it possible for any existing Party to acquire the power and force which Congress is fast losing.

A new Party is necessary for it.

The Foreign Policy of the present Ruling Party is extremely weak and submissive. People have suffered terribly by this.

It must be the primary concern of the Government of India to see to it that the minorities in Pakistan are happy, just as it is their concern to see that the minorities in India are happy. But they are not doing their duty in securing the happiness of the minorities in Pakistan.

All the Hindoos from West Punjab are driven away and there is a large exodus of Hindoos from East Bengal.

This shows a wanton, callous disregard to the duty of protecting the Hindoos in Pakistan.

There is similarly the question of Goa which is hanging fire for the last 10 years. How long is it to be kept unsolved? How long are our country-men there to be kept under foreign domination? For ever! It is foolish to suppose that the Portuguese would change their unrelenting attitude and make a present of Goa to India.

It is rank idiocy to suppose that the success of our foreign Policy lies in the sweet, honeyed words spoken by a few big men of other countries, who come as guests to India, partake of our lavish hospitality and return home after a happy tour in a contented frame of mind.

We also help at our expense other countries in the Forum of the World Tribunal. We have given such help to Korea, Egypt, Indo-China, Indonesia and elsewhere. But that again is, in no sense, an indication of the success of our Foreign Policy.

The all round bungling in Home affairs and the unpardonable lack of bold effective line of action in Foreign affairs are

matters of the gravest concern demanding a new virile Party to tackle them.

The objectives of this party will be to improve Agriculture and supply food-grains in abundance, to improve Education and Educational Standards in all spheres, to improve the moral tone of the people, to remove unemployment, Bribery and Corruption as also to put a stop to indiscriminate firings on the people.

It will give a religious basis to the life of the People.

It will initiate a bold and effective Foreign Policy in place of the present barren and feeble one.

Peoples of all castes and creeds are entitled to join this Party. Those who subscribe to the above ideals of a *Surajya* have a place in this Party. They are earnestly requested to join it.

There is a special propriety in the people of Nagpur taking the lead in establishing this Party. Nagpur City has an unparalleled importance in initiating Revolutions of thought in modern politics. The Congress Resolution of peaceful non-cooperation was adopted in this city in 1920. The *Zenā Satyagraha* which gave the country its National Flag took place in this City in 1922. The *Swarajya Party* which banned acceptance of offices also flourished here. Thereafter the Responsive Co-operation Party which advocated acceptance of Offices was also established in Nagpur in 1926. Congress also, in 1937, adopted this policy of accepting offices in all Provinces and accordingly, its first Cabinet was established in Nagpur that year. Lastly, in 1946, Congress adopted the principle of the Responsive Co-operation Party of accepting offices in the Central Government and accepted offices in the Viceroy's Council. Thereafter came *Swarjya* but not *Surajya* as already stated. The establishment of the *Surajya Party* shall alone bring *Surajya*.

Nagpur
16-1-58

(DR.) N. B. KHARE

CHAPTER-XXI

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION (1957) CHALLENGED

Towards the end of March 1957, at the close of the last session of the Lok Sabha, I issued the following statement to the Press in Delhi setting out reasons for my desire to contest the Presidential election—

Why I am contesting the Presidential Election ?

The Indian democracy is very young and in the formative stage. Proper and healthy conventions therefore, have not yet been established. The office of the President of the Union of India is the highest elective office in the State and carries with it prestige, importance and dignity. But in the present conditions obtaining in India, much of these higher attributes pertaining to this august office is lost, because this highest office is reduced to the position of a gift in the power of prominent politicians belonging to the majority party. This position of subservience ill becomes this high office, which should be above parties. This office should not therefore always be a monopoly of persons dependent upon the favours of the majority party; but should often times be open for being contested by independent individuals with courage and convictions and sufficient service and sacrifices for the nation to their credit. Otherwise, there is a danger of this highest office turning into a pale replica of the office of the Prime Minister.

With this view point before me, I have decided to contest the election to this office. My service and sacrifice for the cause of the country are too wellknown to be repeated. But the following facts are worth mentioning :—

(1) Even when outside the Congress, I saved the life of Prof. Bhansali, the great discipale of Gandhi when he undertook a fast unto death to protest against the refusal of the then British Government to order an enquiry into the atrocities committed by the police and the Military at Chimur in Chanda district as a sequel to the Quit India Movement of 1942-43, by bringing about an honourable compromise between Prof. Bhansali and Sir Henry Twynam, the then Governor of C.P. and Berar.

(2) As an aftermath of this Quit India Movement, 7 accused of Chmur were sentenced to death. I carried on agitation for commutation of these death sentences, and carried this fight even to the Viceroy's Council as a member thereof with ultimate success.

(3) As a member of Viceroy's Council I fought with Sir Claude Auchinleck, the then Commander-in-Chief in December 1945 and secured pardon for the accused of the Indian National Army of Subhash Chandra Bose.

(4) At this very time, I saved the lives of all the top-ranking Indians in Malaya who were charged with high treason and collaboration with the Japanese.

(5) About this time also, I secured permission from the Viceroy at the written request of Gandhiji, for the Congress Medical Mission to go to Malaya.

(6) During my membership of the Viceroy's Council, I secured citizenship rights for Indians domiciled in America and thus raised the international prestige of India. I also referred the Indo-South African dispute to the U. N. O., apart from withdrawing the Indian High Commissioner from that country and enforcing economic sanctions against it. Some of these facts are mentioned in the Volume of 'Who is Who' in the Lok Sabha published under the authority of Parliament.

(7) At the instance of Sardar Patel, I secretly helped in the election of G. V. Mavalankar, the Congress candidate to the office of the President of the then Legislative Assembly in 1946, while I was a member of the Viceroy's Council.

(8) As a Prime Minister of Alwar State, I foiled the rebellion of Meos in 1947 engineered by them to carve out a Meostan from Mehrouli to Bandikui in alliance with Pakistan.

(9) I also saved the prestige of the Congress in June 1945 by successfully trying to release the Congress Working Committee members from Ahmednagar Jail as a member of the Viceroy's Council as described hereafter.

Gandhi was released from Aga Khan Palace Jail as a result of a heart attack on the 5th of May 1944, although the Congress

Working Committee members continued to be detained in Ahmednagar Fort Jail. This was somewhat derogatory to the Mahatma and he sought to secure their release by asking an interview with Lord Wavell, the then Viceroy. Failing that, he sought the mediation of Dr. M.R.Jayakar. Failing there he sought and got interview with Jinnah in September 1944 when he offered Jinnah almost all the concrete consequences of Pakistan, except the two nation theory. Not being successful in wooing Jinnah, Gandhiji wrote and asked Bhulabhai Desai to contact Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and the result was the infamous Bhulabhai-Liaquat Formula to form a Viceroy's Council based upon *parity* between the Congress and the Muslim League. This Council when established was to have released the Working Committee members from Ahmednagar Jail, and thus remove the inferiority complex from which Gandhiji was suffering. One of my colleagues in the Viceroy's Council then, viz. Sir Francis Mudie, the Home Member, had approached the late B.G.Kher in January 1945 to persuade him to join the Viceroy's Council under Bhulabhai-Liaquat Formula.

The news of these happenings filtered into the press, and the Congress Working Committee members in Ahmednagar Jail condemned the Bhulabhai-Liaquat endeavour virtually in a formal resolution. Lord Wavell went to England about March 1945 to obtain the approval of the British Government to the Bhulabhai Liaquat Formula. After his return from England attempts were to be made in July 1945 at the Simla Conference to form a Viceroy's Council under the Bhulabhai Liaquat Formula, keeping the Congress working Committee in Jail.

After the budget session of 1945, some prominent Congressmen -- Shri Sri Prakash the present Governor of Bombay being one of them -- requested me as an ex-Congressman to give the benefit of my office in the Viceroy's Council to the Congress and try to get the Working Committee members released from Jail at this juncture. I got this done in June 1945 just a month before the Simla Conference and thus saved the prestige of the Congress. The correspondence concerning this matter, that took place between me and Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Indian Union has been published in a section of the Press as late as November 1956.

It is regrettable that as a reward of all the above services rendered by me to the Congress and the Country, the Congress tried to involve me in the crime of Gandhi assassination by creating artificial evidence.

I am standing for election to the office of the President of the Indian Union to afford an opportunity to the Congress to elect me and atone for its past sins perpetrated against me. I am sure such of the Congressmen who have still got left some remorse and sense of gratitude will vote for me. Non-Congress legislators will, I believe, vote for me all right. I am standing not for pelf and power but only to serve my country as a whole and not a particular political party or community.

When I came to Nagpur after the adjournment of the session *sine die*, I issued to the press a supplementary statement on the 3rd April 1957 setting out further reasons for my Candidature, which are as follows :-

“ It is public knowledge that Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of the Indian Union, has declared emphatically more than once on the occasion of Sarvodaya Conferences, that he was tired of the high and ostentatious life at the Rashtrapati Bhawan at Delhi and was desirous of reverting to his simple home life at Patna.

My candidature for the Presidential election affords him a God sent opportunity to retire from the election contest and prove beyond doubt that his expressed desire was genuine and sincere and not phony. But I do not think that Dr. Rajendra Prasad will ever do so because such expressions from high Congress personages are only meant to convey their self-importance and indispensability. The other day at a Congress party meeting in New Delhi, the Prime Minister deprecated in no uncertain terms, the practice of one and the same individual occupying the same high position in successive periods. But the Prime Minister himself is running his third term and the President is standing for his more than second. The philosopher Vice-President of the Union also could not withstand the temptation and is standing for his second term. It will not be very wrong to draw a conclusion from

this that in the congress organisation, discipline is meant only for small fries while the big wigs can enjoy all freedom."

The Lok Sabha was dissolved on the 4th April 1957 and the new Lok Sabha was constituted on the 6th April 1957 under Section 73 of the Representation of Peoples Act 43 of 1951. 16th April was fixed as the last date of filing nomination forms for the President's election, scrutiny was fixed on the 17th April and the final withdrawal date was fixed on the 20th April and the polling, if necessary was fixed on the 6th May 1957. Thus, there was no sufficient time to seek support of the members of the Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabhas and file my nomination paper within time. I therefore challenged this election before it was held by submitting a petition to the Supreme Court under Section 71(1) of the Constitution of India. The text of the petition is as follows:—

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF INDIA, NEW DELHI.

Civil Miscellaneous Petition No. 63 of 1957.

Between

**Dr. Narayan Bhaskar Khare, Aged 75 years,
Medical Practitioner, Dhantoli, Nagpur—Petitioner**

and

**The Election Commission of India, New Delhi,
—Respondent**

Petition under Article 71(1) of the Constitution of India to the Hon'ble Chief Justice of India and his companion Judges of the Supreme Court of India.

This humble petition of your Lordship's petitioner above named sheweth:—

(1) That your Lordships have been invested under Article 71(1) of the Constitution of India with the final jurisdiction, and power, and duty to resolve all doubts in connection with the election of the President of India and hence your Lordships' petitioner hastens to move this humble petition in order that the grave doubt that has arisen in the public mind in con-

nection with the Presidential election may with finality be resolved in time.

(2) After the general elections in all the States and Union territories of India excepting the Union Territory of Himachal Pradesh and a part of the Punjab, your Lordship's petitioner as a citizen of India had expressed his decision to stand as an independent candidate for the Office of the President, through his statements to the Press and hence he has been and is an intending candidate for the Presidential election.

(3) The Lok Sabha was dissolved on the 4th April 1957-whereafter the new Lok Sabha was constituted on the 6th April 1957 under section 73 of the Representation of Peoples Act 43 of 1951. The nominations for the Presidential election were invited till the 16th April 1957, whereafter the scrutiny was fixed for the 17th April 1957, while the final date for withdrawal was 20th April 1957. The notification constituting the new Lok Sabha was published in the Press on the 7th April 1957 and on the same day your Lordships' petitioner wired to the Election Commission for supply of the nomination papers. The next day, i.e. 8th April having been a holiday on account of Shri Ram Navami, the Election Commission despatched the nomination papers to your Lordships' petitioner only on the 9th April 1957, which he received at Nagpur in the afternoon of the 10th April 1957. Thus only five days were left between the receipt of the nomination papers and the date for filing them before the Election Commission at New Delhi. Hence it was well-nigh impossible for your Lordships' petitioner to move about and seek support of the members of the Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabhas for his candidature and so your Lordships' petitioner was bonafide prevented from filing his nomination paper due to want of time and on account of the short notice given by the Election Commission.

(4) Therefore as a citizen of India and as an intending candidate for the Presidential election your Lordships' petitioner has adequate and sufficient interest, right and duty in the proper enforcement of the provisions of the Constitution and so is entitled to present this petition to your Lordships.

(5) That during the last session of the Lok Sabha, a member of the opposition Shri H.V. Kamath had raised a grave doubt as to whether the Lok Sabha would be deemed to have been properly constituted when the entire territory of Himachal Pradesh had not elected its 4 members to the Lok Sabha and the election of 2 members from the state of Punjab was not held due to weather conditions; and the said elections in the Himachal Pradesh and the Punjab were postponed. In reply, the Hon'ble Prime Minister expressed diffidence in such legal matters and said that the Election Commission was not subject to any directives from his Government so far as election matters were concerned, while the Hon'ble Speaker said that it was for the Supreme Court to decide.

(6) It is the belief of your Lordships' petitioner that an extract from Shri H.V. Kamath's intervention in the Lok Sabha was not sent to the Election Commission for necessary action, and that in spite of the protest having been registered, the protest has not been brought to the notice of the Election Commission in an appropriate manner.

(7) At any rate, Your Lordships' petitioner would submit that when a serious doubt was raised as to whether or not the President of India could be elected by the Lok Sabha as constituted at present, it was also the duty of the Election Commission to take notice of the same and to seek a decision on the question from this Hon'ble Court, since there was nothing to prevent the Election Commission from so doing under article 71(1) of the Constitution of India. But the Election Commission has failed to do so and has acted not only in the face of the relevant provisions of the Constitution, but has also proceeded with the different stages of the Presidential Election and has fixed the poll for the 6th of May 1957 since there are three candidates for the election. The question raised, however, should not in public interest remain unanswered by the Hon'ble Supreme Court for the failure of the Election Commission in doing its duty and hence the petitioner has brought up the matter before your Lordships and in so doing the petitioner feels that he has only done his patriotic duty to Democratic India.

(8) Your Lordships' petitioner submits that Article 54 of the Constitution requires that :

“ The President shall be elected by the members of the Electoral College consisting of :

(a) Elected members of the both Houses of the Parliament, and

(b) Elected members of the Legislative Assemblies of the States. ”

Article 81 of the Constitution says :-
 “ The House of People shall consist of --

(a) Not more than 500 members chosen by direct election from territorial constituencies in the States and

(b) Not more than 20 members to represent the Union territories chosen in such manner as Parliament may by law provide. ”

(9) Your Lordships' petitioner further submits that the word “ and ” connecting clauses (a) and (b) of Article 81 and the word “ the ” before the word “ States ” in clause (a) and before the word “ Union territories ” in Clause (b) make clear that the required Electoral College for the Presidential Election can only come into existence when its members from all the States as well as the Union territories are elected.

(10) Your Lordships' petitioner, therefore, humbly opines that if in the absence of the Electoral College as required by the said mandatory provisions of the Constitution the President of India is elected, it will set up a very unfortunate and pernicious precedent that will not augur well for the future growth of Parliamentary Democracy in India. On the contrary such a precedent, will tend to subvert and undermine the spirit and letter of the Constitution.

(11) It is also the humble submission of your Lordships' petitioner that when an elected member of the Lok Sabha is expressed under Article 54 of the Constitution to take part in the Presidential election, holding of the Election before such

persons are elected to the Lok Sabha is a deprivation of their Constitutional right to do so.

(12) Furthermore, your Lordships' petitioner may also mention here that at the moment the Election of the President may be a foregone conclusion since the Congress Party has a majority in the Legislatures and can get any of its candidates elected as the President of India. Your Lordships' petitioner however, does not desire to bring up the matter of the Presidential Election before this Hon'ble Court as a Political Issue, but desires only to draw the attention of this Hon'ble Court to the Constitutional Issue of grave public importance that must be solved for the purpose of setting up healthy precedents in the conduct of elections to the High Office of the Head of the State.

(13) Your Lordships' petitioner files herewith an Affidavit in affirmation of the above statements.

P R A Y E R

Your Lordships' petitioner calls upon this Hon'ble Supreme Court of India to exercise the jurisdiction, power and duty vested under Article 71(1) of the Constitution of India and prays that :

(i) The grave doubt that exists in connection with the Presidential Election be enquired into, resolved and decided and the Election Commission be advised accordingly, and

(ii) The Election Commission be advised and directed to invite fresh nominations and hold the Presidential Election after the Electoral College is duly constituted by the election to all the seats of the Lok Sabha from the States and from the Union territories.

Nagpur

Dated 12th Day of April 1957.

Sd. N. B. Khare

PETITIONER

Petition drawn up and settled by Shri R.V.S.Mani, Advocate Supreme Court, Advocate for the Petitioner.

A F F I D A V I T

I, Dr. Narayan Bhaskar, your Lordships petitioner do hereby state on solemn affirmation as follows

(1) I have read and understood the petition as drafted by my Counsel Shri R.V.S.Mani, Advocate of Supreme Court and I affirm that the statements made in paras (1) to (12) therein are correct and true to my personal Knowledge.

(2) I further affirm that I have filed the petition at my own instance in public interest and in the interest of the future Democracy in India and I consider it proper to do so.

Affirmed and signed at Nagpur on the 25th day of April 1957

Sd. N. B. Khare,
PETITIONER

APPLICATION FOR STAY

Your Lordships' petitioner begs to apply as under :—

(1) That he has filed a petition today under Article 71(1) of the Constitution of India invoking Your Lordships' jurisdiction power and duty to resolve a grave question of immense public importance in connection with the Presidential Election to be held on the 6th May 1957.

(2) Your Lordships' petitioner has been and is an intending candidate for the Presidential Election and has therefore a valuable legal and constitutional right to have the Presidential Election held in conformity with the letter and spirit of the relevant provisions of the Constitution.

(3) That therefore it will be meet and proper to postpone the Presidential Election in order that this Hon'ble Court may give itself an opportunity of doing its duty by deciding the grave constitutional issue that has been raised by the petition.

(4) That if the election is not kept in abeyance till the decision of the doubt in connection with the Presidential Election by this Hon'ble Court, an irreparable injury will be caused not only to the Petitioner but also to the sovereign rights of the people of India who have constituted themselves into a Democratic Republic.

(5) Your Lordships' petitioner has filed an affidavit in affirmation of the above averments.

P R A Y E R

(1) The petitioner therefore prays that this Hon'ble Court may be pleased to direct that the Presidential Election fixed for the 6th May 1957 be postponed stayed and kept in abeyance till the final decision of the matter by this Hon'ble Court and direct the Election Commission of India accordingly.

(2) It is also prayed that an ex-parte stay may be ordered if this Hon'ble Court deems it proper to do so.

Nagpur

Sd. N. B. Khare

Dated 25th April 1957

PETITIONER

APPLICATION FOR STAY AFFIDAVIT

I, Dr. Narayan Bhaskar Khare, Your Lordships' petitioner do hereby state on solemn affirmation as follows :-

(1) I have read and understood the application for stay as drafted by my Counsel, Shri R.V.S. Mani, Advocate of Supreme Court and I affirm that the statements made in paras (1) to (4) therein are correct and true to my personal knowledge.

(2) I further affirm that I have filed this petition at my own instance in public interest and in the interest of the future of Democracy in India and I consider it proper to do so.

Affirmed and signed at Nagpur, on this 25th Day of April, 1957.

Sd. N. B. Khare

Pandit Ramnath Kalia a Hindoo Mahasabha worker and an independent candidate for election to Parliament from Kangra constituency in the Punjab had also filed a petition before the Supreme Court after me, challenging the legality of the Presidential Election on similar grounds. The Court considered both these petitions together on the 30th of April 1957 and reserved orders. The arguments and proceedings in the Court as reported in the Hindoo of Madras dated 1-5-57 are given below. The Court also reserved orders on the petitions for interim stay submitted along with both the main petitions.

The point taken in the petitions filed on behalf of Dr. Khare and Pandit Ramnath Kalia was that under Article 54 of the constitution the President was to be elected by an Electoral College consisting of the elected members of both the Houses of Parliament and elected members of the Legislative Assemblies of the States; and the Electoral College could not be said to be properly constituted before the completion of election to the four Parliamentary Constituencies from Himachal Pradesh and two from the Punjab.

Article 71 of Constitution

Mr. R.V.S. Mani contended that the Article 71 of the Constitution provided that all doubts and disputes arising out of or in connection with the election of President or Vice President should be enquired into and decided by the Supreme Court whose decision would be final. In the present case a grave doubt about the legality of the election to the office of the President has arisen, in view of the fact that elections had not been completed in Himachal Pradesh and for two constituencies in the Punjab which made the constitution of the Electoral College incomplete. So the Supreme Court had to resolve this doubt by reason of Article 71 of the Constitution and pending a decision on this question, stay should be granted.

Mr. Mani further argued that the words "in connection with" used in article 71 clearly showed that the Supreme Court had jurisdiction to deal with doubts and disputes at every stage of the election and not only doubts and disputes that arise after the election been completed.

The Chief Justice said that under Article 62, an election to fill a vacancy caused by the expiration of the term of office of President should be completed before the expiration of the term and if Mr. Mani's argument was to be accepted, this election would have to be held up till after even the casual vacancies in the Assemblies and Parliament were filled up. Mr. Mani submitted that there was nothing wrong in that. In England, the Parliament could not be constituted till the last member had been elected.

Chief Justice : We are not concerned with that . We have to go by our Constitution.

The Chief Justice said that if the view that Article 71 contemplated intervention by the Supreme Court only after the election to the office of either the President or Vice President was completed then the present petitions would be premature.

Mr. Mani : If you accept that view, you would be committing the greatest blunder.

Mr. Justice Bhagwati : If you do not behave properly we will have to ask you to sit down and shut your trap.

Mr. Mani : I have a right to argue my case and put forward my case.

Mr. Justice Bhagwati : If you do not listen to us, how can you expect us to listen to you?

Mr. Mani : Not if it is irrelevant.

On this the Chief Justice asked Mr. Mani to sit down.

On his refusing to do so, the sergeant was summoned and he was removed from the Court.

Mr. Patnaik who appeared on behalf of Pandit Ramnath Kalia submitted that the Presidential election could not be held before the Electoral College had been completed by the elections to the Parliamentary seats in Kangra and Himachal Pradesh.

Attorney General's contention.

The Attorney General of India who appeared on behalf of the Election Commission contended that on a proper reading of Article 71, taken along with other provisions of the Constitution, it was clear that doubts and disputes regarding the election to the office of the President or Vice President could be considered by the Supreme Court only after the election had been completed. The word "election" he said, connoted the completed process and not a part of it.

Mr. Setalvad argued that a comparison of Article 71 with Articles 324 and 329 of the Constitution made it clear that anything relating to an election could be challenged only after the entire process of election had been completed and not before. If this were not so, it would result in considerable amount of dislocation. After Mr. Setalvad had completed his arguments, an advocate appearing with Mr. Mani submitted to the Court that Mr. Mani wanted to tender an apology. The Court granted Mr. Mani the permission sought for and he came in and apologised to the Court.

Mr. Mani in his reply contended that the words used in Article 71 gave the Court power to enquire into the matter at whatever stage the doubts and disputes arose regarding election to the office of President. If one were to wait till after the elections were completed then the considerations that would weigh with the Court would be entirely different. He would have to show then that the result of the election had been materially affected.

Mr. Mani also submitted that the question before the Court was one of great importance because the effective functioning of democracy in this country would be impaired if the election to the office of the President were to take place when the Electoral College was not complete.

The Court reserved orders.

The judgment was delivered on all the petitions by the Court on the 3rd May 1957 as follows :

J U D G M E N T

The petitioners in the above petitions have moved this Court to exercise the jurisdiction and power vested in it by and under Article 71(1) of the Constitution of India and decide what has been described as a 'grave doubt' in connection with the election of the President of India and to direct the Election Commission not to proceed with the polling in connection with the said election which has been fixed for May 6th, 1957, but to hold the same after duly completing all the elections to the Lok Sabha and the Legislatures in all the States of the Indian Union including the Union territories. The first main petition was presented on April 26th 1957, and the second on April 29th 1957. Along with each of the said petitions has been filed a civil miscellaneous petition asking for a stay of the polling for the Presidential election fixed for May 6th 1957. In the first main petition the returning officer has not been made a party, but in the second petition, he has been impleaded as a respondent. The learned Attorney General has appeared on behalf of the Election Commission and has waived the service of notice. We can therefore dispose of all the petitions before us.

There is no dispute as to the material facts which may shortly be stated as follows :

After the general election in all the States and Union territories in India, except in the Union territory of Himachal Pradesh which is to return 4 members to the Lok Sabha and in two constituencies in the State of the Punjab, the old Lok Sabha was dissolved on April 4th 1957 and the new Lok Sabha was constituted on April 6, 1957, under Section 73 of the Representation of Peoples Act (XLIII of 1951). As required by Section 4 of the Presidential and Vice Presidential Election Act 1952 (XXXI of 1952) the election Commission issued a notification in the official gazette appointing April 16, 1957, as the last date for making nominations, April 17, 1957, as the date for the scrutiny of the nominations, April 20, 1957, as the last date for the withdrawal of candidatures, May 6th 1957 as

the polling date and May 10th 1957 as the date for counting of the votes and the declaration of the result. The term of office of the present President is due to expire on the midnight of May 12th 1957. The reason for fixing the above time schedule obviously was, that the Presidential election should be completed before the term of office of the President expired.

After the notification constituting the new Lok Sabha was published in the Press on April 7- 1957, the petitioner in the first petition applied to the Election Commission for the supply of the nomination papers which he eventually received at Nagpur in the afternoon of April 10, 1957. This left a period of 5 days for the filing of the nomination paper before the Returning officer at New Delhi. The petitioner submits that the time was too short and he was prevented from filing the nomination paper due to want of time. He has filed the petition as a citizen of India and as "an intending candidate for the Presidential election.

The petitioner in the second petition is a member of the Hindoo Mahasabha and is contesting the election to the Lok Sabha as an independent candidate from Kangra Parliamentary constituency in the State of Punjab. He filed his nomination paper on January 28, 1957 as originally the polling was scheduled to commence in that constituency on February 24, 1957. The polling however has since been postponed and fixed for June 2, 1957. He has filed the petition as a citizen of India and as a prospective member of Lok Sabha and contends that if the Presidential election is held on May 6, 1957, he will be deprived of his rights to vote for the election of the President of the Union. He has also complained of discrimination offending against Article 14 of the Constitution.

Under Article 56 of the Constitution, the President holds office for a term of five years from the date on which he enters upon his office. The present incumbent of the High office, entered upon his office on May 12, 1952 and as already stated, his term is due to expire on the mid-night of May 12, 1957. Article 62(I) peremptorily requires that the election to fill the

vacancy caused by the expiration of the term of the office of the president shall be made before the expiration of the term. It is necessary to bear in mind this clear mandatory provision of the Constitution . For ascertaining how such election of President is to be held, we have to go back to Article 54 which runs thus :-

“ 54. The President shall be elected by the Members of an Electoral College consisting of :

(a) the elected members of both houses of Parliament; and (b) the elected members of the Legislative Assemblies of the States.”

On one side it is stated that the Electoral College is to consist of these members falling under Clause (a) and (b) who are elected at the crucial date, that is to say, the date when the election is to take place. Suppose, it is said that the term of the President's office expires during the currency of the life of Parliament, as it may do in cases contemplated by Article 62(2), and suppose there are vacancies in Parliament or in the Legislatures of one or more States surely the election of the President, required by Article 62 (1) to be held before the expiry of the term of the out-going President, cannot be held up until the vacancies are filled up. On the other hand, it is contended that the Electoral College must be constituted after the elections in all States and Union territories are completed and should consist of all the elected members falling within both the categories. In as much as elections have not taken place in Himachal Pradesh and in two constituencies of the State of Punjab, the Electoral College cannot be constituted until after those members are also elected. It is pointed out that though on the present occasion, only 4 members of Himachal Pradesh and only 2 members in the State of Punjab have not been elected nevertheless, if the objection of the petitioners is not now heeded any party in power may in future arrange for the election of its own nominee as President by postponing the elections in several States, where it may not expect to get a majority of seats. It is stated that on March 28, 1957, some members of the then Lok Sabha had raised a question as to the danger and impropri-

ety of holding the election of the President before the completion of the election throughout the territory of India. Both the petitioners share the same view and contend that a grave doubt has arisen in connection with the election of the President and that such a doubt must under Article 71, be enquired into and decided by this Court. The extreme contention put forward on behalf of the petitioners is that it does not matter whether the doubt is well founded or not or whether it is good, bad, or indifferent; this Court is bound to enquire into and decide the same as soon as the doubt arises and a citizen brings it before this Court for resolution thereof. For the purposes of this case it is not necessary for us to express any opinion on the merits of the respective contentions, for these petitions may well be disposed of on a narrow preliminary ground.

Article 71 (1) undoubtedly confers jurisdiction and power on this Court to enquire into and decide "all doubts and disputes arising out of or in connection with the election of President or Vice-President" and this Court will have to enquire into and decide the same. But the question is whether there is anything in the Constitution indicating the time at which and the manner in which such doubts and disputes have to be enquired into and decided. Under Article 324, the superintendence, direction and control of the preparation of the electoral rolls for and the conduct of all elections to Parliament and to the Legislature of every State and of elections to the office of the President and the Vice President held under this Constitution, including the appointment of Election Tribunals for the decision of doubts and disputes arising out of or in connection with the elections to Parliament and the Legislatures of States will be vested in the Election Commission. It will be noticed that identical words are used, viz., "doubts and disputes arising out of or in connection with elections" which are also to be found in article 71 (1). But Article 329 provides amongst other things that notwithstanding anything in this Constitution, no election to either house of Parliament or either House of Legislature of a State shall be called in question except by an Election petition presented to such authority and in such manner as may be provided for, by or under

any law by the proper legislature. In exercise of powers thus conferred on it, Parliament enacted the Representation of Peoples Act 1951 providing how elections are to be held and how and on what grounds such elections may be called in question. It also set up a special forum called the Election Tribunal for the decision of "doubts and disputes arising out of or in connection with such elections." In N. P. Ponnuswami (1) V. Returning Officer, Namakkal Constituency and others, the Returning Officer for that constituency had rejected the nomination paper of the appellant. Thereupon, the appellant applied to the High Court of Madras under Article 226 of the Constitution for a Writ of *Certiorari* to quash the order of the Returning Officer rejecting his nomination paper and to direct the Returning Officer to include his name in the list of valid nominations to be published. The High Court of Madras dismissed the petition and the Appellant brought an appeal to this Court. The Full Court held that in view of the provisions of Article 329 (b) of the Constitution and Section 80 of the Representation of Peoples Act 1951, the High Court had no jurisdiction to interfere with the order of the Returning Officer. The main controversy in the appeal centered round the words "no election shall be called in question except by election petition" occurring in Article 329 (b). The most important question for determination by this Court was the meaning to be given to the word "election" in Article 329(b). This Court said at page 26.

"That word has by long usage in connection with the process of selection of proper representatives in democratic institutions acquired both a wide and a narrow meaning. In the narrow sense, it is used to mean the final selection of a candidate which may embrace the result of the poll when there is polling, or a particular candidate being returned unopposed where there is no poll. In the wide sense the word is used to connote the entire process culminating in the candidate being declared elected."

After referring to the case of *Shrinivalu v. Kuppuswami* (2) and *Sat Narain v. Hanuman Prasad* (3) and a passage in *Halsbury, Laws of England, Second Edition, Volume 12, Page 237*, this Court took the view that the word "election" could be and had been properly used with respect to the entire process which consisted of several stages and embraced many steps some of which might have an important bearing on the result of the process, and therefore, held that in view of the provisions of Article 329 (b) of the Constitution and Section 80 of the Representation of Peoples Act 1951, the High Court had no jurisdiction to interfere with the order of the Returning Officer under Article 226. The only way such an order could be called in question was as laid down in Article 329 (b) of the Constitution and Section 80 of the Representation of Peoples Act 1951 and this should be done only on an "election petition" presented before the Election Tribunal after the entire process of election culminating in a candidate being declared elected had been gone through. On such election petition being filed, the Election Tribunal would be properly bound to enquire into and decide "all doubts and disputes arising out of or in connection with the election" irrespective of the stage in the entire election process to which the doubts and disputes relate. We now approach the construction of Article 71 (1) in the light of the decision of this Court.

As already indicated, the Article 71 (1) confers jurisdiction and power on this Court to enquire into and decide "all doubts and disputes arising out of or in connection with the election of a President or Vice President." The question is; "is there in this Article or in any other part of the Constitution or anywhere else any indication as to the time when such an enquiry is to be held? In the first place, Article 71 postulates "an election of the President or Vice President and provides for enquiry into doubts and disputes arising out of or in connection with such an election" What is the meaning to be given to the word "election" as used in this Article?

(2) A. I. R (1938) Madras 253 and 255.

(3) A. I. R. (1945) Lahore 85.

If we give to the word "election" occurring in article 71 (1) the same wide meaning as comprising the entire election process culminating in a candidate being declared elected, then clearly the enquiry is to be made after such completed election, i. e. after a candidate is declared to be elected as President or Vice President, as the case may be. We see no reason why this accepted meaning should not be given to the critical word. In the second place, under Clause 3 of Article 71, subject to the provisions of this Constitution, Parliament may by law regulate any matter "relating to or connected with the election" of a President or Vice President. The words here also are similar to those used in Article 329, and are equally wide enough to mean the entire election process. In exercise of the powers conferred on it by Article 71 (3) Parliament has enacted the Presidential and Vice Presidential Election Act 1952 (XXXI of 1952) to regulate certain matters relating to or connected with elections to the office of the President and Vice President of India. A glance through the provisions of this Act will indicate that in the view of Parliament, the time for the exercise of jurisdiction by this Court to enquire into and decide doubts and disputes arising out of or in connection with the Presidential election is after the entire election process is completed. Under Section 14 of this Act which corresponds to Section 80 of the Representation of Peoples Act 1951, no election, meaning the election of the President or the Vice President shall be called in question except by an election petition presented to this Court in accordance with the provisions of part III of that Act and of the rules made by this Court under Article 145. Section 18 which lays down the grounds for declaring the election of a returned candidate to be void, runs as follows :

18. The grounds for declaring the election of a returned candidate to be void :

If the Supreme Court is of opinion :—

(a) that the offence of bribery or undue influence at the election has been committed by the returned candidate

or by any person with the connivance of the returned candidate; or

(b) that the result of the election has been materially affected :

(i) by reason that the offence of bribery or undue influence at the election has been committed by any person who is neither the returned candidate nor a person acting with the connivance; or

(ii) by the improper reception or refusal of a vote;

or

(iii) by the non-compliance with the provisions of the Constitution or of this Act or of any Rules or orders made under this Act;

or

(c) that the nomination of any candidate has been wrongly rejected or the nomination of the successful candidate or any other candidate who has not withdrawn his candidature, has been wrongly accepted;

The Supreme Court shall declare the election of the returned candidate to be void.

For the purposes of this Section, the offences of bribery and undue influence on the election have the same meaning as in Chapter II-A of the Indian Penal Code.

It is quite clear from the language of the Section that any improper reception or refusal of a vote or any non-compliance with the provisions of the Constitution or of the Act or of any Rules or orders made under the Act or the improper acceptance or rejection of a nomination paper may be made a ground for challenging the election. This means that all doubts and disputes relating to any stage of the entire election process are to be canvassed by an election petition presented to this Court after the election in its wide sense is concluded.

The above stated interpretation appears to us to be in consonance with the other provisions of the Constitution and

with good sense. If doubts or disputes arising out of or in connection with the election of a President or Vice-President can be brought before this Court before the whole election process is concluded, then conceivably, the entire election may be held up till after the expiry of the five years term which will involve the non-compliance with the mandatory provisions of Article 62. The well recognised principle of Election Law, Indian and English, is that election should not be held up and that the person aggrieved should not be permitted to ventilate his individual interest in derogation of the general interest of the people, which requires that elections should be gone through according to the time schedule. It is therefore in consonance both with the provisions of Article 62 and with good sense to hold that the word "election" used in Article 71 means the entire process of election. That is what Parliament understood to be the meaning of Article 71 as is apparent from the Presidential and Vice Presidential Election Act 1952. Again, this Court has framed rules under Article 145 to regulate the procedure and a perusal of those rules will also indicate that "all doubts and disputes arising out of or in connection with the election of a President or Vice President" should be brought before the Court after the result of the entire election is declared, that is to say, after a candidate is declared to be elected to the office of President or Vice President.

It is pointed out that if the petitioners are compelled to wait until after the entire election process is concluded, and then to file election petitions, they will have to show that the result of the election has been materially affected as required by Section 18 of the Presidential and Vice Presidential Election Act 1952. It is contended that there is no reason why this extra burden or hardship, which is not in the terms imposed by Article 71, should be placed upon the petitioners. It is not necessary for the purposes of disposing of these petitions to express any opinion as to the validity or otherwise of this requirement of Section 18 and we do not do so. But the plea of alleged hardship brought about by Section 18 cannot alter the true meaning and import of Article 71. In our judgment Article 71 postulates an election and word "election" occurring in Arti-

cle 71 means the entire election process culminating in a candidate being declared elected, and doubts and disputes arising out of or in connection with any of the stages of such completed election have to be enquired into and decided by this Court, which, in point of time, must necessarily be after the completion of the entire process compendiously called the election.

Learned Counsel appearing for the petitioner in the second petition raised an additional point that the Election Commission by fixing the election on May 6th 1957, has arbitrarily deprived the members representing the territorial constituencies like Kangra and Himachal Pradesh of their right to exercise and enjoy other privileges of membership of Parliament. This argument was raised half-heartedly at the fag end of his argument in reply, and was not seriously pressed. In any event, he did not advance any cogent argument showing how the petitioner had been deprived of the equal protection of the law. Elections have to be held in numerous constituencies and different dates have to be fixed for holding the actual election in different constituencies according to the various exigencies relating to the particular localities. Nothing has been established for holding that there has been any discrimination such as is prohibited by Article 14 of the Constitution. In so far as the alleged discrimination, if any, in breach of the equal protection clause of the constitution, may be said to be calculated to raise any doubt in connection with the election of the President, it will, at best, be a non-compliance with the provisions, of the Constitution which may or may not, after the conclusion of the entire election, be made a ground, under Section 18 of the Presidential or Vice Presidential Election Act 1952 for calling the election in question, as to which we need formulate no final opinion at this stage.

We express no opinion on the merits of any of the controversies between the parties, but for the foregoing reasons, we hold that the present petitions are premature and cannot be entertained at this stage. We, therefore, dismiss the petitions Nos. 63 and 64 of 1957. Civil Miscellaneous petitions No. 563 and 564 of 1957 will also stand dismissed.

Sd. S. R. Das	Chief Justice.
Sd. N. A. Bhagwati	Justice.
Sd. Jafar Imam	Justice.
Sd. S. K. Das	Justice.
Sd. J. L. Kapoor	Justice.
Sd. P. B. Gajendragadkar	Justice.
Sd. A. K. Sarkar	Justice

New Delhi
3rd May
1957.

As the judgment delivered on May 3, 1957, does not express any opinion on the merits of any of the controversies between the parties and as it was held that the present petitions were premature, another petition under Article 71(1) of the Constitution of India was filed before the Supreme Court on the 14th of May 1957, in which along with the Election Commission, Dr. Rajendraprasad, the President, was made the Respondent. The petition is as follows :—

This humble petition of Your Lordships' petitioner mentioned above, sheweth :

1. That your Lordships have been invested under Article 71 (1) of the Constitution of India with all the original and final jurisdiction power and duty to resolve all doubts in connection with the election of the President of India and hence the petitioner filed a petition on April 26, 1957, in order that the grave doubt that has arisen in the public mind in connection with the Presidential Election which was to be held on the 6th May 1957 may with finality be resolved by this Hon'ble Court.

2. The petitioner bonafide believed that the said petition gave an opportunity to this Hon'ble Court to resolve the said grave doubt in connection with the Presidential election, obviating thereby needless multiplicity of proceedings on the same subject matter.

3. Your Lordships however were pleased to dismiss the said petition (Petition No. 63 of 1957) on the ground that petition was premature, on 3rd May 1957.

4. Your Lordships' petitioner would submit that the absence of any provision similar to Article 329 (b) in respect of the Presidential election in the Constitution itself, would indicate the intention of the makers of the Constitution to invest the Supreme Court alone with jurisdiction and power to deal with all doubts and disputes in connection with the election of a President at any stage whatsoever. He would also respectfully beg to point out that any law made by Parliament cannot override the plain meaning and intention of Article 71 (1) of the Constitution, and therefore, he begs to present this petition again under Article 71 (1) for an immediate enquiry into the doubts raised in connection with the Presidential election, since the election has taken place on 6th May 1957 and Shri Rajendra Prasad has been officially declared as President of India on 10th May 1957. Subsequently, he took his oath of office before the Hon'ble Chief Justice of India on the 13th of May 1957.

5. After the general elections, Your Lordships' petitioner, as a citizen of India had expressed his decision to stand as an independent candidate for the office of the President through his statements to the Press and hence he has been and is an intending candidate for the Presidential election.

6. The Lok Sabha was dissolved on 4th April 1957 and the new Lok Sabha was constituted on the 6th April 1957 under Section 73 of the Representation of Peoples Act 43 of 1951. The nominations for the Presidential election were invited till 16th April 1957, whereafter the scrutiny was fixed for 17th April 1957, while the final date for withdrawal was 20th April 1957. The notification constituting the new Lok Sabha was published in the Press on the 7th April and on the same day Your Lordships' petitioner wired to the Election Commission for supply of the nomination papers. The next day, i. e. April 8th having been declared as a holiday on account of Shri Ram Navami, the Election Commission could despatch the nomination paper to the petitioner only on the 9th April which he received

at Nagpur in the afternoon of the 10th April 1957. Thus only 5 days were left between the receipt of the nomination papers and the date for filing them before the Election Commission at New Delhi and it was impossible for the petitioner to move about and seek the support of the members of the Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabhas for his candidature. Thus the petitioner was bonafide prevented from filing his nomination paper due to want of time and on account of the short notice given by the Election Commission.

7. As a citizen of India and as an intending candidate for the Presidential election, therefore, Your Lordships' petitioner has adequate and sufficient interest to uphold the Constitution of India and so is entitled to present this petition to your Lordships.

8. That during the last session of the Lok Sabha, a member of the opposition, Shri H. V. Kamath had raised a grave doubt as to whether the electoral college could be deemed to have been properly constituted as required by Article 54 of the Constitution when the entire Union Territory of Himachal Pradesh had not elected its 4 members to the Lok Sabha and the elections of 5 members from the State of Punjab to the Punjab Vidhan Sabha as well as two members to the Lok Sabha were not held and the said elections in Himachal Pradesh and the Punjab were postponed due to weather conditions. In reply, the Hon'ble Prime Minister expressed diffidence in such legal matters and said that the Election Commission was not subject to any directives from his Government so far as election matters were concerned. While the Hon'ble the Speaker said that it was for the Supreme Court to decide.

9. It is the belief of Your Lordships' petitioner that an abstract of Shri H. V. Kamath's intervention in the Lok Sabha was not sent to the Election Commission for necessary action and that inspite of the protest having been registered, the protest has not been brought to the notice of the Election Commission in a proper manner.

10. In any case, Your Lordships' petitioner would submit, that when a serious doubt was raised as to whether or not the

President of India could be elected in the absence of a duly constituted Electoral College, it was the duty of the Election Commission to take notice of the same and to seek a decision on the question from this Hon'ble Court, since there is nothing to prevent the Election Commission from doing so under Article 71 (1) of the Constitution of India. But the Election Commission has failed to do so in violation of the relevant provisions of the Constitution by holding the election on the 6th may 1957 (since there were 3 candidates) and declaring Shri Rajendra Prasad as the duly elected President of India. In public interest, however, the question raised may not remain unanswered by the Hon'ble Supreme Court and hence the petitioner brings up the matter before Your Lordships once more again.

11. Your Lordships' petitioner submits that the words "elected members" in Clauses (a) and (b) of Article 54 of the Constitution necessarily assume that no Presidential election could take place unless and until the election of members to both the House of Parliament and to the Legislative Assemblies of the States constituting the electoral college is over and completed.

12. Your Lordships' petitioner further submits that since under Article 54, the elected members to the Lok Sabha and to the Vidhan Sabhas of the States have been conferred upon with a right to elect the President of India, holding the Presidential election without such elected members must necessarily deprive the constituencies of the States concerned of their constitutional right to take part in the presidential election.

13. Again, Article 55 mandatorily requires that "as far as practicable, there shall be uniformity in the scale of representation of the different States at the election of the President", and so the question as to whether or not there is uniformity in the scale of representation in the electoral college can arise only when the elections to the Lok Sabha and the Vidhan Sabhas in all the States are complete.

14. Further, under Article 81 of the Constitution, "the House of people shall consist of; (a) not more than 500 members chosen by direct election from territorial constituencies in the

States, and (b) not more than 20 members to represent the Union Territories chosen in such manner as Parliament may by Law provide."

Your Lordships' petitioner would submit that the word "and" connecting clauses (a) and (b) of Article 81 and the word "the" before the word "States" in Clause (a) and before the word "Union Territories" in Clause (b) make clear that the required electoral College for the Presidential election can only come into existence when its members from all the States as well as the Union territories are elected.

15, The following grounds further render doubtful the formation of the Electoral College for the Presidential election :

(a) The elected members of both the Houses of Parliament had not taken their oath of office on or prior to the date of election required by Article 99 read with Article 104 of the Constitution.

(b) That the election of six members from the Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Assembly to the newly constituted Lok Sabha has not been held, and

(c) That some members elected to the Rajya Sabha on the eve of the Presidential election have been denied the right and the opportunity to exercise their votes for the election of the President.

16. Your Lordships' petitioner is not prevented from filing the present petition for the following reasons :—

(a) The provisions in Para III of the Presidential and Vice Presidential Elections Act 31 of 1952 concern "only disputes" between candidates *inter se* or between electors and candidates. The said Act purports to regulate only "certain matters" relating to or connected with the election to the offices of the President and the Vice President of India and hence it is clear that the provisions of the Act do not deal with "doubts" in connection with the Presidential Election and are not exhaustive of the legislative powers of the Parliament under Article 71 (3) of the Constitution.

(b) Alternatively, the Presidential and Vice Presidential Election Act 31 of 1952 curtails the jurisdiction of the Hon'ble Supreme Court to enquire into "all doubts" in connection with the Presidential Election and lays extra burdens upon the petitioner as are not contemplated by Article 71 of the Constitution to prove that the election has been materially affected by any unconstitutional steps taken by the Election Commission. Therefore, the said Act and the provisions thereof are repugnant to and ultra vires of Article 71 (1) of the Constitution of India.

(c) The rules framed by the Supreme Court under Article 145 of the Constitution and laid down in order XXXVII A of the Supreme Court Rules, curtail the jurisdiction and power of this Hon'ble Court to enquire into "all doubts" and place extra burden and hardships on the citizen of India repugnant to Article 71 (1) of the Constitution and hence are ultra vires of the said Article.

(d) Admittedly no Rules have been framed by the Supreme Court to regulate the practice and procedure for the conduct and trial of any petition filed under Article 71 (1) of the Constitution of India.

(e) The Presidential and Vice Presidential Election Act 31 of 1952 and the Rules laid down in Order XXXVII A of the Supreme Court do not apply to the present petition which is filed under Article 71 (1) of the Constitution of India.

(f) It is not necessary for him, as a citizen of India to file an election petition under the Presidential and Vice Presidential Election Act 31 of 1952 or in accordance with the procedure laid down in the Rules under Order XXXVII A of the Supreme Court of India.

17. Furthermore, Your Lordships' petitioner very humbly submits that this petition is in the nature of a complaint against the constitutional errors committed by the Election Commission in arranging and holding the Presidential election as to which errors the Election Commission is answerable to this Hon'ble Court and does not raise any "disputes" in which the returned candidate or any of the other candidates has been or

is personally concerned. The returned candidate however, has been impleaded as Respondent No. 2 as a formal party to this petition.

18. Your Lordships' petitioner files herewith an affidavit in affirmation of the above averments.

P R A Y E R

Your Lordship's petitioner calls upon this Hon'ble Supreme Court of India to exercise the jurisdiction, power and duty vested under Article 71 (1) of the Constitution of India and prays that :—

- (i) this petition may be heard with the utmost expedition and without any delay whatsoever;
- (ii) the grave doubts that exist in connection with the Presidential election be enquired into and resolved and decided;
- (iii) the entire proceedings of the Presidential election be quashed as void; and
- (iv) any other relief that may be deemed fit be granted.

Filed by R. V. S. Mani,
Advocate Supreme Court,
Advocate for the Petitioner.
Dated 14th May 1957.

Sd. N. B. Khare

A F F I D A V I T

I, Dr. Narayan Bhaskar Khare, Your Lordships' petitioner do hereby state on solemn affirmation as follows :

1. I have read and understood the petition as drawn up by my Counsel Shri R. V. S. Mani, Advocate of Supreme Court and I affirm that the statements made in Paras 1 to 17 therein are correct and true to my personal knowledge excepting the

contents of Para 15 of the petition which are true to my information.

2. I further affirm that I have filed the petition at my own instance in public interest in defence of the Constitution and in the interest of the future of Democracy in India and I consider it proper to do so.

Affirmed and signed at Nagpur, on this 11th Day of May 1957.

Sd. N. B. Khare,
PETITIONER

VERIFICATION

I do hereby declare on oath that the above contents are true and correct to my personal knowledge and belief.

Verified and signed at Nagpur on 11th May 1957.

Sd. N. B. Khare,
PETITIONER

The Registrar, Supreme Court of India refused to receive this second petition as per his order given below :—

No. D. 66/57-SC II.
Supreme Court of India,
New Delhi,

Dated 17th May 1957

In the matter of petition.

Dr. N. B. Khare vs. Election Commission of India,
New Delhi.

The petition mentioned above having been not filed in accordance with the procedure laid down in Order XXXVII-A of the Supreme Court Rules, the Registrar in exercise of the

powers conferred on him under Order VII Rule 6, Supreme Court Rules, 1950, has refused to receive the same. The petition together with the spare copies filed on the 14th May 1957 is therefore returned to you herewith.

Sd. V. Krishnan,
Assistant Registrar.

In the meantime, the Auditor General of India in a circular laid down that no person becomes a member of the Legislature unless he is sworn in, in the proper form and that he is eligible to draw his salary only after he has been duly sworn in. This circular supported my contention that there was a further breach of Articles 99 and 104 during the election of the President on the 6th May 1957 because the members of the Lok Sabha and Council of States were not sworn in until on the 10th of May 1957. I therefore thought it proper to bring this fact to the notice of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru the Prime Minister as the head of administration of India and I sent him a letter on the 15th July 1957, as follows, the subject matter of the letter being, *constitutional provisions about the election of President—validity of vote by unsworn members.*

Dear Friend,

The recent circular of the Auditor General of India lays down, that no person becomes a member of the legislature unless he is sworn in, in the proper form, and that he is eligible to draw his salary only after he has been duly sworn in. You will be interested to know that Mr. Shakir Ali, a member of the Madhya Pradesh Vidhan Sabha had taken an oath in Urdu which did not conform to the provisions of the Constitution, and that consequently he had to be sworn in again on the basis of the Urdu translation of the oath laid down in the Constitution supplied by the Vidhan Sabha Secretariat. This brings to light the highly incongruous situation about the election of the President of India which came off on 6th May 1957. It is on the card that on the date of election, most of the members of the legislature in India including the Lok Sabha, had not been *duly sworn in*.

Curiously enough, the constitutional provisions seem to have been observed more in their breach than in their compliance. You and your colleagues have taken oath that you will bear true faith and allegiance to the Consitution of India as by law established, and it is deplorable that those like you and others who are themselves framers of the constitution should display such callous disregard for the observance of the provisions of the Constitution. You are not oblivious of the fact that Article 104 of the Constitution lays down penalty for every person who sits or votes as a member of Parliament or a Legislature before he has taken the oath prescribed under Article 99 of the Constitution. I hope and trust, you will take steps to enforce the penalty prescribed in Article 104.

May I request you to let me know what you propose to do about these legal and constitutional lapses? I earnestly hope that this is not a case of the father wanting to throttle the child. It would also be proper to urge that you as the Head of the Government should take appropriate steps to prevent the recurrence of such lapses. It is also to be hoped that your Government is following the circular of the Auditor General, India, in respect of payment of salaries to the newly elected members of the Lok Sabha, Council of States and State Assemblies. I have enclosed herewith a press cutting from Hitavada, 7th July, regarding the Auditor General's circular.

Expecting an early reply.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/- N. B. Khare.

Copy forwarded to :

1. President of the Indian Union.
2. Home Minister of India.
3. Election Commission.
4. Secretary, Lok Sabha.

5. Secretary, Council of States.
6. Shri S. A. Dange, Member of Parliament and Leader of the Opposition, Lok Sabha.
7. The Press.

Remark : No reply to this letter was received from any of the authorities.

Since the Supreme Court was in long vacation from 26th June 1957 and reopened only sometime towards the end of August, an appeal before the Hon'ble Judge in chamber under Order V, Rule 3 of the Supreme Court Rules against the Order of the Registrar was filed.

Appellant : Dr. N. B. Khare, Nagpur.

Vs.

Respondents: 1. Election Commission of India.

2. Dr. Rajendra Prasad,

Rashtrapati Bhawan, New Delhi.

The Appellant above named begs to present this appeal to the Hon'ble Judge in Chamber against the order of the Assistant Registrar dated the 6th June 1957 returning the petition filed by him under Article 71 (1) of the Constitution of India on the following amongst other grounds :

(1) The learned Assistant Registrar erred in holding that the petitioner has not stated the right or capacity in which he has filed this petition, although it has been specifically mentioned in the petition itself that as a citizen of India and as an intending candidate for the President's office, the petitioner is entitled to file the Petition.

(2) The appellant submits that he was neither a candidate or an elector as defined in the provisions of the Presidential and Vice Presidential Elections Act, and hence he will have no *locus standi* to file an election petition as contemplated in the said provisions and in the Rules of Order XXXVII-A of the Supreme Court Rules,

(3) Therefore, the appellant has categorically stated in his petition that the said provisions and rules are not applicable to his petition and ultra vires of Article 71 (1) of the Constitution,

(4) That therefore, the learned Assistant Registrar has erred in applying the provisions of the Presidential and Vice Presidential Election Act and the Rules of Order XXXVII-A of the Supreme Court Rules as if the appellant's petition was an election petition as contemplated by the said provisions and Rules.

(5) That therefore doubts having arisen as to whether the relevant provisions of the Constitution have been observed or violated during the Presidential election under the programme fixed by the Election Commission, the petition has been submitted by the appellant in his right and capacity as a Citizen of India in defence of the Constitution to get these doubts resolved under Article 71 (1) of the Constitution specifically provided for that purpose.

(6) That in returning the petition, the learned Assistant Registrar exercised the power of jurisdiction of the Court to adjudicate upon the maintainability of the petition.

(7) That this Hon'ble Court has not under the rules delegated to the Registrar or the Assistant Registrar its powers to decide the maintainability of a petition.

(8) That therefore it is not within the province of the Registrar to decide the maintainability or tenability of the petition which is a question of law for a judicial decision by the Court.

(9) The Appellant files this appeal on this day since the Court was in long vacation from the 26th June 1957.

P R A Y E R

It is therefore prayed that this Hon'ble Court be pleased to set aside the order of the Assistant Registrar and direct that

the petition be registered and put up for hearing before the Hon'ble Court.

Sd. R. V. S. Mani
Advocate for Appellant,
New Delhi.

This petition was heard by Justice Bhagwati sitting in Chamber. He quashed the order of the Registrar and passed an order that this petition should be heard by the Court in a regular manner. Accordingly, this petition was argued before a Bench of the Supreme Court presided over by the Chief Justice who rejected it. Judgment was delivered on the 14th October 1957 as follows :

Venkatarama Aiyar J.

J U D G M E N T

This is a petition under Article 71 (1) of the Constitution of India. On 6-5-1957, there was an election to the office of the President and Shri Rajendra Prasad was declared elected. Thereafter, Dr. N. B. Khare filed the present petition describing himself as an intending candidate and alleging that there had been violations of the provisions of the Constitution and that the election was in consequence not valid. The prayers in the petition are "that grave doubts that exist in connection with the Presidential election be enquired into, resolved and decided" and "the entire proceedings of the Presidential election be quashed as void".

The Registrar of this Court returned the petition as not being in conformity with the provisions of the Presidential and Vice Presidential Election Act 31 of 1952 and the requirements of the Rules of this Court contained in Order XXXVII-A. Section 14 of Act 31 of 1952 provides that no election shall be called in question except by an election petition presented to the Supreme Court in accordance with the provisions of the Act and of the Rules made by the Supreme Court under Article 145 of

the Constitution, and it further provides that it should be presented by any candidate at such an election or by 10 or more electors. The Rules framed by this Court with reference to this matter are contained in Order XXXVII(A). Rule 3 prescribes that a court fee of the value of Rs. 250 should be paid on the petition and Rule 12 requires the petitioner to deposit a sum of Rs. 2,000 in cash as security for the payment of costs that may become payable by him. The petitioner is not a person entitled to apply under Section 14 of the Act and his petition was also defective as it did not comply with the requirements of Rules 3 and 12. It was accordingly returned by the Registrar. Against that order, the present appeal has been brought.

It is firstly contended by Mr. Mani that the present petition is outside the purview of Act XXXI of 1952 and of Order XXXVII-A of the Supreme Court Rules. It is argued that the Supreme Court is invested with jurisdiction to enquire into and decide all doubts and disputes arising out of or in connection with the election of the President, that Act 31 of 1952 and Order XXXVII A apply only when there is a dispute as to the election, but where the petition is founded upon doubts as to the validity of the election, it is not covered either by the Act or the Rules. We are unable to accept this contention. When once an election has been held, any doubt concerning its validity is material only as a ground for setting aside the election and that in fact is the prayer in the petition itself. In substance, the petition is one calling the election in question and it must satisfy the requirements of Act 31 of 1952 and the Rules in Order XXXVII-A.

It is next contended that the Act and the Rules in question are void on the ground that they derogate from the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court to enquire into and decide all disputes and doubts arising out of or in connection with the election of the President or the Vice President. It is argued that under Section 18, the election could be set aside only on certain grounds and that further under Clause (b) it could be done only if the result of the election is shown to have been materially affected, and that these are restrictions on the jurisdiction conferred by Article 71 (1) and are ultra vires. Article 71 (1) merely prescribes the

forum in which disputes in connection with the election of the President and Vice President would be enquired into. It does not prescribe the conditions under which the petition for setting aside an election could be presented. Under Article 71 (3), it is Parliament that is authorised to make law for regulating any matter relating to or connected with the election of the President or Vice President, and Act 31 of 1952 has been passed by Parliament in connection with this provision. The right to stand for election and the right to move for setting aside an election are not common law rights. They must be conferred by a statute and can be enforced only in accordance with the conditions laid down therein. The contention that the Act and the Rules delegate from the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court under Article 71 (1) must accordingly be rejected. The petitioner has therefore no right to move for setting aside the election except in accordance with the provisions of Act 31 of 1952.

And finally, it is contended that the petitioner has a right as a citizen to approach this Court under Article 71 (1) whenever an election has been held in breach of the constitutional provisions. For the reasons already given, this contention must fail. The right of a person to file an application for setting aside an election must be determined by the statute which gives it, and that statute is Act 31 of 1952 passed under 71 (3). The petitioner must strictly bring himself within the four corners of that statute and has no rights apart from it. The order appealed against is clearly right and this appeal is dismissed.

Delhi 14th October 1957

Signed by C. J. and 4 other Judges.

As a last act of the struggle, about the Buddha Jayanti day in 1957, I sent a telegram to the President which was published in the Press. The telegram reads thus :

“Please respect democratic constitution and resign as in your election there has been obvious breach of Articles 54, 81, 99, and 104 of our constitution. Please do not lend your services to establish precedents pernicious to our infant demo-

crazy. Breach of constitution amounts to 'Himsa'. May Lord Buddha and Rajghat Samadhi guide you on this Buddha Jayanti day".

The Election Commission issued its report on the second General Election in India on 20th December 1958. In this report it has referred to the constitutional doubt raised by me as to whether the Presidential Election could be legally held before every constituency in the country had elected its member to the Legislative Assemblies and the Lok Sabha and expressed its opinion that the existing law in the matter is anomolous and not fair and requires clarification.

The Local daily Hitavada also in its editorial dated 25th December 1958, commented on this report of the Election Commission as follows :

The Commission has also suggested that the law about the election of the President and Vice President should be clarified. It may be recalled that Dr. N. B. Khare had raised an objection in the Supreme Court that the Presidential election of 1957 could not be held unless all Parliamentary Constituencies had had an opportunity to elect their representatives. The Commission has suggested that in cases where elections have not been completed, the outgoing members should be permitted to vote in the election of the new President. The Commission thinks that "such a solution would be more fair and less anomalous than the present position in which several constituencies are deprived, practically permanently, of the right and privilege of participating in the election" to the high offices of the President and the Vice President of India.

The Hitavada has also published my own comments on the report of the Election Commission on 1st January 1959 as follows :

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Sir,—I am much pleased and very thankful to you for your comments in your leading article dated 25th December, 1958, on the report issued by the Election Commission on the

General Election, 1957. In your comments you have also referred to the petition filed by me before the Supreme Court to get the election of the President held in May, 1957, declared invalid.

From your comments it is clear that the Election Commission itself in its report has pointed out that the law about the election of the President and Vice President should be clarified. The Commission is of opinion that the present position in which several constituencies are deprived, practically permanently of the right and privilege of participating in the election to the high offices the President and the Vice President of India is anomalous. This was the main point in my petition also which sought to get the Presidential election declared invalid.

I filed the petition because as the election to the Parliament in some constituencies was not held before the date fixed for the Presidential election, the electoral college necessary for the election of the President, as defined in the Constitution was not complete. Hence the validity and legality of the election of the President under the conditions was doubtful. In their judgment rejecting my petition, the Supreme Court did not resolve this doubt and did not clarify the law. That is why the Election Commission was constrained, while writing its report on the general election of 1957, to draw pointed attention to this legal lacuna or anomalous position and to emphasise the necessity of clarification of the law on this point.

In view of the clear statement of the Election Commission, made in its report published after about a year and a half, it may be legitimately asked as to why the Election Commission did not take this very stand in its pleading before the Supreme Court in the case filed by me. I had also brought this anomalous legal position to the notice of Shri Nehru, the Prime Minister, Shri Pant, the Home minister and some others including Shri Dange, the Communist opposition leader in the Lok Sabha, but nobody took any notice of it.

It cannot be denied that my venture in filing the petition has served a useful purpose.

Dr. N. B. Khare
Nagpur.

CHAPTER XXII

CONCLUDING REMARKS

No one can deny that the pole-star that guides human activities, is self-interest, which may be spiritual or temporal; which again may be sublime, enlightened, gross or vicious and wicked. The sum total of all human activities is the result of the interplay of various actions of various human beings, inspired by various kinds of self-interest. Consequently, the drama of human life is unpredictable, making even an individual human life a crazy tangle.

This is very well illustrated in my eventful life by many ups and downs and changes and shifts. The main portion of my later life was occupied by my single-handed fight with an all-powerful political organisation for the sake of truth and self respect. I was relentlessly pursued and persecuted, and misunderstandings were constantly created against me in the Press and on the platform even as late as January and March 1957. Reference has already been made in a previous chapter to the disparaging remarks made about me in a public speech in Nagpur by Mr. U. N. Dhebar, the Congress President in early March 1957. The following Press cutting from the 'Hitavada' dated the 21st January 1957 will illustrate the attack in the Press :

The Khare Episode.

Sir,—I was distressed to read the open letter of Mr. K. L. Sahu in your issue of January 18, in which he makes the old familiar allegation against me, popularised by the gentlemen of the Congress High Command, that I played into the hands of the Governor in what is now known as the *Khare episode*. I am now in the evening of my life and though I have retired from politics, I am entitled to my reputation and I would not like to end my days with the infamous allegation repeated against me from time to time. I have no desire to go into the past or exhume matter relating to my old bitter opponent, Pandit Shukla, who is now deceased; but the public will appreciate that

in the name of the dead, the living should not be persistently defamed. One of the local papers, the "Nagpur Times" sometime ago published the same allegation in a review of Pandit Shukla's career, and I wrote to the Editor sending my rejoinder, but it was not published according to the Editor's strange journalistic ethics on the ground that the subject matter had become "cold". But although on account of the allegation made that Mr. Shukla and two of his colleagues refused to walk into the snare laid by the British Governor, and insinuating that I did, the newspaper made the cold matter hot and flung the hot poultice at me, I have been denied the right of reply. Since the "Hitavada" also has published similar allegation from Mr. Sahu, I am compelled to refer to the matter, though I would have refrained from doing so, if newspapers had not dug up the past and flung allegations at me. I wish to narrate the facts relating to the episode as I can recall apologising to the public for stating the facts at length of an extremely disagreeable episode :—

(1) The responsibility of suggesting names of Congress candidates from C. P. and Berar to fight the general election of 1936 was fastened upon me.

(2) From the list submitted by me, Sardar Patel, the President of the All India Parliamentary Board, dropped the name of Mr. P. D. Harkare and substituted the name of Mr. Bhikulal Chandak *without any reference to me* and without holding any enquiry.

(3) This action of Sardar Patel was bitterly criticised by me in an open meeting at the Faizpur session of the Congress, as worse than that of a British bureaucrat.

(4) Sardar Patel entertained feelings of hostility against me from that time; which fact was well-known to my Mahakoshal colleagues.

(5) The Congress won majority in the Province and I was elected leader and Prime Minister much against the desire of Sardar Patel, although the election was contested by the Mahakoshal trio of Messrs. Shukla, Mishra and Mehta. In this resolution

which was passed on 24th March 1937, I was also given the power to select my own cabinet and also to nominate the Speaker and Deputy Speaker. This power was never taken away from me.

(6) In September 1937, the Ministers' Salary Bill and Motor Purchase Bill was passed.

(7) In the transaction of motor purchase, Government was over-charged and the sum of Rs. 700 which was thus obtained was paid to the "Independent" (parent of Nagpur Times), an English weekly of that time, as a contribution for carrying on Congress propaganda. I seriously expressed my disapproval of this policy of robbing Peter to pay Paul and became very uneasy and suspicious from that time.

(8) Over and above this, some oral and written allegations against Mr. Shukla were submitted to me as the Prime Minister, and I enquired into some of them informally, for my own information and to find out truth. This action of mine was severely condemned face to face by Sardar Patel by calling me shameless.

(9) I promptly retorted by saying that I do not feel shame for my action, but on the contrary, I feel proud of my rectitude.

(10) After this, at the Haripura session of the Congress in early 1938, a conspiracy was hatched among some Mahakoshal M. L. As. to oust me from power. It is easy to imagine that the concerned M. L. As. might have taken advantage of the hostile feelings harboured by Sardar Patel against me; and Sardar Patel might have blessed this conspiracy.

(11) I gave this information to Mr. Kedar who was a great friend of mine and a great lawyer and constitutionalist; he advised me not to take any step without seeking the advice of the Mahatma.

(12) In the meanwhile, things grew from bad to worse and there was an open split in the Cabinet, which was sometimes exhibited before the Governor; this situation was most unwelcome to any real nationalist.

(13) A letter dated 10-6-1938 from Mr. P. B. Gole one of my colleagues, shows that the Mahakoshal trio charged him with partiality towards Berar, in the presence of the Governor; and Mr. Gole requested me to relieve him of that portfolio.

(14) After this, I called on Mahatma Gandhi at Sewagram after getting his permission on 12th June 1938; when he expressed profuse sympathy for me and said that such suspected Ministers should not be in the cabinet.

(15) I was surprised at his *volte facie* however on 29th June 1938, when I saw him a second time, with his consent. He frowned upon me for troubling him saying, he was not at all concerned with the happenings as he was not even a four anna member of the Congress.

(16) After this, the Cabinet was almost dead and I decided to give it a decent burial and sent a written request to all my colleagues to tender their resignations to me. In response to this request, Messrs. Ramrao Deshmukh and Gole sent their resignations to me on the 13th of July 1938.

(17) But the Mahakoshal trio consisting of Shukla, Mishra, and Mehta went to Wardha and waited on Shri Rajendra Prasad (a member of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee and at present President of the Union of India) and secured a written order from him not to resign even if called upon by Dr. Khare to do so, and flung it in my face.

(18) Shri Rajendra Prasad overstepped his authority and committed a breach of the Congress constitution as he had no power to issue such an order. Since according to the resolution of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee passed on 8th July 1937, it was Sardar Patel who was authorised to deal with matters coming within the purview of the Sub-Committee in cases of emergency. Shri Rajendra Prasad had the authority for Bihar, Orissa and Assam only. Without possessing any authority, Shri Rajendra Prasad thus instigated open revolt against me, a democratically elected leader.

(19) Had the Mahakoshal trio tendered their resignations to me as demanded, I would have placed the resignations of all

the ministers including myself before the Working Committee and abided by its decision.

(20) But the well-known hostility of Sardar Patel, *volte facie* of the Mahatma, and the open instigation by Shri Rajendra Prasad to rebel against me, showed which way the wind blew. There was no chance of securing any just and fair dealing from the Working Committee. I was therefore compelled to submit the resignations of Messrs. Ramrao and Gole along with mine to the Governor, which I did on the 20th July 1938.

(21) The Governor was in a quandary and requested me to withdraw my resignation since the Mahakoshal trio had not tendered their resignations. I refused to do so and reminded him of his duty under the constitution to accept without demur, the advice of the leader of the majority party in the matter of Ministry making.

(22) Thereupon, he called one of the Mahakoshal trio (perhaps Mr. D. K. Mehta) and persuaded him to tender resignations as called upon by the leader. The Mahakoshalites declined to accept this proposition on the strength of Shri Rajendra Prasad's written order. The Governor had therefore no alternative but to accept our resignations and terminate the tenure of office of the Mahakoshal ministers.

(23) This action of the Governor did not amount to the exercise of any special power by him as was wrongly made to appear by the Congress Working Committee. The power of appointing and dismissing Ministers was the ordinary power of the Governor as provided for in Section 51 of the Provincial Autonomy Act of 1935. According to the practice of British democracy never repudiated by the Congress, the resignation of the Prime Minister is an *ipso facto* dissolution of the cabinet, in spite of the holding out by some recalcitrant ministers against the wishes of the Prime Minister. Therefore there was no any kind of carefully laid out snare by the Governor. He simply made explicit what was implicit in my resignation of the office of the Prime Minister of the province.

(24) There being thus no cabinet in existence, the Governor could not carry on the administration for a single minute under

the constitution. He had perforce to call me, who was still the duly elected leader of the majority party, to assist him in the formation of the ministry and I formed the second Congress Ministry. This was not the formation of a new cabinet but in essence and in effect the reconstruction of my old cabinet which power I had under democracy, and under the resolution formally and unanimously passed by the party. Maulana Azad, one of the members of the Parliamentary Sub Committee, also apparently acquiesced in this position. He says in his letter to me dated 14th July 1938. ".....but in the case of their (ministers) default, they will be responsible for it and your position as a Prime Minister will be strengthened, if you do not wish to work with them and take others in their place;"

I do not wish to say more though I have much to say about what subsequently happened, as it is not germane to the controversy. It will be seen in the light of this narrative that the allegations made by Mr. Sahu and ventilated by other newspapers are malicious, false, and should not be made by any one who has regard for veracity.

Nagpur.

N. B. Khare.

Although in my above article in the Hitavada, I have not given any information about the termination of the Khare Episode, as it was not germane to the controversy, it is necessary, to do so for the benefit of the readers of this book. I was called upon by the Congress High Command to tender resignation of the second Congress Ministry formed by me, which I did on their conceding my right to stand again for election as the leader of the party. But subsequently they advised me not to stand again for leadership. When I declined to follow this advice, they took me to the Mahatma at Sewagram on that fateful night of 25th July 1938. In the presence of the Mahatma I reiterated my demand for a thorough enquiry into the whole affair, but he advised me to be large hearted and sign a draft which I refused to do. The photo-block of that draft mostly in Gandhi's hand-writing is printed here.

It should be noted that even Messrs. D. P. Mishra and D. K. Mehta, ex-ministers from my Cabinet and also the Shukla cabinet which succeeded my cabinet, have not dared to contradict this signed statement of mine published in "Hitavada" which both of them are in the habit of reading.

After quoting this press cutting from "Hitavada", it will be quite relevant here to throw some light on the perverted journalistic ethics of "Nagpur Times" born of a kind of self-interest, which made it eulogise its traducer and persecutor, viz., Ravi Shanker Shukla, the Chief minister of Madhya Pradesh, and defame its friend in need and therefore a friend indeed, i. e. myself.

It is well known that in the beginning, Shri R. S. Shukla and the Manager, the Managing Director, and the Editor of Nagpur Times were hand-in-glove. Later on, they fell out and the Chief Minister Shukla launched a criminal prosecution against the "Nagpur Times" under Section 282 of the Companies Act and some other penal sections involving the Chairman (Mr. Nagarkatti) of the Board of Directors of Navasamaj Ltd. and Managing Director and Editor etc., of Nagpur Times in the year 1954. During the course of the prosecution, one of the accused, A. G. Sheorey, Manager, Nagpur Times, made a lengthy statement in the court, demanding that Shri Ravi Shanker Shukla should be made to stand as an accused in the dock along with him, as all the acts challenged were committed with his full knowledge, consent and approval. When I read this statement of A. G. Sheorey in the press I immediately congratulated him on the phone for his bold stand, as Shukla's activities were well known to me as my old bitter enemy. "Nagpur Times" was never friendly to me because it was hand-in-glove-with Shukla. Obviously, therefore, none of those responsible for 'Nagpur Times' had any face to come to me and seek any help or advice from me. But, perhaps, my congratulations to A. G. Sheorey on the phone might have encouraged them, and one fine morning A. G. Sheorey and P. Y. Deshpande came to my bungalow and posted me with the ins and outs of the prosecution. I cut them short and

told them that as I was conversant with Shukla's activities, I was convinced that there was no moral turpitude on their part, and that the prosecution had been launched with political motives to finish them. I also assured these two gentlemen that since I was convinced that there was no moral turpitude, I would forget their past hostile activities against me and stand behind them.

In pursuance of this promise I accompanied these two gentlemen of the Nagpur Times to the houses of various prominent citizens of Nagpur and explained to them the whole situation. This was my attitude towards the Nagpur Times! But how was it rewarded!! After the death of Shukla, in December 1956, while reviewing his career, 'Nagpur Times' alleged that Shukla and two of his colleagues refused to walk into the snare laid by the British Governor (during the Khare episode) and insinuated that I walked into it. When I sent a contradiction for publication. 'Nagpur Times' refused to do so alleging that the matter was cold. The reason must be held to be a particular kind of self-interest which illustrates the statement made by me in the beginning of this chapter.

But there are people in this world who even with sublime self-interest recognised and appreciated whatever little public service I could do, inspite of persistent propaganda against me, by the party in power and its organs. Some of these friends expressed their desire to celebrate my Amrit Mahotsava (crossing the barrier of 75 years) as a token of such appreciation. I consented to the proposal on condition that the public should not be burdened with the presentation of any purse. After this, some citizens of Nagpur elected a Reception Committee for this function with Shri G. V. Deshmukh, Barrister-at-Law, as the President and Shri J.R. Joshi, Sub Editor of 'Maharashtra' a Marathi Daily of Nagpur, as the Secretary. This public function was held under the presidentship of Loknayak M. S. Aney, ex-Governor of Bihar on the 27th October 1957.

This function was largely attended and addressed among others by Shri M. S. Golwalkar the head of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, and Shri N. S. Harkare, an old public worker, both of whom and the President, Shri Aney, spoke about

me in glowing terms. Mrs. Indira Khare, my life's partner, was also duly honoured at this function. Congratulatory messages were received by the Reception Committee from persons all over India, prominent among them being Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Indian Union, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President, Shri C. Rajgopalachariar, ex-Governor General of India, Shri C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, ex-Diwan of Travncore, Veer Sawarkar, a great revolutionary and Hindoo *sanghatanist*, Dr. M. R. Jayakar, Shri N. C. Chatterjee, Dr. Gokulchand Narang, Bharat Ratna Dr. D. K. Karve, the Maharaja of Gwalior, Dr. R. P. Paranjpe, Vice-Chancellor, Poona University, Shri L. B. Bhopatkar, Dr. G. V. Deshmukh, Shri C. D. Deshmukh, ex-Finance Minister of India and Shri R. M. Deshmukh, ex-Minister and member of the Council of States belonging to the Congress party.

Although I have mentioned these celebrities who have felicitated me, I do not claim to be a great man of any outstanding merit in any sphere of life such as education, politics or even medicine. I regard myself as an average middle class man plodding in life. No doubt, I have utilised the opportunities that came my way, to the best of my abilities and to the best advantage of my nation. That is my only satisfaction and the only apology for writing this autobiography.

I know, this book will be an eye-sore to many, as it is a cup full to the brim of naked and bitter truth. I am therefore disliked and called cantankerous. If I would have presented to the people, a cup full of humbug with merely a pinch of truth, I would probably have been applauded as a Mahatma. But I do not care what I am called, as *truth is my only God*.

I am happy, that I have been able to write this book for posterity which alone will realise its worth, because when this generation is gone, historical events will be divested of all the colouring and embellishments furnished by Mahatmatics, which in point of accuracy is the very antithesis of Mathematics.

THE END

APPENDIX—I

Acknowledgment from Shri J. C. Jain of the "*Times of India*" of my contribution to the Nehru Volume referred to on page 566 of this book.

BOMBAY-1

12th August 1959

Dear Dr. Khare,

This is just to acknowledge receipt of your very valuable contribution to our *Nehru Volume*. It will find a pride of place in the book. As soon as the book is ready, a copy of the same will be forwarded to you.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

(Sd) J. C. JAIN

APPENDIX—II

Supplementary list of documents sent to the Director of Archives Government of India and acknowledged by him in his letter No. F 3/7/59 -R--1, dated 15th September 1959.

1. Warrant of Dr. N. B. Khare's appointment as a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council dated the 1st May, 1943. (The document bears the signatures of Mr. L. S. Amery and King George VI of England.)
2. Autograph letter dated 30th October 1954 from Dr. N. B. Khare to the Secretary to the Government of Madhya Pradesh, Department of Law, Nagpur, regarding "Governor's sanction under section 197, Cr. P. C. to prosecute Shri Ravi Shankar Shukla, Chief Minister of Mahdya Pradesh under sections 161 and 163 I. P. C."

Enclosures :

- (i) One printed pamphlet of copies of letters from Sarvashri P. Y. Deshpande, R. S. Shukla, A. G. Sheorey etc.
 - (ii) One printed pamphlet of the "Case of Messrs. Gondwana Paints and Minerals Ltd."
3. A post-card dated the 1st December 1946 from S. Shriniwasa Iyer to Dr. N. B. Khare
 4. Copy of a letter dated 7th July 1959 from Dr. N. B. Khare to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, regarding agitation in Kerala and Co-operative Farming.
 5. Copy of a letter dated 12th November 1958 from Dr. N. B. Khare to Shri Jawaharlal Nehru regarding demand for a Samyukta Maharashtra Province.
 6.
 - (i) Copy of letter dated the 1st August 1959 from Dr. N. B. Khare to Dr. K. N. Katju, Chief Minister, Madhya Pradesh, regarding non-education of Maharashtrians living in Tahsil Sausar in their language medium.
 - (ii) Letter dated the 8th August 1959 from Shri S. C. Saraf, Private Secretary to Dr. K. N. Katju acknowledging the receipt of the above mentioned letter.
 7. One printed book entitled "*Speeches and Statements of Dr. Khare*" (Published by M. G. Datar, 1943.).
 8. Photostat copies of items Nos. 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, and 8, mentioned on page 541 of this book in a letter of Shri M. R. Palande.

APPENDIX—III

Reply from Shri Baburao Patel, Editor of 'Film-India' to my letter congratulating him for his leading article in the

September Issue of that magazine in which he chided C. Rajgopalachariar, the founder of the 'Swatantra Party for invoking Gandhi and Gandhism. In this article Shri Baburao Patel described Gandhism as a sanctimonious humbug of truth and non-violence in politics fully exploded during the last 12 years.

GIRNAR

PALI HILL BOMBAY-20

17-9-59

Dear Dr. Khare,

Your letter of the 15th instant is a blessing from an elder statesman to a free thinker. I am fully aware of your travails in the pursuit of truth. But no effort is ever lost, free thought being an eternal seed. With the maturity of time it blossoms and we hear the echoes again. What you thought and said 21 years ago is only being re-echoed today.

Hunting down their critics and perpetuating humbug is a favourite pastime with our Congress rulers and I have had my full share of their man-hunt. Making income-tax an excuse they have attached all my income and property and virtually ruined me. I have to fight it through as you did. I never despair. I play their own game and though I am widely read today I am sure I will be understood one day. Our poor country still seems to be thirsty for the blood of martyrs.

I shall treasure your letter as a blessing and pray for your long life and good health. There are many who have not forgotten you and still admire you.

With my deepest regards,

Sincerely yours,

(Sd.) Baburao Patel

APPENDIX—IV

Gratitude of 'Leader' another important news-paper.

Ref. No. 8380/JE.

Allahabad, Sept. 21, 1959

Respected Dr. Khare,

We have duly received your article for the Golden Jubilee Number. We are deeply beholden to you for having extended your goodwill to the 'Leader' on this occasion.

You are the first among the old stalwarts and elder statesmen to have responded so graciously to our request, and we can never forget this act of kindness on your part.

With highest regards, and best wishes.

yours sincerely,

(Sd.) Jitendra Singh

Jt. Editor.

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